II International Conference on Media Ethics

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CONFERENCE PROCEEDING

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Preface

The media have become principal actors in shaping public opinion, result of intermediation functions performed between the power, in its various forms, and citizenship, which has gradually acquired global dimensions and homogeneous cultural traits. The relevance of communicative structures, as transmission belts between the different spheres of society, urges us to reflect on the need for a set of ethical values that inspire your exercise and warning of potential drift damage for the balance of society.

Social communication is an essential instrument of civic democratic and egalitarian relationships. It will analyze the importance of communication in strengthening democracy and appreciate the ethical dilemmas posed by current practices performed by the media and its relationship with citizens. It should also be remembered that these ethical dilemmas are further amplified with the emergence of new media platforms arisen after the development of Internet and mobile devices, which help to dilute the identity of the professional information in an amalgam of content, produced without control by different agents over the network. Digital communication is now one of the biggest challenges for the future of journalism, not only by the emergence of new actors who have subverted the traditional dynamics of the story based on its directionality, but also ethical risks involved in instantaneous information, technological dependence, lack of protection of intellectual property, anonymity or uniqueness of digital sources that facilitates the detachment of the journalist with the fieldwork.

Therefore, one of the major plot lines of this conference will focus on analyzing the new ethical challenges of online journalism. In this sense, it will be relevant to analyze how new information and horizontal rhythms can affect communicative ethical requirements of the journalist, or what new criteria should govern the informative work to ensure an environment of quality information and protection of personal rights and collective identities. For this reason, it seems necessary further reflection of the media changes produced in the concepts of privacy, image and honor that have been excessively exposed in the era of digital communication. Similarly, the protection of children, youth and gender equality are challenges that must be reviewed to new possibilities and new risks opened in the digital age.

Furthermore, it should be noted that Internet has transformed the ways that enterprises and the public are related. Advertising has grown into a more horizontal practice that appears widespread in all areas of the digital route. These new ways open unusual possibilities for advertising as well as public relations of great value, but be carried out with respect to the so-called electronic privacy, avoiding sneaky ways to get into new spaces of consumers. Similarly, stereotypes persist over a network, and often emphasize the hate speech against groups and, particularly, with the (self) sexist treatment of women.

Finally, a framework of great interest is to address the research in the field of communication ethics from academia, and the various trade associations in order to

bind applicable to practical conclusions that allow a reformulation of social communication ethically integrated and balanced.

The *II International Conference on Ethics in Communication* means, thus, an excellent opportunity to provide an international forum for debate on the principles that should guide the work of journalists, giving coherence through ethical and humanistic perspective of reality away from reductionist views taken over by political and economic interests that hinder the emergence of a public open, free and genuinely pluralistic. The University of Seville should be the main architect of a heterogeneous gathering of experts and researchers pursuing a different way of communicating, structured by these ethical values of democracy.

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PART ONE

DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE COMMUNICATION

E-government and e-politician as a new image of local governance – the impact of the ICT on the local democracy

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Abstract

In the age of common Internet usage, we cannot imagine administration and local governance development without modern view into serving the citizens, which are looking forward for ensuring basic services and constant improvement of their quality. This some citizens' demands concerns governmental information systems. Citizens are demanding not only presentation of important for them and the city data and events, but also enabling quick and efficient way of dealing with their cases. Moreover except the administration cases they are also looking for public debate being followed at the Internet. They are more willing to raise their critical opinion on the chat room or discussion forum. In this case modern politician must be aware of this virtual public sphere power if he or she wants to come up to contemporary citizen expectations. In Poland path of e-government development was not so smooth. As findings from the previous research confirm thesis about low e-services development at the beginning and even lack of them in some regions of Poland. Now we can observe the rapid growth of ICT in Poland and its visual impact on the local democracy shaping process. We can of course discuss both sides of this impact – positive and negative. According to cases mentioned in the paper I will try to present some important digital initiatives being introduced in Poland on the level of local democracy. It is worth to present some actions which are being introduced to improve administration and information system as for example: e-commune system (being implemented in different cities in Poland – the e-commune is not only presentation of information, but it is mainly "virtual office"); regional information portals (eg. Doba etc.). It is also important to describe the improvement of communication between local politicians and their voters – e-communication, e-consultation (eg. blogs; discussion forums).

Keywords: local government; local community; commune; public sphere; ICT; local e-democracy; civic participation; local e-government.

Introduction

It is well a known fact that information is the most wanted good in the world. Access and control of the information stream determines the developing power relations. Simply put, those who have information possess a kind of power which enables them to use the ignorance of others to gain advantage over them. However, it needs to be said that information has to be true and reliable. In his discussions on information society, Kluszczyński goes even further and states that more and more frequently, power is equated with the access or control over information. According to him, this applies to almost all disciplines (Kluszczyński 2001:12). The development of the media, including the manner and speed of information transfer, contributed to an

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undeniable development of the world. The results of the discovery of print are visible even today and life without a telephone, radio or television seems almost impossible. The growing popularity of the Internet, which incorporates all features of other media, lets us speculate over its future application as well as its future role in the history of humanity. The ideas which claim that it will become a new tool of democracy and will influence its future form, seem to possess some justification. Nowadays, the one-way media, which are characteristic of mass society and include the press, radio and television, are losing with interactive, digital means of communication. New information and communication technology (ICT) may serve not only for work or entertainment, but also for building up the society. We associate with ICT such hopes as e.g. to expand the opportunities for public information about the intentions of the government or the increase participation of citizens in co-decision making about the shape of the state, which is particularly important in the face of declining interest to participate in public life. The impact of ICTs on political processes and state-citizen relation is determined by means of such concepts as tele-democracy, digital democracy, cyber-democracy, e-democracy. Regardless of the name and scope of the concept, common to these concepts is the belief that various features of new technologies – interactivity, faster mode of information, communication feedback – may, in a positive way, influence on democratic mechanisms (Białobłocki, Moroz and Nowina-Konopka 2004; Chadwick 2006; Zissis and Papadopoulou 2009; Nowina-Konopka 2009; Cindio and Schuler 2012).

E-democracy can may be regarded as application of ICT for increase participation of citizens in democratic processes, both quantified and in the form of real impact on the functioning of the public institutions exerted by individuals. Experiments on e-democracy are carried out since 70s of the XX century. During these years people reached for cable television and later for teletext. Essential, however was the spread of the Internet that enables communication 'many to many', creates the possibility to discussion and simultaneously is free from spatial and temporal constrains. This may allow for cost reduction and the participation of more people. At first, people were focused on providing information via Internet. Additional possibilities arose with the emergence of WEB 2.0. This is a special kind of sites that are characterized by interalia, lack of traditional division for creators and receivers of announcement – users may not only see the sites but they can also help developing them. An important feature of modern WEB 2.0. is large interaction between Internet users, opportunity to participate on forums, posting comments, etc. examples of sites illustrating this phenomenon are such as online encyclopaedia Wikipedia, blogs and social sites.

However, if we speak about the Internet media in the context of retardation, we have to state that there did take place a distortion of relations between two functions of the media: informative and educational. Local authorities have indeed changed. Very often, instead of an institutional authority, chosen by a group of people, we witness the creation of a new self- appointed authority – most often quoted, most often shown, or the one which most often speaks. Sometimes it is an authority of a majority or – in the news material sent by the user – of an eye witness. When it is information that prevails in journalistic materials, a direct evidence – a photo of a described event – becomes the authority. The presence of a picture is a proof that the event took place, it sanctions the event. Therefore, on the Internet, the issue of credibility of information and the forming of opinion looks different.

ICT and local public sphere – theoretical aspects

It seems that the potential of the Internet is unlimited when it comes to creating local communities, integrating them, creating space for debate, space for intervention, and grassroots journalism. The production and distribution of the materials uploaded to the Internet is not expensive, so theoretically everyone can participate in an online debate.

If we take a closer look at this issue, we can see that although the possibilities are similar, the Polish web (despite there being no borders), does not realize its potential in the same way as, e.g. the American web.

The first opportunity which the Internet creates is the chance to create local debate forum. It is a community of people who live in the same place, go to the same institutions to take care of official matters, people to whom apply the same rules set by the authorities, people who do the shopping in the same places etc.

The Internet also allows to create new communities, the members of which may be scattered all around the world. Geographical proximity is not required. It is an 'imagined community' or a 'community without proximity', consisting of people who have never met but enter into more intimate relations in the virtual world, than in reality with the people living in the same town or house (Barney 2006). It is worth noting that in a way, traditional local media also integrate 'imagined communities' because most people living in a given region or town perceive themselves as a part of the community only in their minds and rarely enter into direct interaction with each other (Anderson 2006). Urry, deliberating on the community mobility in 'network society', noticed that Bell and Newby (1976) have identified three useful categories concerning the meaning of the community: proximity, locality, and community. These categories are also useful in the discussion of the local media, because one can identify different kinds of media used for communication by a given community.

It is worth noting that along the virtual communities, there still exist local communities which function both in the real world and online, and communities which function only in the local reality despite having the required tools and possibilities to create virtual community. There are also communities which do not have access to digital tools because they either do not feel the need to use them, or they are "digitally excluded" and have no access to the technology.

Another potential of the Internet is a possibility to fill the gap in the traditional media market. Where there is a lack of "official" information and there are too few journalists in remote places, it is possible to create communicative platform on the Internet which would be based on bottom-up initiative coming from the citizens.

It is debated, however, whether ICT is an appropriate medium to improve the democratic processes and build proper public sphere. As is often the case when a new medium is introduced, the discussion becomes polarized. In one ring corner are the so-called "neofuturists", who see the many possibilities the new medium offers the individuals both with regard to get more information and to signal preferences to the authorities. In the other corner are the "dystopians", who cling to the "face-to-face" political dialogue, and who see digitalized communication as a threat to the core values of democracy (Wilhelm 2000). But the answer is not necessarily "either/or". ICT– like other new technologies – affects the organization of politics: ICT shatters the territorial borders within which politics have primarily been organized

and it breaks away from political organization and communication based on associations, parties and meetings as public forums. A scientific description and analysis of these tendencies will provide a basis for an evaluation of the new medium and its possibilities. Tests based on involving local communities in political debates and decision making via ICT at the beginning of the twenty first century showed diversified interested from the citizens side and the researcher had different opinion about the digital public sphere at the local level (Wilhelm 2000, 2004; Hoff, Horrocks and Tops 2000, Norris 2001). The first experiences of virtual commune or city were driven from those countries which were familiar with highly advanced communication technologies (e.g.: the USA [California], the Netherlands [Amsterdam], Germany [Berlin], Denmark [Jutland], Sweden [Gothenburg]). Nowadays we can see dozens of initiatives being taken on that filed in different countries both in countries with highly developed ICT and long democratic tradition (e.g.: Norway [Modalen, Agder, Larvik, Molde]; Finland [Tampere]) and those with reborn democracy and average ICT development (e.g.: Poland [Małopolska, Lower Silesia]; the Czech Republic [Prague, Brno]). With this rapidly growing transformation of the local governance structure, the researchers show less level of scepticism about ICT being used as one of the main tools of that transformation than it had been at the beginning of that process (Orihuela and Obi 2007; Jeitziner 2009; Meier 2009). Analysing the influence of the ICT on the democracy we are able to see that new communication technologies may increase access to political decision makers and, in a broader sense, contribute to public opinion formation both on global as well as local issues. The key element is that the Internet has a low threshold: ICT makes it much easier for "ordinary people" to get through with their messages than any other medium. But when it comes to dialogue and debate on the net, the experiences are more mixed. Communication within a delimited group, for instance a political party organization, gives the best results. In contrast, large, open debate forums are more complicated. If the participants are not committed, the quality of the discussions suffers, and as a consequence the debates die out quickly. Some debates have had a more uncivilized tone than we are used to in public debates, often instigated by anonymous contributions or contributions under false name. Finally, on the negative side, right wing extremist groups have used some discussion forums to spread racist messages. The Internet's low free speech threshold that should be a clear democratic advantage, can, unfortunately, also be a problem.

Of course, there are also many positive experiences from the net-based debate. In particular, both scope and quality are affected when citizens have a chance to become involved in specific issues, which the politicians are then forced to deal with. In these cases, the net functions as an extra channel in addition to meetings, petitions, etc. The success criterion when it will be assessed the scope of the net debate does not have to be 100 percent participation; much less will do. In comparison, only a small minority writes letters to the editor or take the floor at public meetings. Moreover, some of the participants in the net debate would never write a letter to the editor or speak out – for the simple reason that they do not subscribe to a newspaper or attend public meetings. Finally, success or failure cannot be "measured" only by the number of active participants, but must also be measured by how many people visit the websites in question and keep informed on the debate (Millard 2006; Porwol, O'Donoghue and Breslin 2012).

The feature of the Internet is the possibility of bilateral communication, which is interactive. In other words, the Internet is not only a medium of information, but it also offers a space for discussion and debate among people or entities that are

physically far apart. Because of that the Internet is becoming a good tool for democratic participation. Hence, there are very high expectations on the consequences for democracy, by the introduction of this medium (Torpe and Nielsen 2004; Hargittai and Walejko 2008; Cullen 2010).

When we look closer at the local governance across Europe we can clearly see that different ways of strengthening citizens' trust in local authorities and the creation of platforms of public dialogue are important factors that shape contemporary democracy. Local communities search for solutions that will help in realization the essential principles of community communication which are public trust and social dialogue. Both of those elements strengthen the sense of responsibility for the region what positively influences the quality of the local governance and all other institutions that create the local public sphere (Millard 2006; Lee and Kim 2012). In the 21st century, century of the digital communication reign the above needs must be realized by creating a sufficient digital communication platforms. As the digitalization process has diverse course in different cultures so it is worth to do some studies.

E-democracy relates to those uses of ICT's which provide either novel or more efficient, practicable means for citizens to exercise influence in the governing process. In other words, this term applies when ICT's are used to revolutionize the relationship between citizen and representative.

The widespread availability means in practice that those with the resources and physical ability to access the technology have the opportunity to participate. Furthermore, the Internet gives the opportunity for interactivity, a better geographical spread, more open administration and greater opportunity for civic participation. These are in any case, the expectations associated with the Internet as a technology. The Internet can provide opportunities for democratic participation, but the technical possibilities themselves do not lead to it.

Participation is one of the most important elements of democracy and is closely associated with a number of processes that link with communication and the access to social decision-making processes. These processes to a greater or lesser extent use ICT technologies and the Internet as an aid, even though they themselves are not dependent on the Internet. These technologies offer the potential for interactivity and can create new forms of democratic dialogue between the residents themselves, remote organizations and representatives of the citizens. In broad terms we can say that the policy covers the activities, which we undertake as citizens to solve problems concerning the community or group interests. Importance that Habermas (1989) attaches to public discourse as a means to achieve consensus or at least the decision taken by the majority, is the cornerstone of democracy.

This view is based on the assumption that no single person has knowledge of all the data, nor can it take into account all the consequences of the given solution or policy. The importance attributed to digital technology depends on how it defines the concept of democracy. The theories about direct democracy, discursive and competitive relationship between democracy and technology is handled in different ways (Christensen and Aars 2002; Weber 2003; Rose 2004; Grönlund and Anderson 2007; Baldersheim and Øgård 2007; Haug 2007; Dahlargen 2009).

We can come across the following types of democracy while studying theory (Christensen and Aars 2002; Held 2006; Mutz 2006; Haug 2007): 1) direct democracy: goal - the sovereignty of a nation/ the equality; basis of legitimacy - decisions of the majority; role of citizens - decision-making; the mandate of representatives – related; the most important element in the use of ICT – decisions; 2) competitive democracy: goal - individual freedom; basis of legitimacy - haling to account; role of citizens – electorate; the mandate of representatives – unbound; the most important element in the use of ICT –information; 3) discursive democracy: goal – autonomy; basis of legitimacy - the public debate role of citizens - opinion-forming; the mandate of representatives – interactive; the most important element in the use of ICT – discussion.

The above-mentioned views on democracy have different implications for the use of technology in democracy. The issues on direct democracy on the Internet and the performance of democratic principles are widely discussed by the supporters. Technology is assigned the key role, it is a cornerstone of broader participation and it is said to be an opportunity to move away from the old hierarchy and the indirect representation. Development of technology has given supporters of direct democracy new arguments: the computer creates the possibility of immediate communication, so the views of individual citizens may be quickly and efficiently recorded via the Internet. Such a perspective is rather conducive for fast action and is focused on the individual. Politicians may have access to the will of the people and the only thing that should be done is to read it. Self-reliant "digital citizen" may than replace the traditional institutions of collective representation. Electronic opinion polls, a daily online voting are the main components of tomorrow's democracy (Rose 2002; Kersting and Baldersheim 2004).

Competitive model of democracy is a bit more defensive. Widespread and frequent participation of citizens in social life is not an end itself. The most important here is the competition among individual elites to win votes. The quality of democracy is reviewed every four years when during the elections the politicians are called to account. In this model of democracy information strategies differ from those of the previous model. Too much openness seems to be a problem - there is a likelihood that politicians will be more interested in promoting their own image than taking responsibility for their actions. It can therefore create conflicts. However, technology itself can be a useful tool, and the Internet can be used to provide information and gain support for the policy elites. Technology can also contribute to improving the working conditions of representatives and thus create favourable conditions for the exercise of political leadership. In addition, technology can be used to develop public services through customer surveys, or surveys of users of these services.

In the theory of communication or discursive democracy, democracy is not conceived as an aggregate of individual preferences. Here, the common denominator is associated with hope for a political discussion which would be a means to reach political agreement on contentious issues. The will of the society here is not understood as something immutable, it is created during a debate in which various arguments are confronted. Here the message is this: we need a moment to "stop" to make room for a good discussion or public debate. From the perspective of communication theory, the main idea is an active communication strategy. The key strategy is to create new space, which enables creation of unrestricted communication. Particularly important for such public sphere is the development of media, including Internet, and the strength of new technology lies precisely in this

interactive element. It allows not only the one-way communication, such as (to a large extent, do) traditional media, but thanks to digital technology, people can change from passive recipients into active participants.

The author of the paper is trying to analyse how the power of ICT is used by local community in Poland - country of reborn democracy with rapidly growing technology. The main issue of the paper is to analyse the role of ICT in the effort to develop and improve local democracy which results in creating active local public sphere. There are discussed different aspects of building digital public sphere and e-democracy in local communities. Theoretical aspects are fulfilled with the description of the ICT usage in chosen communities in Poland. For comparison, a survey has been carried out in different parts of Poland (urbanized; semi-urbanized; rural). It was analysed the case of the following regions: Lower Silesia; Podkarpacie, Łódź voivodship and the following research questions were analysed: Whether and how ICT have changed the functioning of local public sphere in Poland? Does ICT support political communication? Is ICT used as platform for local debate? Is ICT used mainly as a tool for transmitting information from the dominant one-sided communication? Does ICT support local democracy?

ICT and local democracy in Poland
The interest in ICT influence on democracy focused in many countries and of all management levels also at the local one which of course was caused by many reasons. First, the policy at the local level becomes more transparent due to e-democracy. Second, it is often easier to try out new solutions on "small", local matters. Third, there are already a number of issues, such as those related to spatial planning, where municipalities are obliged to consult with residents and such consultations can be easily and quickly carried out via the Internet. Research conducted in Polish communes[2] along the last decade proved that they have become more transparent due to their visibility and activity in the network (Guzik 2004; Żygulski 2004; Nowina-Konopka 2009; Biernacka-Ligięza 2010; Nowak 2011). Vast majority of them can be contacted via e-mail, most have their own websites. What is more the content and level of information provided on the municipal website, is diversified. On the pages of some municipalities, vast amounts of information is provided, while others limit themselves to publishing the address or telephone number. At the beginning many municipalities treated their websites as a hobby or fringe activity, much less important than the ordinary work of the commune. Currently communication network is becoming one of the most important for many communities and, increasingly, it becomes more professional: more municipalities actively use the Internet, and newly arrived residents are eager to use electronic solutions.[3] However, it still cannot be concluded that ICT itself changed the functioning of local communities in Poland.

ICT supports more traditional, formal and representative political process. In practice, this means that it is used primarily as an information tool and is still dominated by one-way communication. When municipalities use the Internet, the most important thing for them is probably not political participation of citizens, but the services that

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[2] 'commune' and 'municipality' are both terms used to name Polish 'gmina' (one of the level of the Polish local government system). The term 'commune' has more geographic and organization connotations and 'municipality' is rather interpreted as a more adminstrative term more often like 'commune administration sector'. 'Municipality' is dedicated to city/town commune.
[3] Source: Customer service assessment – survey which is followed each by the Dzierżoniów commune as the part of the ISO directives evaluation process

the municipality offers. The municipality is focused here on high quality gained by the new technologies - the role of citizens is not so accentuated as "the role of co-owners" (Winswold 2007).

Municipalities are able to inform fairly well residents of democratic processes, but they are doing worse with allowing residence to have an active democratic influence through democratic municipal websites. Attempts to increase civic engagement - through discussions or direct decision-making - are rare and do not function very well. The analysis shows that Polish municipalities do not provide information about what happens next with the result of discussions and conversations on the forums. It is worth noting that in the case of Polish municipalities, conducting a public debate is extremely rare and usually occurs when discussed problems lead to serious social consequences - its implementation would be impossible without the approval of the local community. An important reason for this is probably the fact that the forums are in no way related to political decision-making process in communities and that local politicians do not engage in debate. Access to e-mail addresses of local governments, compared with the administration, is also limited. The debate on local political issues has not yet moved exclusively to the Internet or it has not been moving as quickly as it is possible.

While analysing local electronic democracy structure in Poland it is necessary to look closer at smaller communes in different regions of the country - for that analysis there were chosen 12 communes from 3 different regions of the country: Lower Silesia (Western Poland): Wałbrzych, Świdnica, Dzierżoniów, Jaworzyna Śląska; Podkarpacie (Easteren Poland): Krosno, Sanok, Jasło, Rymanów; Łódzkie Voivodship (central Poland): Sieradz, Zduńska Wola, Łask, Zelów. We should refer not only to the presentation of the municipality as a political and administrative unit, but also as an institution and organization operating within its area.

Municipalities use the Internet primarily as a means of transmitting information from the municipality to the residents. This is not a communication space between the municipality and residents or between politicians and voters. Where the network is a communication space, it is not municipality that initiates it but local or regional newspapers with its online version or commercially owned local information services (e.g. www.doba.pl; www.wałbrzyszek.pl) and sometimes political parties. This offer is, however, still limited. With regard to the news website, common use of the Internet is something different from using the Internet as a channel of communication between the municipality and residents. All the municipalities covered by the survey have their own websites, most of which are extensive and comprehensive in their provision of detailed information.

This applies to all kinds of information, from driving directions to the school, through cultural events, and ending on the forms to be filled in order to get a place in kindergarten. However, still not many local communities in Poland can apply for a place in kindergarten through the Internet because they have not yet met both the safety and the technical requirements, including the protection of personal data. Security of the web based communication is still a challenge with Polish municipalities but it has been improving day by day. Municipalities that do not yet offer such a possibility are currently working on it, thus in the near future it is

expected that – according to the plan of information society development - sending applications electronically should be possible soon in most of Polish municipalities.[4]

Almost all municipalities include on their websites information about the services they offer. The more comprehensive websites (e.g. Sieradz, Wałbrzych) are complex with lots of information. You can find there everything: from the opening hours of the various public institutions such as the swimming pool and library, through information on the operation of kindergartens, the school common room, tax information, the superintendent, planning-town office, or the latest news from the community. Polish website are reminders of cultural events, meetings with artists and concerts. Residents can also read about the deadlines for applications such as for a place in kindergarten.

There is also information about training of the local sports club and the opening hours of the gyms in the municipality.

Information is quite regularly updated (especially in developed communes) and the residents who frequently visit websites of municipalities can keep-up with information about public services. They can also easily figure out where to look for more detailed information. Municipal websites also contain links to other sites including institutions and public office sites where you can ask questions on public services.

Many municipalities also publish the results of public opinion surveys carried out by public service sector (e.g. Dzierżoniów commune regularly posts results of each years' customer satisfaction survey).

New technologies and local agora
Researchers still (Rose 2002; Torpe and Nielsen 2004) argue that local politicians seldom engage in the implementation of Internet solutions in the community and that community networks are presented primarily as a provider of public services. The Internet most often constitutes support for politicians - especially in election campaigns, but still it is not the most important weapon. Politicians still give priority to the press, radio and television. Attempts to combine the benefits of ICT to the traditional media message has not been very successful in some European countries (e.g.: Denmark, Norway), especially attempts to introduce an electronic platform for communication stand out as evidence. Its therefore worth considering whether the use of ICT technology strengthens either the role of government in local politics or politicians themselves? International studies seem to confirm this hypothesis and motivate it by the fact that the administration has a number of electronic tools that enable it to represent the interests of particular groups of people (Snellen 2003; Pratchett, Wingfield and Polat 2006; Dahlargen 2009).

Communes websites relate to political issues in two ways: they present what is happening on the board of the municipality, but party politics is left to political parties. The list of issues raised at meetings of the council and the municipal executive board and other committees is presented in electronic services, in order to easily find out what issues local government are currently engaged in. But only some municipalities inform, in detail about current political issues. However, municipalities

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[4] Source: The Strategy for the Development of the Information Society in Poland until 2013, MSWiA, 2008

are present in the Internet primarily as a provider of public services. The political aspect is not as omitted though, it is not ready available in many communes as the information is not posted on the main sites, therefore, to find information about the activities of municipalities, as political organizations, or information about municipal policies need to either go to the microsite, or go directly to these sites by browser, or commercial information services.

The information services of some communes provide a list of politicians, with their phone numbers and e-mail addresses, but you cannot always find the information represented by the political parties. But in most cases politicians are only mentioned as members of the municipal executive board; getting a mentioning on this list is sometimes difficult. The website of municipalities very rarely have links to local political parties. None of the Polish municipalities analysed in this paper posted links to the local political parties websites.

Convergent for Polish services is the provision of information about what is going on at the meetings of the council, the municipal executive board and committees, although not in all municipalities is information given in the same degree of detail. There is information about the meetings and agendas of different kinds, and about decisions taken that can also be quickly learnt and accessed from the network. In this respect, small municipalities do not differ at all from the big ones: website users are informed in the same way about the resolutions of the municipality by the small communes of Jasło or Jaworzyna Śląska and the bigger communes as Sieradz or Walbrzych. The difference is, however, in the amount of information. In addition, large communes seem to have more professional websites. Some sites include links to the source of information about provincial council and the local elections.

When we look at local parties websites, we can find information about people to contact and opportunities to establish it with representatives of the parties (here, mostly appears contact to a local party branch chairman.) But we cannot say that this information is open space for dialogue. You can make contact - by phone or via e-mail - with the President or other members of the party. Whether this will be a two way contact - between a voter and a member of the party or between the citizen and the politician - or whether it contributes to public debate on the Internet, depends on how parties treat such notifications. Unfortunately in Poland, very few local parties creates opportunities for active participation in political dialogue at the local level through the network for the residents. Only in bigger analysed cities (Wałbrzych, Sieradz, Krosno - former voivodship centre) a local political debate in the network is more visible, but it still does not constitute predominant dialogue space for the local public sphere. Few examples of separate local portals with discussion forums (e.g.: www.walbszyszek.com; www.krosno24.pl; www.doba.pl; www.sieradzanie.pl) can be indicated, where in the local political problems are discussed and Internet users take up important matters. It also seems that these forums that exist, are not used to extensively. Neither do the larger nor smaller political parties offer discussion groups or other opportunities that expand the debate on the network. In some municipalities it is the smallest local party or municipal association which offers such function (e.g. OBS). Probably, it can be explained by the fact that some parties have members who are interested in technical issues and perceive the Internet as a place for political debate, while the other parties do not have such members. Analysing sites of some municipalities from western or northern Europe countries as The Netherlands, Germany, Denmark we can find links of groups and associations working in the area. This makes it possible to orient in the activities of local NGOs. In

varying degrees, information about offers of different organizations can be found. Some of these associations have complex websites, others do not have websites at all and are only mentioned in the municipal service. Lists like these are written by the same pattern as the traditional presentation of organizations in the written information issued by local governments such as brochures describing what is happening in the district. This includes both municipality and NGOs' offers. In Eastern Europe – the case of Poland insertion of information devoted to activities of non-governmental organizations on community websites has improved, but of course it is not such a common occurrence as is the case of many other countries with highly developed democracy, which certainly adversely affects the development of an adequate level of public debate, and thus somewhat weakens the emerging local democracy in Poland.

Electronic services of municipalities provide residents with detailed and updated information, and thanks to the municipalities' websites people who have the access to the Internet can get the information they need without going to the town hall. Municipalities included in the study put more emphasis on the aspect of an information network; therefore, their websites offer people comprehensive and useful information. It is not confined to public services or cultural events in the municipality. On the web of municipalities there are also references to the municipal council resolutions undertaken or city council. Some of the municipalities, before the meeting, publish a list of matters the given institution will work on (e.g.: Dzierżoniów).

At the beginning of this century small municipalities in Poland were subjected to criticism. They were criticized for lack of professionalism and that they do not even deserve to be called web pages. This criticism even then was not justified. The smallest municipalities did not and still do not differ from the largest in terms of informing the public about services or about the meetings of the municipal council. Differences are primarily placed on the amount of information rather than on their quality, shape, or manner of communication. Large municipalities have more information to share, as such Krosno municipality website is seen to have more content than the Rymanów municipality site.

Moreover the shape, form and quality of the website design is being determined the commune budget, which, unfortunately, in the case of small municipalities is sometimes quite limited. It must be admitted that the quality of web pages in Polish municipalities in 2002, left much to be desired (especially when it comes to small municipalities). The passing decade definitely changed the image of the Polish e-community and the difference between large and small municipality in the network primarily refers to the quantity rather than quality of the information published on the website of the municipality.

A common feature of the analysed communes is primarily the fact that the Internet is used as an information channel rather than as a channel of participation. If people are to participate in political discourse, information is very important, because in contrast to public opinion polls and plebiscites, and even consultation, participation requires access to information in order to form an opinion on the subject of discussion. Active participation also requires something more: to focus on the role of the citizen. If residents have been involved in the process of policy formation, it is important to know their rights. What information do the authorities, particularly the local governments, want from the residents? To what extent can residents expect their views to be listened to and used? When can they expect feedback?

Morrison and Newman (2001) suggest that the rapprochement between the residents and politicians, relies on something other than connecting the consumer with commercial interests. Strengthening the role of the citizen is not just that residents are listened to, but also to emphasize the responsibilities and liabilities associated with being a citizen of a democratic society. But in order for residents to take part in political debate as the person informing the politicians, they must be well informed themselves. Active participation in the political debate requires a balanced, high-quality information so that participants would not only have contact with their own views but perhaps with the views of those who disagree with them. Internet provides a sketchy knowledge, and often people receive information from a limited number of sources which, in the worst case, only worsen the already existing prejudices.

The role of the municipality websites as information disseminators is very important, because in this way people receive knowledge on political matters and have a base to form an opinion on the given issue. Such a knowledge base is necessary for inhabitants to become informed citizens, capable to fully participate in the political discussion. The work that is done by the municipalities on their websites, consisting of informing the political agenda, activities and issues over which local government operates, as well as indicating the reasons for decisions taken, is therefore very important. The local parties also have their roles to be done. In this field the results were worse than in all discussed municipalities especially in case of Poland where local politicians are visible on the web only before the election and just after it. Websites of local parties or local branches of national parties in Poland are not very frequently updated and there are more likened to posters of the party than debate forums.

Information is an important basis for active participation in the political life of the commune. The Internet which is a different way than the traditional political channels, can give residents the opportunity of such participation. Yet, it is still a lot to be done in this field in municipalities in Poland. The possibilities of inviting residents to the political debate in the municipality such as in newsgroups or via the feedback and reactions to the proposals of politicians are not often used in Poland. It seems to be improved and in the last two years we have found more municipalities where we can meet some positive examples of public dialogue being followed on the Internet (e.g. Dzierżoniów commune). It is a rare practice to create the active discussion platform at the local community level. Existing websites are more like passive description of the municipality, local policy, local politicians etc. It is probably not the result of deliberately chosen strategy by the municipality and this could be explained by the fact that the Internet's potential is still not fully exploited by the municipalities. It seems that there is still some time before it will be perceived also as a forum for discussion, in which residents can participate and which will be more accessible than traditional forms of participation, such as open meetings, party, etc. In Poland the biggest municipalities have usually the most complex websites. You can find there a detailed presentation of the local administration, municipal services and the latest information useful to residents. This does not mean that smaller municipalities do not have good websites, similar in content to larger ones. It is clear however that the biggest municipalities have in their services the largest amount of information. They just have more to offer: more schools, kindergartens, more cultural events, which they can inform about and more user surveys that can be placed on the Internet. The need for information is thus the largest in the largest

municipalities, and they probably just have the most to gain from having a good website.

Guzik (2004) Biernacka-Ligięza (2010) in their studies claim that when it comes to the differences between communes in terms of Internet presence and extent of local democracy, a significant role is played by the number of inhabitants. It does not change the fact that many small municipalities have made very positive results in the study, although it is clear that the size of the municipality is important to decide whether it will come into existence in the network or not, and if so - what will be the quality of this presence. In short, small municipalities do not have a sufficient range of services to investment in the viability of electronic technology. Thus, they believe that if the electronic administration is soon to replace traditional one the extensive cooperation between municipalities is needed. It allows for a smooth transition to an electronic management system in the municipality.

For residents of communities being analysed in this paper the Internet at the beginning of this century was not a very important source of information about local issues. Only few people read the mayors and other politicians statements that appear in the network (less than 1% of Poles). Only 1% of the population of Poland was actively involved in Internet political debates[5]. Today the situation is slightly different, especially when it comes to the Internet as a source of information, which for many residents of Polish communities is precisely the most important place where they seek information relevant to them about the region (approx. 39%). However, they do not seek such information at the municipal sites but rather use the commercial information services such as: www.krosno24.pl.; www.swidniczka.pl; www.doba.pl; www.walbrzyszek.pl etc. The local newspaper also remains quite important source of information about the municipality (approx. 31%)[6]. Of course, paper publications are more often accompanied by electronic editions. Today, almost every local title has its own page on the Internet.

Taking into account the opportunity to participate in political discussions on the Internet, it may not be surprising, since the possibilities of discussing politics in the network are few, they are limited and in addition very often linked to specific political parties. Since few residents are members of political parties, we cannot expect that participation in the existing newsgroups will be high.

However, it might have been expected that the number of people who have seen or read posted statements of mayors or other local politicians on the web, would be much greater. Such statements can be found not only on the municipal website and on the websites of parties, but also, and more often than in the electronic version, in newspapers (only 3% of inhabitants of Poland have become familiarized with these statements through the Internet).

It is worth to indicate that both in Poland the Internet is very important source of information about the region its culture, tourist attraction, economy but most respondents (76% of Poles)[7] stated that the Internet is still not an important source of information about local politics. Taking into account that over 34% of Poles found that the local newspaper is an important source of information, it can be concluded

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[5] Source: Author's own research 2007
[6] Source: Author's own research 2009
[7]Source: Author's own research 2009

that the Internet as a source of information about local politics and as an arena to exchange views on political issues, is still in its early stages of development.

Thus, the results show that the Internet, scarcely has been used by politicians as a possible source of political information or communication. Today its popularity has increased considerably. However, it seems to be more visible on the national level, where very often the presence of politics in the network determines its success. In the case of policy at local level, where politicians are no longer anonymous and known by the voters only form the media, network is no longer an essential element of communication with the voter. This is confirmed by the analysis, which shows that the Internet is not regarded as an important source of information on local politics in any of the municipalities, and even though you can point out the differences between the areas, they are not so big. Participation in online political debate is also not popular. Such "chat rooms/discussion forums" are created by newspapers, political parties or commercial information portals and are not part of municipal information services. This is because municipalities tend to rely on information concerning the resolutions of the political or administrative regulations, and creating space for political debate is left for political parties or other entities.

Conclusions

When democracy is evolving and changing, not only ways of managing are changing but also the perception of representation. ICT is undoubtedly one of the major elements in the wave of reforms carried out in many western administration. ICT refers to strategic management and significant changes in the way the public sector works. Pressure for introducing the e-administration is on the increase. When democracy is evolving and changing, not only ways of managing are changing but also the perception of representation. ICT itself may not strongly affect citizens' attitudes toward community involvement and participation, but can be used to create conditions for a more involving, inclusive and transparent democratic culture (Klotz 2004; Chadwick 2006; Dahlgren 2009)**.** We can observe many changes in contemporary communication systems which are an inherent part of e-administration. These may be changes in how the internal organization of the public sector works - i.e. the technology can be used to improve collaboration and integration between different levels of government and between offices. The second type is amended to increase the availability of online information about the work of public institutions and the fact that the public sector will try to arrange its activities for the benefit of the people so that the centre of activity is shifted towards self-service (Grönlund and Anderson 2007; Yates, Gulati and Tawileh 2010; Nam 2010).

Internet proved to be for majority of analysed communes mainly a tool for conveying information and providing services on the appropriate level, very rarely used as a platform for debate. It can be noticed that still important role in building local democracy and local identity continues play local newspaper (in printed and electronic version), where readers can find both information and also have the opportunity to participate in the debate however, local news sites are becoming even more popular (often commercial initiative, or additional activity of local publishers/ broadcasters) and usually win with the press. Unfortunately Polish local politicians are scarcely "visible" on the Internet it is rather difficult to find information about local political parties which do not provide up-to-date information to their constituency. Poles are rather not looking for information about local politicians/politics on the Internet because they show little interest in this area of local activity they are more active in the field of sport, education or culture.

The strengthen of the two sided communication for building up the local debate seems to be an important issue for Polish municipalities especially if the aforementioned 'strong dimension of' democracy is to be further strengthened, consensus and cooperation need to be emphasized. The basis for the legitimacy is public debate, and the mandates of elected representatives are interactive or granted in consultation with those who are represented. The main role of the population is its opinion-forming ability and therefore, except information and services, the most important field of contribution in the usage of ICT should be debate.

"Internet challenges" for municipalities will not concern the information, although in this field there is probably still something to do. Small and large communities can better cooperate with each other in solving technological problems than in isolation. The biggest challenge will be to use the Internet to engage citizens in discussion about the future of the municipality - in short - to strengthen political commitment and participation. We must therefore focus not on the information, as before, but on including consultation and, above all, active participation of residents. This requires different ways of working and a much more involvement, not only from the municipal administration, but also from politicians. Technology that allows residents to participate in political debate through the Internet or expressing their opinion, e.g. on the planned construction work, is available today. It includes tools such as "chat rooms/discussion forums", where residents and politicians may participate in joint discussions, and simulation tools that can be used to show the consequences of given decisions, e.g. on expansion of the municipality, the budget or space planning.

Technology offers various possibilities and, although not all are yet fully developed, many tools can be very useful. This does not mean that we should ignore the disadvantages of new technology, or forget about the traditional forms of participation. However, it is worth noting that use of technology could contribute to the strengthening of political participation at local level. In this process it is important to take into account both the advantages and disadvantages (e.g. on the one hand, chat is not only good for teenagers, but on the other, this form of discussion can be rather chaotic).

We should also look at information in terms of authenticity, credibility and confidence, which requires its frequent updating. The uncertainty which may create anonymity in the network also in political discussions. Such problems arise and the challenge is to find solutions for them, among others through various forms of registration, which also allow for anonymity in the debate, since this can contribute to a greater sense of security. We still lack real opportunities to participate in political discussions on the Internet and the municipality should develop its offer. Such possibilities and not the Internet itself, have a chance to actively engage residents in making sense of their own political process.

Many institution and persons engage in creation tools using ICT, which can have positive impact on democratic political system. Enthusiasts of new technologies believe that thanks to them access to information can be ensured, thereby greater transparency of decision making process and decision-makers' responsibility from society. According to the optimists, new channels of communication and consultation will allow, from one hand to adapt better authorities policy to social expectations, and on the other may encourage citizens to become more involved in state affairs.

Among the main advantages of e-democracy is also access to a public hearing for the elderly and disabled people. Some see the beneficial impact of new technologies on institutions and political processes. For others, it is clear that the ICT revolution brings new solutions, but it is not a "cure" for most of the problems. The main problem for democracy in recent years was not the lack of sufficient number of channels of participation, but little interest in public affairs and public little confidence in state institutions, and these problems will not be solved by any technology. Attention is also drawn to exclude those who have not mastered the skills needed to function in the information society, or do not have access to the Internet. We also do not know to what extent the public Internet debate proves to be a substantive discussion. Regardless of the extent to which we believe in the vision of "the resurgence of Athenian democracy" and "electronic debate forum", we cannot ignore the fact that the way we communicate and the expectations of citizens, who increasingly use the Internet, are changing. To meet with interest and meet with its target, new tools, which are put in the internet users hands, must be well designed. The idea is to permit the analysis of citizens and provide them with feedback, whether and how much influence they have for the course of affairs and decisions.

To sum up, one has to conclude that the Internet can contribute to the reconstruction of local public sphere because it is a convenient way of communication. Any content can be put online and it does not require special skills. In a situation in which the local media lose their meaning, the Internet could fill the gap. It also gives an opportunity to participate in a bigger debate into which more people are engaged than would be the case with the TV or newspapers. The Internet also creates a possibility to have a debate on socio-political issues and to organize political marketing online. However, it is rarely used, especially in small towns and villages. Despite social changes, technology development, chances of participation, the analysis shows that local communities rather slowly adjust to these changes, they do not organize initiatives, and they do not fully realize the potential of the Internet.

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Abstract

This paper studies from a linguistic-pragmatic perspective the construction of possibly ideological meanings and journalistic choice-making in the contexts of local and foreign news reporting. In particular, it examines the discourse of hard news reports about Kenya's post-election crisis in the national newspapers *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* as compared to thematically-related reports from *The Independent* and *The Times*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. By means of a combined methodology, comprising a quantitative content analysis, a qualitative discourse analysis and ethnographic fieldwork, two frames of meaning are identified: a tribal and a socio-political frame. American and British newspapers primarily ethnicized the events, while they tended to be politicized in the Kenyan press. The differences in language use can be partly explained by contextual (political, social and pragmatic) factors. Thus the interpretive discourse-analytical results can be supported, refined or nuanced by information from ethnographic fieldwork, which also allows to take journalistic voices into account.

Keywords

Discourse analysis, pragmatics, ethnography, journalism ethics, Kenya, ethnicity, newspapers

Tribal politics, tribal press, plural contexts?
Ethnographic support to the analysis of (inter)national news discourse on Kenya's crisis

Introduction: Journalism as an ideological choice-making practice

In 1922 the American journalist Walter Lippmann compared the press to "a beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another, out of darkness into vision" (1922: 364). A selective choice of events in the world, processed by journalists and interpreted from a limited number of perspectives, so that only a few aspects are illuminated, while other aspects are left in the dark, presupposes an ideological practice. When newsworthy events, such as the political and societal crisis that erupted in Kenya after the corrupted December 2007 presidential elections, are turned into news texts, different frames of interpretation arise depending on the choices made by the newsworkers. In other words, the idea of "news as a representation of the world in language" implies a selective construction and the possibility of an alternative representation, yielding a totally different frame of meaning (Fowler 1991: 4). Although some journalists, driven by ideals of objectivity, would claim to have no ideology, they cannot but present a partial account of always complex realities, so that news is inevitably ideological in a broad sense (Van Ginneken 1998, Verschueren 1996).

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A superficial comparative analysis of headlines already shows that different stories are written about the same events, especially when a local, *e.g.* Kenyan, news item is picked up by foreign, *in casu* American and British, news markets. While on 3 January 2008 *The Washington Post* ran a story titled 'Tribal rage tears at diverse Kenyan city', *The Independent* focused on 'Hopes pinned on African Union head to defuse poll violence'. The headlines of the front pages of the two biggest Kenyan newspapers on the corresponding day read: 'Suspicion, mistrust as PNU and ODM dig in' in *The Standard* and 'Save our beloved country' in the *Daily Nation*. Whereas the foreign media seemed to focus on the violent and tribal aspects of the conflicts in Kenya, the local press narrowed the news down to politics and the promotion of peace, concentrating on the struggle for power between the incumbent president Mwai Kibaki, leader of the Party of National Unity (PNU), and Raila Odinga, the principal opposition candidate from the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM).

This observation will be explored by means of a mixed methods approach combining discourse analysis with information from ethnographic fieldwork. Consequently, the journalistic language use under study is not just scrutinized and criticized, as is *bon ton* in classical Critical Discourse Analysis (cf. Fairclough 1995, Ngonyani 2000, Van Dijk 1988), but the analyses are put into perspective, nuanced and refined by taking into account different contextual factors and lending voice to the news producers. The theoretical framework derives from linguistic pragmatics, as defined by Verschueren (1999) as the social, cultural, and cognitive study of language in use. The main research question is twofold: (i) What kind of discourse is produced about Kenya's post-election crisis in international as opposed to national newspapers, *i.e.* which frames of meaning are used?; (ii) How can differences in language use be explained by means of factors of the news (production) context? Additionally, I will reflect on how journalists can deal with multifactorial conflicts in plural contexts with multicultural audiences. Thus, this research is situated in a tradition of socio-linguistic approaches to journalism (*e.g.* Bell 1991, Conboy 2010, Cotter 2010, Johnson & Ensslin 2007, Mazrui 2009). Moreover, it attempts to complement content analyses of the press coverage of Kenya's crisis (*e.g.* Onyebadi & Oyedeji 2011, Somerville 2009).

Corpus and context: Newspapers and politics

Description of dataset: Corpus of national and international news reports
The dataset comprises 467 news reports about the Kenyan post-election crisis culled from six quality newspapers: *The Independent* (IN) and *The Times* (TI) from the UK, the *New York Times* (NYT) and *The Washington Post* (WP) from the US, henceforth called the international newspapers or the foreign press to distinguish them from the Kenyan newspapers *The (Daily) Nation* (DN) and *The Standard* (ST). See table 1 for a division of newspaper reports and an indication of the average article length by word count.

Newspaper	IN	TI	NYT	WP	DN	ST	Total
Number of articles	41	41	42	43	157	143	467
Subtotal	167				300		
Average article length	654	565	919	712	753	666	633
Subtotal	607				709		

Table 1: General numerical overview of the corpus of newspaper reports.

For this paper only so-called factual hard news reports were sampled. Here two comments are in order. First, the choice of focus on hard news reports does not mean that other subgenres of news, such as opinion articles, commentaries, analyses or letters-to-the editor would not be interesting. On the contrary, those genres should be taken into account for a thorough understanding of the news discourse. However, it would lead me too far to include them here (*cf.* Coesemans 2012 for a comprehensive account). Second, the label of 'hard news' cannot be taken for granted. Because existing definitions were either inadequate or ambiguous, the classifications of the newspapers themselves were used to differentiate between news texts with 'hard news' being those reports published on the front page or in the 'World News' section of the international papers or on the 'National News' pages of the Kenyan papers.

Note that all of these newspapers have a diverse, indeed multicultural, readership. Reader reactions reveal that *The Washington Post*, for instance, is also read and commented upon by readers from outside of the US. In fact, when the Kenyan government issued a media ban on 31 December 2007 a lot of Kenyans turned to foreign media for information about the crisis. Moreover, census results and demographic trends show that American as well as British newspapers arguably need to cater for 'African minorities'.[2] Comparatively, Kenyan newspapers have to take a plurality of audiences into account, as the country hosts more than 42 ethnic groups, while these newspapers can also be read abroad thanks to various information and communication technologies.

To get a quantitative view of the data, a computer-assisted content analysis was carried out. Not only traditional tools of corpus linguistics were used, but also experiments with text mining techniques were performed (see Pollak *et al.* 2011 for details). Thematically, the quantitative content analysis on the basis of explicit vocabulary revealed that the news of the crisis falls into four categories: the political impasse, physical violence, mediation and peace. In the whole corpus 63% of the press coverage was about the political problems, 71% about violence, 31% about mediation and the search for peace was covered in 40% of the articles. Table 2 shows how much attention is paid to these four themes in the different newspapers.

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[2] See *e.g.* recent census reports at http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/taxonomy/index.html?nscl=People+and+Places [22/12/2012] and http://www.census.gov/people/ [22/12/2012] or studies, such as Coleman 2010 or Shresta & Heisler 2011.

	Political impasse	Violence	Mediation	Peace
Independent	70	82	26	29
Times	52	82	17	31
New York Times	80	88	17	44
Washington Post	72	82	21	25
Nation	63	73	35	46
Standard	60	62	36	43

Table 2: Topical overview of the major themes covered (in %).

This table shows that violence was the most prominent theme overall, but there is a marked difference between the Kenyan newspapers and the foreign press. The British and American newspapers gave more attention to violence than the local newspapers did, which focused markedly more on the topics of mediation and peace.

Socio-political context of the news events

Since interpretation relies on context (Gumperz 1982), a brief socio-political sketch of the reported events is useful. In spite of its reputation as a tourist safe haven, Kenya faces multiple problems including poverty, unemployment, drought through climate change and unequal distribution of economic and natural resources. Such problems regularly cause tensions between individuals or whole communities. At election times tensions tend to rise, because Kenyan society is easily polarized by politics. Politics is lucrative business in Kenya, where the state dominates the distribution of power and resources. Consequently, political parties are seldom based on ideology, rather on social cleavages, as numerous politicians "are not motivated by party principles or constructive policy commitments", but instead "are more concerned with the quest for raw power, perceived as attainable by relying on the ethnic card" (Oloo 2007: 111).

In the build-up to the General Election of 27 December 2007 the Kenyan electorate was ethnically polarized. This can partly be explained by developments previous to the elections. Mwai Kibaki, who belongs to the Kikuyu ethnic group, won the elections in 2002 thanks to support of Raila Odinga, who became his main challenger in the 2007 election. When the president reneged on his promise to make him prime minister and neglected the constitutional reform process, Odinga left the government in 2005 to found the Orange Democratic Movement. Through the subsequent reshuffle the cabinet, which had already been weakened by major corruption scandals, lost its ethnic diversity. Consequently it came to be perceived as an organ of cronyism (Ogola 2009). While ODM presented itself as a coalition of minority tribes and promised an equal distribution of wealth by an ethnically-mixed, corruption-free government in a federal state, Kibaki not only personally installed five new judges to the Court of Appeal, but also appointed 19 of the 22 commissioners of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), which was interpreted as "a means through which he would use state institutions to stay in power" (Ogola 2009: 61).

Election day saw a voter turnout of 72%. Official reports describe the largely peaceful voting process as free, fair and transparent.[3] Contrary to the civic and parliamentary

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[3] Among others, the final report of the European Union Election Observer Mission, the report of the fact-finding mission by the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights and the final report from the

results, which indicated that the people had opted for change by voting for novices or underdogs, irrespective of their party or ethnicity, the presidential results kept everyone waiting. As the ECK lost control of the tallying process, anxiety grew and rumours of rigging spread. Odinga seemed to be winning, but his lead suddenly vanished overnight, so that protests and conflicts broke out between party members and ECK officials. Most disputes revolved around a fraudulent augmentation of votes (see the research reports mentioned in footnote 2). Despite an incomplete vote tally, ECK chairman Samuel Kivuitu declared on Sunday 30 December 2007 that Mwai Kibaki of PNU had won the presidential election with 4,584000 votes against Raila Odinga of ODM, who would have obtained 4,352000 votes. Different domestic and international observer groups branded the presidential elections as deeply flawed. The election observers of the European Union concluded that these elections "leave a legacy of uncertainty as to who was actually elected as President by the Kenyan people", resulting in "an unprecedented situation in the country characterised by deep ethnic rifts and civil unrest as well as a political stand-off" (EU EOM 2008: 37). This outcome immediately triggered mass demonstrations by opposition supporters, but also rioting by degenerated youths, looting by criminal gangs and excessive use of force by the police in response. Most outrages took place in and around the slums or settlement schemes with plural populations. This already hints at the importance of the specific locality and the socio-economic aspects of the various forms of violence during the crisis.

Eventually, it took a lot of (inter)national pressure and mediation to resolve the political stalemate and end the societal crisis. On 28 February 2008 chief mediator Kofi Annan brokered a power-sharing deal, resulting in a government of National Unity. A total of 40 ministers, equally taken from ODM and PNU, were sworn in on 17 April 2008, when president Mwai Kibaki's cabinet finally became operative with Raila Odinga as prime minister. Up to 1,200 Kenyans died as a direct consequence of the post-election crisis and more than 300,000 were 'internally displaced'.

Theory cum methodology: discourse analysis and ethnography

News as discourse from a linguistic-pragmatic perspective

Linguistic pragmatics can be generally defined as the study of how language is used to generate meanings and fulfill specific functions in concrete contexts (*e.g.* Cummings 2005, Huang 2007, Levinson 1983). Simply put, it is "the study of meaning in relation to the context in which a person is speaking or writing" (Paltridge 2006: 53). In this research, linguistic pragmatics is conceptualized as a way of looking at language and meaning in relation to social, cognitive and cultural aspects of the communicative context in order to gain insights into how language functions in society.

From this perspective news is regarded as discourse and discourse can be defined in terms of language use. Discourse as language use is understood as:

> "a process of interactive meaning generation employing as its tool a set of production and interpretation choices from a variable and varying range of options, made in a negotiable manner, inter-adapting with communicative needs, and making full use of the reflexivity of the human mind" (Verschueren 2008: 14).

Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, from which the figure of the voter turnout is taken.

This implies that the use of language, for instance to create a newspaper article, is a kind of social practice that is interactively achieved between producer and interpreter. The interactivity also pertains to the purposiveness and direction of discourse. News discourse is always produced with an audience in mind to achieve certain effects.

To link these theoretical points to the view of news as the result of choice-making, expressed in the introduction, journalists as well as their readers constantly make choices (consciously and unconsciously) in the recursive processes of discourse production and interpretation, which are characterized by *variability*, *negotiability* and *adaptability* (Verschueren 1999: 59-61). Variability refers to the wide range of possibilities to capture real-life events in discourse. From various options, the journalist of the article 'Tribal rage tears at diverse Kenyan city' chose to describe the events in Nairobi's slums as *tribal rage*. Possible alternatives could have been *poll violence* or *political violence*, as in the corresponding reports in IN and ST (cf. Introduction). Whether she intended to express that 'tribe' was the driving force behind the violence or that some people whose primary identification is tribal membership were enraged with each other, the meanings invoked in the article are negotiated between writer and reader. Some readers can be offended, while others will take the label of tribal rage for granted. Indeed, a reader nicknamed 'forjarigirlonly' heavily reacted: "PLEASE, STOP CALLING IT TRIBAL WAR, TRIBAL RAGE, because it is not", whereas another reader, designated as 'the stormy present', disagreed concluding that "the "frame" that this is tribal violence is not inaccurate".[4] Meanings are neither stable nor fixed, *i.e.* neither production nor interpretation choices are made mechanically according to fixed form-function relationships. The word *tribe* does not automatically and invariably have a pejorative connotation. In fact, for many Kenyans it is part of their identity and several of my informants told me that this word is mainly used in newspapers in positive contexts (*e.g.* cultural festivities, see 5.2). Ultimately journalists adapt their language use to the (idealized) reader by rooting their writings into a presumably shared, accessible frame of interpretation.

As said in the introduction, the making of news as a discursive construction of social reality can be considered an ideological practice. Ideology is an intricate concept. In critical social theory it is often defined as meaning in the service of power (Crossley 2005, Thompson 1995). Similarly, several critical discourse analysts assume that "representations in media texts […] function ideologically in so far as they contribute to reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation" (Fairclough 1995: 44). However, ideology is not restricted to asymmetrical power relations, it applies to all relations in the public sphere. In journalism, ideology pertains to how events in the world are entextualized and interpreted. Hence, I prefer a broad definition of ideology as "any constellation of fundamental or commonsensical, and often normative, beliefs and ideas related to some aspect(s) of (social) 'reality'" (Verschueren 1999: 238). In this research, ideology is associated with underlying patterns of meaning, frames of interpretation and worldviews. It is about journalists making sense of complex situations and offering interpretations to the readers. Note that my notion of interpretive frame or frame of meaning is close to Entman's (2010) view of news frames.

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[4] See http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/01/02/AR2008010202971_Comments.html [28/06/2010].

Ethnographically-supported discourse analysis

To study *what* meanings were constructed in the newspaper discourse and *why* certain linguistic expressions were used, a combined methodology is employed.[5] It involves three basic actions: a quantitative study of the news content (*cf.* 2.1), a qualitative analysis of the news discourse and ethnographic fieldwork. In linguistic terms, the research focused on three levels: a lexical level of keywords, a discursive level of representational strategies and a pragmatic level of contextualization.

The discourse analysis is for the purposes of this paper restricted to an analysis of the representation of the main social actors in the news, *viz*. the political leaders Kibaki and Odinga as well as perpetrators and victims of violence. From Van Leeuwen's (2008) toolkit a set of analytical categories was selected (see figure 2).
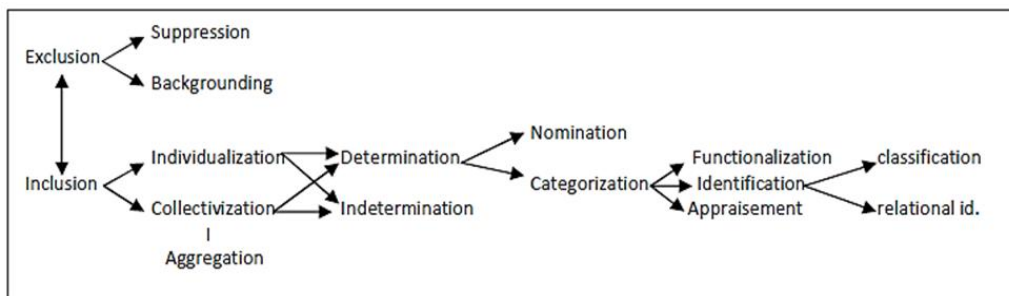
Figure 2: Analytical categories for the representation of social actors.

The representational strategies schematized in figure 2 can be explained by means of the comparable newspaper extracts (1) and (2):

> Kenya is one of the most developed countries in Africa, but this election has exposed its ugly tribal underbelly. Mr. Odinga is a Luo, a big tribe in Kenya that feels marginalized from the country's Kikuyu elite that has dominated business and politics since independence in 1963. Mr. Kibaki is a Kikuyu, and the voting so far has split straight down tribal lines, with each candidate winning big in his tribal homeland. On Saturday, the first signs of a tribal war flared up in Nairobi, with Luo gangs sweeping into a shantytown called Mathare and stoning several Kikuyu residents. In Kibera, another huge slum, supporters of Mr. Odinga burnt down kiosks that they said belonged to Kikuyu businessmen.
> (NYT_Riots batter Kenya as rivals declare victory_30/12/2007)

> In another development, tension gripped most parts of Nairobi's Kamukunji and Embakasi constituencies as youths lit bonfires and engaged police in running battles. The skirmishes at Kayole and Makongeni started in the evening as the youths demanded an immediate release of the presidential poll results. The youths who chanted slogans in praise of ODM presidential candidate Raila Odinga, blew whistles and removed people from their houses, claiming that they were enraged by what they termed the Electoral Commission's failure to release the results.[…] Two people were killed, several others wounded and property worth millions of shillings destroyed during violent protests across the country over delay in release of presidential poll results.

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[5] A more elaborate version of the methodology and more research results can be found in Coesemans (2012).

(DN_Death and injuries as outcome anxiety takes its toll across the country_30/12/2007)

To begin with, social actors can be included or excluded. When they are *excluded*, they are either *suppressed*, which means that they are fully absent from the news text, or they are *backgrounded*, *i.e.* they are not mentioned but can be inferred from text, context or background knowledge. In (1) two of Kenya's communities are mentioned, Luo and Kikuyu, while the others are suppressed (though several of them played a role in the conflicts). The different ethnic communities are backgrounded in (2) through the deliberate avoidance of explicit references to ethnicity, but they can be inferred by most Kenyan readers from the toponyms and their world knowledge.

When the social actors are *included*, they can be represented as distinct individuals or they can be referred to as groups and this can be done in an unspecified, anonymous manner or by means of specific reference. Hence the contrasting categories of *individualization versus collectivization* and *indetermination versus determination*. In (1) Odinga and Kibaki are individualized and determinate. The *Luo gangs* or *Kikuyu businessmen* are examples of collectivizations, which are specified, thus determinate, while the *youths* or the *people* removed from their houses in (2) are indeterminate collectivizations. A special case of collectivization is *aggregation* when social actors are quantified as in *two people* in (2).

In the case of determination a further distinction can be drawn between *nomination* and *categorization*. Social actors can be represented in terms of their unique identity or in terms of identities and functions they share with others. Nomination is typically realized by proper names. Van Leeuwen (2008) distinguishes three kinds of categorization: *functionalization*, *appraisement* and *identification*. The latter is subdivided into *classification* and *relational identification*. Functionalization refers to the representation of social actors in terms of something they do, an occupation or role in society, exemplified by Odinga's representation as *ODM presidential candidate* in (2). When the social actors are represented in evaluative terms, this is called appraisement. In (1), for instance, *gangs* has a negative connotation, while *residents* has a neutral to positive connotation. Identification means that the social actors are defined by what they more or less permanently or unavoidably are. The representations of Odinga as *a Luo* and Kibaki as *a Kikuyu* are examples of (ethnic) classification. That is the representation of social actors in terms of the categories by which a society differentiates between groups of people, such as age, gender, ethnicity, and so on. Identification based on personal, kinship or work relations is termed relational identification. The phrase *supporters of Mr. Odinga* in (1) is an example. It is clear that the same linguistic expression can have different representational functions.

Such qualitative analyses do not suffice to understand the news discourse. In order to investigate why different representational strategies were used, an ethnographic component was incorporated into the research. Here ethnography is not understood as "the scientific description of nations or races of men, with their customs, habits, and points of difference" (*Oxford English Dictionary*), rather:

> "Ethnography means recording the life of a particular group and thus entails sustained participation and observation in their milieu, community, or social world. It means more than participant observation alone because an ethnographic study covers the round of life occurring within the given milieu(x) and often includes supplementary

data from documents, diagrams, maps, photographs, and, occasionally, formal interviews and questionnaires" (Charmaz 2006: 21).

In my view, ethnography is not just participant observation, but also conversation and rich information gathering via all kinds of documents from the field (*cf.* Knoblauch's 2005 notion of 'focused ethnography'). Furthermore, ethnography "is not a method of writing in which the observer assumes *one* perspective – whether 'distant' or 'near' – but a style in which the researcher establishes a dialogue between different viewpoints and voices" (Duranti 1997: 87). That is why ethnographic information can be used to triangulate analytical results.

In the context of journalism studies Philo (2007) rightly remarked that purely text-based analyses cannot fully explain the content of news nor journalists' discursive practice. Ethnographic fieldwork is useful for discourse analysis, because "[e]thnography sets out to learn meaning and contexts which lie outside the concepts and habits of prior experience, to construct and test representations of new knowledge" (Agar 1995: 583). My ethnographic work consisted of visits to editorial offices, observations at newsrooms, the collection and study of policy documents or editorial guidelines, and interviews with Kenyan journalists as well as foreign correspondents based in Nairobi. This information was used to gain an insight into the contexts of news production, to include newsworkers' perspectives and so to support, refine or reject certain discourse-analytical interpretations.

Analyses and discussion: Representation, meaning and contextual factors

Representation of social actors and frames of meaning
There is a striking difference in how the crisis and the violence is covered in the international as opposed to the national press. Both the American/British and the Kenyan newspapers frame the crisis alternately as a (post-)election crisis, a political crisis or a humanitarian crisis. However, the foreign press usually links these framings to a framing of Kenya's crisis as a crisis of social integration and communal coexistence, *i.e.* "a crisis that has pitted ethnic groups against one another" (NYT_Kenyan opposition calls for new rally and sanctions_12/01/2008) in a country where the people "transformed so quickly from ethnically integrated neighbors into tribal warriors" (WP_Tribal rage tears at diverse Kenyan city_03/01/2008), or as a crisis that could "spread into a larger ethnic conflict between Luo, who generally support Mr Odinga, and the Kikuyu tribe of Mr Kibaki" (TI_135 dead in election bloodbath_01/01/2008). The American and British newspapers wrote substantially more about *ethnic fighting*, *tribal war* or even *genocide*, as compared to the Kenyan press which spoke of *poll-related violence*, *political violence* or used euphemistic labels, such as *skirmishes* or *protests*.

That different frames of interpretation are employed also follows from the analysis of the representation of the main social actors. The two politicians, Kibaki and Odinga, share nomination and individualization as basic representation. But their representation differs when it comes to functionalization and classification. In the Kenyan press, both politicians are frequently functionalized by means of their current political occupation (*e.g.* Odinga as ODM presidential candidate, ODM leader or Prime Minister designate; Kibaki as incumbent president, PNU candidate or head of state). They are never explicitly classified by means of their ethnicity. See examples (3) and (4):

> ODM Presidential candidate Mr Raila Odinga called a press conference on Sunday morning demanding the ECK to conduct a national audit and recount of the votes. Raila said the process of releasing results so far was a "fraud" and ECK had "doctored the results" in favour of incumbent president and Party of National Unity candidate, Mwai Kibaki.
> (ST_Raila calls for vote recount_31/12/2007)

> Others on hand to receive the Head of State were Vice-President Kalonzo Musyoka and ODM leader and Prime Minister designate Raila Odinga.
> (DN_Leaders unite as they usher in 10th House_07/03/2008)

In contrast, the American and British newspapers tend to introduce Kibaki and Odinga by reference to their ethnicity. Compare examples (3) and (4) to (5) and (6):

> The contest pits the incumbent, Mwai Kibaki, a man who has a reputation as a courtly gentleman and economics whiz but also as a tribal politician, against Raila Odinga, a rich, flamboyant businessman who rides around in a bright red $100,000 Hummer and is running as a champion of the poor.
> (NYT_Kenyans Vote in Test of Democracy_28/12/2007)

> In the capital, ethnic tensions flared in some areas. In the sprawling warren of tin shacks and dirt paths called Kibera, an Odinga stronghold, a cluster of young men from Kibaki's ethnic group, the Kikuyu, guarded a road with machetes. The men demanded to see the national identity cards of those passing, searching each one for names from Odinga's ethnic group, the Luo, according to witnesses.
> (WP_Delays in Kenya's vote count touch off unrest nationwide_30/12/2007)

In the international press ethnic classification is the most common representational strategy. When the political actors are functionalized, they are represented by means of past or other-than-political occupations (*e.g.* economics whiz referring to Kibaki's studies and previous posts as Minister of Finance; or businessman for Odinga).

Obviously, the international press mentions the politicians' ethnicity, since politics in Kenya is often an ethnic affair and most American or British readers do not know (nor can they infer) ethnic affiliation. However, it becomes problematic when ethnic classifications of Kibaki and Odinga are automatically projected to their supporters and by extension to the victims and perpetrators of violence. In that case a limited tribal frame is created and different pockets of violence with multiple factors are lumped together. Then unwarranted simplification or generalization comes about. Extracts (7) and (8) are exemplary:

> With the president, Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu and Mr. Odinga, a Luo, the election seems to have tapped into an atavistic vein of tribal tension that always lay beneath the surface in Kenya but until now had not provoked widespread mayhem.
> (NYT_Disputed vote plunges Kenya into bloodshed_31/12/2007)

> Kenya edged closer to tribal warfare last night […]. More than 200 people, mainly Kikuyus, the same tribe as President Mwai Kibaki, were sheltering for safety in the Kenya Assemblies of God church five miles outside Eldoret in the Rift Valley. An armed gang of young men drawn from the Kalenjin, Luhya and Luo tribes which backed the beaten presidential candidate Raila Odinga stormed the church compound yesterday morning and set it alight.

(IN_80 children massacred in Kenyan church_02/01/2008)

Even in conflicts, as described in (8) where ethnic aspects clearly played a role, the Kenyan press avoided references to ethnicity. They did not specify victims or perpetrators of violence, but used strategies of aggregation (*e.g.* 35 people) or indeterminate collectivization (*e.g.* women and children, more than 200 youths). See (9):

> At least <u>35 people</u>, most of them <u>women and children</u>, died yesterday in Eldoret in the most bizarre killing yet in the ongoing post-election violence. They were killed when <u>more than 200 youths</u> burnt down a church where residents of two villages in Eldoret South constituency had sought refuge.
> (DN_Raid on church leaves 35 dead as chaos spreads_02/01/2008)

Instead of focusing on the ethnic aspects of the violence, the Kenyan newspapers frequently pointed to other underlying factors, such as unemployment, poverty, economic competition or land issues as in (10):

> Many North Rift residents say the protests against the presidential results were just a cover up as <u>the key underlying factor was the land issue</u>.
> (DN_The land factor in violence that has rocked North Rift_05/01/2008)

Thus, two general frames of meaning can be distinguished: an ethnic frame in the international media and a socio-political frame in the local press.

Journalistic voices and contextual explanations

With respect to the above frames of meaning it is important to note that they are dynamic and that they are dominant, though not exclusive. That means that the Kenyan media also occasionally wrote about ethnic conflicts, while some foreign press reports touch upon socio-economic factors of Kenya's crisis. Gradually, when the events unfolded and journalists learned more, they came loose from their default descriptions and started to illuminate different perspectives.

One final question with an ethical flavour remains: Why did foreign correspondents often focus on tribalism, while the Kenyan reporters shied away from explicit references to ethnicity? That is, how can the discovered differences of language use be accounted for? Ethnographic fieldwork, and in particular conversations with the news producers, offer a few partial explanations. Three explanations will be concisely rendered here: political, social-moral, and pragmatic.

A first contextual factor concerns the editorial policy. The Kenyan media are cautious with ethnic labels. The *Nation Stylebook*, for instance, stipulates: "Do not describe a person's race, tribe or ethnicity unless it is relevant to the story". However, the same general guideline holds for the international newspapers. *New York Times* standards editor Corbett says that journalists can "mention race or ethnicity if and only if it's pertinent to the story". Yet, in volatile times of elections, the Kenyan media are stricter. As *The Nation*'s chief news editor Shimoli told me the policy was not to write about tribes in contexts of conflict and politics.[6] Nevertheless, Kenyan journalists did clearly locate the conflicts, so that people could infer. As *The Standard*'s chief news editor Agina confirmed, "if you say a certain region, it's automatic to Kenyans to know that those guys who live in that area are such and such".[7] Such inferences

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[6] Personal interview on 6 May 2011.
[7] Personal interview on 22 November 2008.

cannot be expected from readers in the UK or the US, so that the foreign correspondents had to be more explicit on that matter. Another political factor is governmental politics. When the Kenyan government imposed a ban on the media to cover events that might destabilize the nation, a lot of Kenyan journalists applied self-censorship. The foreign correspondents were less politically restricted.

This brings us to the next contextual factor. Most Kenyan journalists that I interviewed agreed that they could not openly write about ethnic aspects in fear of inflaming tensions elsewhere in the country. Instead, they often opted for a kind of peace journalism. Mugonyi, a political reporter at *The Nation*, put it this way: [8]

> "We try as much as possible not to say this tribe is killing that tribe for the simple reason that…when, for example, you write a story and say Luos yesterday killed 100 Kikuyus, we believe that Kikuyus in different parts of the country, who read this story tomorrow will retaliate and maybe they will want to kill 100 Luos. So we will not be helping the public, we will not be helping solving the problem and that is why we try to be careful, just say maybe 100 people were killed in this place".

This was also the ethical line of *The Standard*. Political reporter Ndegwa confirmed that it was a rule during the post-election crisis to avoid tribal tags.[9] The foreign correspondents too felt they had a social responsibility. As *Times* correspondent Clayton explained they had the responsibility to be blatant and revelatory, adding that "it would have been a case of allowing an external politically correct western agenda to influence the reporting of facts on the ground, simply because it is not palatable to hear certain facts".[10] Most foreign correspondents stressed that they could not but interpret the events as "a cut and dry tribal conflict", as *New York Times* correspondent Gettleman put it.[11] But then a lot of other meaningful aspects of the events are lost.

Several foreign corresponds realize this, yet keep using ethnic vocabulary for pragmatic reasons. Freelance journalist Tristan McConnell clarified:

> "The more time you spend here the more difficult it is to ignore the organising role that tribe plays. To ignore it is to do a disservice to your reader. Now, where the problems comes up is: Call it what you like ethnic group bla bla bla, it's tribe we're talking about and the problem is that as soon as you use that word all other nuances are thrown out of the window. So, tribe is one organising principle in society and in the conflicts that arise around here. But it's only one, one of a number of different organising principles that are at play. Others are social status, religion, poverty and the wealth gap."

McConnell admits that the use of ethnic labels downplays other important aspects, but he adds that *tribe* and its derivatives are useful journalistic words, because they attract the attention of the reader, they allow journalists to capture complex events in just a few words and are readily available in people's frame of reference about conflict in Africa.

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[8] Personal interview on 20 November 2008.
[9] Personal interview on 18 May 2011.
[10] Personal correspondence in February 2012.
[11] Personal interview on 20 May 2011.

Conclusion

Now the debate is open. The ethical question of how journalists should deal with conflicts in plural contexts and multi-ethnic societies with multicultural global audiences deserves critical reflection. In this paper international and national news discourse about Kenya's post-election crisis was analyzed from a linguistic-pragmatic perspective, using a mixed methodology of quantitative content analysis, qualitative discourse analysis and ethnographic fieldwork. News was theorized as a discursive choice-making practice with ideological aspects, as journalists have the power to influence how readers understand events in the world. Two frames of meaning were identified: an ethnic frame in the American and British press; and a socio-political frame in the Kenyan coverage. The discursive differences could be partly explained by contextual factors and insights from the newsrooms. Both the Kenyan journalists and the foreign correspondents that were interviewed offered legitimate reasons for the language they used. The Kenyan newspapers contained few references to ethnicity because of policy, political context and because the newsworkers believed that they would inflame tensions. Foreign correspondents made frequent use of ethnic language, because they deemed it relevant for their audiences and acknowledged the explanatory force of such terms both from a journalistic and reader perspective, although they often only saw what was happening at the surface level. Both local and foreign journalists struggled with ethical issues to uphold social responsibility.

My stance is that *The Independent* and *The Times*, the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* rightly reported on the ethnic aspects of certain conflicts, although they sometimes fell into the trap of generalization and simplification, lumping together a series of different, multifactorial conflicts, ignoring social, economic and historical factors. *The Nation* and *The Standard* clearly addressed these factors, but they could have been more explicit about certain ethnic issues, because they did not help healing the society by sweeping this factor under the carpet. Instead of leaving the ethnic aspect implicit, the Kenyan press could have stimulated open debate about all of the ills (ethnic, social, political, economic, …) that were plaguing the country. To end, the research here reported is part of a larger project (see Coesemans 2012). This small-scale paper did not go into the previous history of the coverage and the events, economic explanations of the news discourse or personal (sometimes traumatic) experiences of the journalists, and many other things. So, there is still a lot to investigate and report on.

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Turkish media under scope: Peace journalism and reporting the conflicts

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Abstract:
The approach regarding the possibility of doing news stories which will contribute to human rights, democracy, equality and peace has created a new journalism and news producing style which is different than traditional news coverage. This new manner of news producing has been referencing the power of the media in building the daily agenda, creating the representation of the minorities and ethnicities and in their power in finding solution to the social and political conflicts. Therefore this new process of news production has been named as *reporting of rights, citizen* and *public journalism* and *peace journalism*. In this regard the new mode of news reporting has focused on the discriminations, impartiality and has endeavoured to cover those who are not represented in the mainstream media well enough such as minorities and those who are ignored by the media although their rights are violated and who are usually are subject of socio-political pressures.

In this regard my paper aims to examine the connection between news discourse of Turkish journalism and the representation of human rights and democratisation in Turkey on the basis of Kurdish Issue and the power of news production in managing the conflicts in Turkey.

Key words: Peace journalism; sociology of news; news, news sources and news production; press freedoms; media ownership and pluralism; news, politics and militarism; human rights; minority media; democracy; ethics.

Introduction

The main task of the media is to inform society about recent events in a fast, objective, accurate and trustworthy manner as much as possible. The journalists, while covering the news stories, must consider the common good and the basic journalism criteria. They should ask questions from different perspectives; should not rely on single-sided news and should go to all locations affecting the news story to find out the reality about the newly occurred event. However, can the media members do this when they cover a sensitive topic? For instance have the media ever questioned their positions while covering an ethnic and democratic problem?

The media disseminate information and opinions about the minority groups and the events regarding them. Furthermore the media also creates an ideological circle which eases and helps to legitimize prejudice and discrimination against the minority groups in society. These discourses of ethnic intolerance and racist dogmas are developed by various mass communication tools and they are affirmed by the elite groups who control the capital and the political atmosphere. This reality applies to Turkey as well since the nationalist and racist discourses, which strengthen and

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justify the inequity against marginal groups, are also under control of "hegemonic" powers.

The Kurdish Problem in Turkey is nowadays a big issue in the public and social sphere which the media is completely busy with and which Turkish and Kurdish society are expecting a solution to within a democratic context. Last year we saw the government trying to overcome the problem by declaring a package of new policies. However, the interesting point here is that although at first the government named this attempt as a *"Kurdish Initiative"*, it later changed the name to *"Democratic Expansion"* and the name "Kurd" was dropped from the declaration title.

These changes may be commented on in two different approaches in terms of the Kurdish Problem. The first one is an optimistic view which states that the Turkish authorities are now aware of the long-ignored Kurdish Issue and accept that the Kurdish people faced democratic problems for decades and struggled to keep their existence despite of the "assimilation policies". Thus the Turkish state gave the name "Democratic Expansion" to allow the Kurds to regain democratic rights. However, the second approach is rather a pessimistic one which indicates that, although the authorities are trying to resolve this conflict, they are still not dealing well with the "Kurd" concept and have thus removed reference to this contentious issue from their democratic agenda.

Turkey has a complicated agenda which the journalists and the media as a whole sometimes have difficulty to follow. Predominantly the debates around the Kurdish Issue have a very fast circulation and subject to change just after a second. Therefore the positive atmosphere and the hopes that the decades-long conflict would have an end, nowadays have given way to a new and pessimistic atmosphere both because the government had a nationalist discourse before the recent general elections and because the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party, described as a terrorist organization by the Turkish officials and the mainstream Turkish media) have restarted their armed protests.

Of course both in ending the conflict and maintaining it, the media has an important role along with the social and political solution methods for the Kurdish Problem. Hence it is very important to research how the Turkish media has tackled the issue: What kind of language has the media used? Has the Turkish media ignored the problem or tried to reveal it? How do the Turkish media cover an issue related to democracy? Where does the Kurdish Problem interact with media and democracy relations? Has the media used a supportive tone to overcome the problem or used a functionless tone that on the contrary increased the difficulty of solving the problem? Has the media just behaved as the "state representative" or really did provide civic journalism? Was the "Kurdish Problem" an arena for state authorities, such as the police and army, to justify or legitimize their illegal implementations? Did the media help these authorities to make people believe in their policies?

These questions are the ones which our project will try to answer at the end. However, since the Kurdish conflict gained visibility in the 1980s, the mainstream Turkish media created important perceptions about the Kurdish conflict, the Kurds, political life of Kurdish people and their representability in the Turkish Parliament. Nevertheless these perceptions did not help the conflict to come an end but served to extend it as the media usually related the Kurdish Issue with terrorism and violence, structured the conflict around terror, separatism and backwardness and fed

nationalism with the hegemonic state discourses which pushed the Kurds out of the public sphere. In this sense, the Turkish media through using the "war journalism" but not "peace journalism" and blaming anyone who talks of Kurdish rights as "separatists" and "terrorists is", widened the Kurdish Problem to a great conflict and thus deepening its deadlock.

Interestingly as soon as the government in 2009 declared that they would begin a new initiative to end the Kurdish conflict, the media also changed its language and for the first time renamed the issue as the "Kurdish Problem". As matter of fact this stance itself tells us a lot about the media and democracy relation in Turkey. Will the media change its new attitude and go back to the years that they blamed every Kurdish rights defender as a terrorist and a separatist? Will they again ignore the democratic problems related to the Kurdish language, culture and the life of the Kurds?

In fact we already got the answers to these simple questions. The political elections in recent years divided Turkish society through the nationalist discourses presented by the political party leaders to increase their votes. Therefore the mainstream media altered its approach and preferred to cover the Kurdish Issue as a terrorism problem which could be ended via security implementations. The propaganda-based news coverage of recent Kurdish "terrorist" activities has shown that not much has changed in the media-democracy relation.

The Turkish media somehow avoided to describe the Kurdish Problem as the 'struggle for rights' but rather as an 'economic and tribal problem'. Even after the democratic expansion policies the media kept on airing videos or covering news which emphasized the economic backwardness of the Kurdish population in Turkey. While doing that, the media usually quoted from security members, police or soldiers, rather than sociologists, academicians or the regional people.

In this regard, despite recent alteration towards a more tolerant media, it still is possible to say that the Turkish media ignored the Kurdish problem and rejected it. Therefore they said that the Kurdish Problem could only be overcome through security implementations and the people should be directly integrated into the mainstream Turkish nationality. Hence the debate about the Kurdish Problem - whether it is an issue of human rights, social and political problem or it is a security and economic problem - caused Kurdish rights not to be legitimized and Kurdish politicians to face difficulties while trying to get support from the Turkish people. Here it is obvious that the media should use a more careful, reconciliatory and solutions-focused language and cover the news from each party to avoid partiality.

Research Progress
My project aims to examine the relationship between the media and democracy on the basis of the Kurdish Problem in Turkey - to question the ability of the Turkish media for covering the "sensitive" issues and thus their capability to report controversial subjects. The study investigates how the Kurdish Issue has been represented in the mainstream Turkish media over the last 20 years as the Kurdish Problem is an increasingly important political and social issue. The research will also ask broader questions about media and democracy in Turkey, as well as assess the democratic transformation of the country more generally. It will also provide an understanding to the agenda-building dynamics of Turkish news-reporting of the Kurdish issue.

The study will talk about the democratization process in Turkey after the 1980s, combining theories of democracy and communication through analyzing special events regarding the Kurdish Question of Turkey which is nowadays described as the "Kurdish/Turkish Spring" after the democratic transitions in Arab countries. Whilst the study will look at how the media is successful in representing 'the other', it will at the same time ask more general questions about: the connection between media, society and politics during democratic change in Turkey; cultural diversity and nationalism in the media, and the efficiency of media as a tool for democratic transformation under alleged political and military pressure.

Overall, this research plans to combine a detailed content analysis of the Turkish media's coverage of the Kurdish Question between 1990 and 2012 with a comprehensive analysis of the agenda-building processes that shape this coverage. For the textual analysis, the principal method in this project will be quantitative content analysis but this statistical data will also be supported by more detailed qualitative analysis of selected examples and cases; in-depth thematic analysis and critical discourse analysis. During this process, the study will especially try to demonstrate how the media tackles a democratic issue (the Kurdish Problem) when seeking freedom for itself. Furthermore the role of the media in the democratic progress in Turkey will also be handled within a broader context.

While the study will try to find out how media has handled a sensitive subject, it will also examine the link between elite perception (which can also be regarded as public approach) and the media coverage, and the political approaches that shape this reporting. Concordantly, the analysis of the political and professional factors that have combined to structure this coverage will be based on semi-structured informant interviews with politicians, academics, NGOs and media professionals.

These interviews will at the same time allow us to examine the issues related to the sociology of news such as agenda building factors of the mainstream Turkish media; media ownership in Turkey; media and government dealings; public/state broadcasting; governmental/self-censorship; the relation between the news sources and news producers within the process of news production; the nature of news coverage; legal frameworks surrounding the press and speech/expression freedoms and journalism experiences while covering the Kurdish Issue.

One of the central objectives of this study will be to assess the extent to which mainstream coverage of the Kurdish Question has changed as a consequence of broader social and political change. To develop this processual perspective, I have selected five key events which can be assumed as milestones of the Kurdish Problem in Turkey:

1. **Leyla Zana's Kurdish Discourse in the Turkish Parliament in 1991:** Leyla Zana, the first female Kurdish politician, created a scandal by speaking Kurdish in the Turkish Parliament (speaking Kurdish in a public building is a criminal offence in Turkey), as soon as she took her parliamentary oath saying "*I take this oath for the brotherhood between the Turkish people and the Kurdish people*".

2. **Arrest of PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) Leader Abdullah Ocalan in 1999:** Although the PKK leader was arrested after 20 years of fighting, the Kurdish Question remained unanswered and the debate moved into another phase.

3. **Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Speech in Diyarbakir acknowledging a "Kurdish Problem" in 2005:** This speech was described as the first "high status" speech which acknowledged a "Kurdish Problem" in Turkey very clearly.

4. **TRT 6's Opening in 2009:** Very recently, in spite of rightwing nationalist opposition, TRT 6, an official state-owned TV channel, as part of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation, started to broadcast in Kurdish just at the beginning of 2009 as a result of deep and historic debates.

5. **Uludere Airstrike in 2011: The Killing of 34 Kurdish Civilians (Roboski Massacre):** The event took place on the Iraq-Turkey border on 28th December 2011. Turkish aircrafts killed 34 Kurdish-Origin Turkish civilians, assuming they were PKK guerrillas, while they were smuggling oil and tobacco from Iraq to Turkey. One villager survived injured from the aircraft strike. Some Turkish and Kurdish media professionals and NGOs called the killings a "massacre" and claimed that it was the result of decades-long pressure on the Kurdish people. Although it is now almost a year after the event occurred, Turkish officials have not yet found the exact criminals who caused this murder and therefore the liberals and NGOs are forcing the government to find and punish those who were responsible from this violent aircraft attack on the villagers.

In order to analyze this coverage, I have decided to use five Turkish daily newspapers for analysis. While selecting the newspapers I have considered the circulation of the newspaper and ratings to avoid partiality. This selection also involved a combination of considerations regarding: geographical access as they are national newspapers; audience size since they do not all serve minority groups, and format and characteristics of the media for they have different political stances. These Newspapers are:

1. **Cumhuriyet:** This leftist paper is described as a "meeting point of Kemalist people" (a philosophic movement founded by Ataturk).

2. **Hurriyet:** The newspaper is known for its centre-right stance and is usually portrayed as the "flagship" of the Turkish media. Its motto is "Turkey belongs to Turks".

3. **Ortadogu:** A nationalist newspaper whose motto is a famous quote from Ataturk's book *Nutuk* (the Speech) and is widely used in nationalistic contexts: "*How happy is the one who says s/he is Turk*".

4. **Taraf:** The newspaper has a "liberal" stance and handles sensitive issues, such as the Kurdish Problem and military issues clearly.

5. **Zaman**: This newspaper currently has the highest circulation figures in modern-day Turkey from our sample. It is known for having "religious and conservative" attitudes.

The second part of the research will involve semi-structured and informed interviews with the political elite, academicians, NGOs and journalists to provide an understanding of the dynamics, restrictions and the pressures that lead the media to structure the Kurdish Issue and other subjects related to democratic coverage within the context of the Kurdish Problem. These interviews will provide us with political understanding of the conditions that has led to the creation of the Kurdish Problem agenda in the media. It will also inform our understanding of whether the approach has changed and by what degree.

These interviews will at the same time allow us to examine the news production, agenda- building factors of the mainstream Turkish media; media ownership in Turkey; media and government dealings; journalism experiences while covering the Kurdish Issue and media and democracy relations more generally in Turkey.

Through these elite interviews the study will explore the role of media in the Turkish democratization; the preferences for political information consumption; the links

between media, society and governments during democratic transitions of power; and the effectiveness of media as a tool for democratic socialization amidst political pressures. My project will also combine theories of democratization and communication. The research on the other hand is taking our theoretical and/or empirical knowledge forward about the function and role of the media in, and/or contributes to our understanding of the dynamics that helps or slow down Turkish democratization.

In this regard my PhD thesis at the same time aims to answer the following:
- How do the media and democracy interrelate in Turkey?
- Is the government influence on the media increasing, decreasing or staying the same?
- Do the legal frameworks protect or restrict journalists?
- Are national security concerns used as grounds to curb press freedom?
- How well do the mainstream media deal with issues of cultural diversity?
- How may state ideologies and transitions of powers affect the news media coverage of the sensitive issues?
- How do political tendency influence the media's role of handling the opposition approach?
- To what extent is transformation in media pluralism shaped by country's political formation?
- Do alterations in media environments in Turkey favour democratization?
- What are the limitations of improved freedom of speech and democratization on media professionals and policy makers?
- How does the character of journalism and of journalistic experience change in an intermediary situation?
- Are unbiased media really a requirement for successful democratization?
- How can the media interact with other democratizing dynamics in order to sustain democratization?

Methodology
Elite Interviews
Elite interviews allow us to analyze political and democratic developments, the changes in perceptions, the reasons of the cultural, ethnic and media conflicts and the obstacles in front of the solutions at the highest level. The interviews will also allow us to realize original parts of information and debates surrounding the subject we study; to find answers for different questions we had before; to close the gaps of a wide area of conflict; to confirm or deny the attitude we had before and to restructure our main focus of study.

Media members or journalists play a key role in constructing the news and deciding the daily agenda. Especially as the "media view" is somehow shaped by journalists, this study will concern the effect of journalism along with the critical analysis of the symbolic world of media output (Deacon and Golding, 1994). Journalists do not just report the news but also create it. While creating the news they draw on their daily interactions with policy makers (Schudson, 2003), NGOs and pressure groups – what journalists call 'sources'.

"Studies of sociology of news tend to view news-making as a reality constructing activity governed by the elites" (Schudson, 2003). Mass media here plays the role of intermediaries between society and the politicians/news sources. Therefore it is

possible to say that news is produced by a group of organizations and elites who want to shape the social interest (Machin and Niblock, 2006). At this point it is crucial to perform "elite interviews" with journalists/media members, NGOs and politicians so as to understand agenda building about the Kurdish Issue in Turkey.

For elite interviews I have interviewed 51 elites in Turkey. Again in order to reach objectivity, I have selected different political parties. These parties are in parliament now and are especially suitable for the research as they represent different specific ideologies. The party in power AKP (Justice and Development Party) is conservative, the main opposition party CHP (Republic People's Party) is social democrat/secular, MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) is Turkish Nationalist and BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) is the only Kurdish Party in the National Turkish Assembly and HSP (Voice of People Party) which has a religious background and does not have seats in the national assembly. While deciding NGOs, academics and journalists, I have chosen them for their different ideologies as well.

In this sense the interviewees have been categorized into 4 groups. Each category contained different numbers of interviewees according to impartiality satisfaction approach which are very important in getting their opinions to understand media and democracy relations and the Kurdish Issue. The categories are as below:

a. **Media Professionals**: Journalists, broadcasters, TV/radio presenters and columnists.
b. **Political Elites**: Both for Media and Democracy Relation and the Kurdish Issue they are the most important ones who have something to say. Moreover as there are "government controlled media" debates in Turkey it will give us a prominent answer for what we are looking for.
c. **Academicians:** When the Turkish government planned to start a Kurdish Initiative in Turkey, it first had a meeting with the academics who had a critical approach and who believed in a democratic solution for Kurds. In this regard, the academic approach will help us to understand the intellectual background of the media and democracy relation and will give us a detailed understanding of the Kurdish Issue.
d. **NGOs:** The existence of NGOs and their activity are themselves signs of democracy. In this context they will also point out important issues. Furthermore during "democratic initiatives" some singers and actors acted with the NGOs. This also caused the government to hold meetings with them in order to gain help from them to persuade people.

I have interviewed these groups asking them open-ended questions. Before I conducted the interviews I envisaged approximately sixty interviews. However, as the examiners in my panel exam last year advised me to reduce the interviewee numbers (since it could be difficult and because the elites I interviewed by no means were already the representatives of a wide range of policies and that these interviews have already resulted in appropriate data), I decided to conduct 52 interviews. Nonetheless 3 of the pre-determined interviewees refused to talk to me although they had given a probable approval before I went to Turkey.

Through my interviews I tried to stick to the interview questions below; but as the interview tradition or form changed according to the prejudices of the interviewees and as it is difficult to go to an interviewee with specific questions about a sensitive issue, I sometimes faced difficulties to ask the same questions to some interviewees as I was aware of their pre-acceptances and the reaction I might face. However, at

the end I used to see that I was successful to get the answers for all my "crucial" questions.

While preparing the questions I endeavoured to:
- have different questions for each category of the interviewees according to their occupation and intellectual background;
- not to ask questions which may offend the interviewee;
- get what the interviewee thinks about the theme of the question;
- avoid the questions that I already have answers for;
- ask questions to know more and have further information which might be used for the writing-up process;
- Organize also the same questions for all the interviewees through which I can compare with the other findings from content analysis and through which I can set up the results as in the surveys.

Furthermore the questions are not the only questions I asked my elite participants. As they were semi-structured interviews, in the light of the interview process, I sometimes refined my questions and had new questions shaped in the course of the interviews. When I felt that the interviewees had a wider background and that they pulled me into a better and deeper intellectual background on the Kurdish Issue and the media-democracy relation in Turkey, I did not hesitate to ask them broader questions in order to have a stronger and clearer understanding of the subject I was studying for.

Preliminary Findings
After carefully researching interviewees to discuss media and democracy relations and the Kurdish problem in Turkey, I made a list of "elites" and experts on these issues and requested tp interview them. Before I started the interviews I was aware of the problems I could face. The interviewees could refuse, despite my explanation of the study, on the grounds that my subject was too sensitive for them for a variety of reasons.

The Kurdish Problem and the censorship within the media is still a very controversial issue insomuch that people who try to cover the subject in terms of "human rights" are still accused of being "traitors". Many are still required to leave the country by far-right groups. In addition, the intense debate about governmental pressure on the media currently taking place in Turkey means that media organizations allegedly close to the government could refuse to talk to me on the topic of media and government relations. However, I can say that I was not refused as much as I had expected.

One of the central objectives of this study will be to assess the extent to which mainstream coverage of the Kurdish question has changed as a consequence of broader social and political change with a detailed analysis of the agenda-building processes that shape this coverage. These interviews will at the same time allow us to examine the news production, agenda-building factors of the mainstream Turkish media, media ownership in Turkey, media and government relations, journalism experiences while covering the Kurdish Issue and media and democracy relations more generally in Turkey.

Therefore to be able to reach a more objective outcome I tried to conduct interviews with all media group representatives in Turkey and I was almost successful in reaching my target. In this regard, I can say that my interviews are one of the best attempts to understand the Turkish media and their surroundings. Furthermore if any kind of objection occurs against my study and statistical data, I am sure it is easy to answer this opposition as the people whom I interviewed are those who are at the top of the Turkish media organizations. It is almost impossible to state a comment without applying to those I interviewed during my fieldwork in Turkey.

It can be claimed that 51 interviews are not enough to interfere objective and scientific results regarding an issue. Here I can say that although 51 is not a high number, the elites who have been interviewed are those who cannot be ignored while studying a subject (media and democracy) about Turkey and for that reason their approaches and the statistical knowledge that have been reached analyzing their interviews are very much important to have a correct view on the Turkish media and democracy.

Among all those I applied to conduct an interview, only two media groups refused to talk to me. The first one was *Yenicag Daily* which is known as a pro-Turkish and a nationalist newspaper and I am quite sure that they did not want to talk on the Kurdish Issue because of their stance and approach on the matter. The second media group representative *(Aksam Group)* and one of the important NGOs (TUSIAD: Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association) in Turkey could not talk to me, and apologized for being very busy and unavailable despite my long and insistent attempts.

To be able to analyze the extent to which mainstream coverage of the Kurdish question has changed the media and democracy relation in Turkey and the issues related to sociology of news, it was crucial to divide the interviewees as *news producer* and *news source*.
While the news producer group includes only the media professionals, the news source group includes political representatives, academics and NGO representatives. The reason why the number of the news producers is higher than the news sources is because the media and democracy relation is the main focus of this study.

To be able to do an extensive and considerable research, in view of the objectivity criteria, I tried to ensure that all participants were from different intellectual and political backgrounds. If you live in a country like Turkey it will not be difficult for you to predict the political view or the approach of the persons whom you want to talk to beforehand. Especially if you are going to interview an "elite" person you will already have some information and predictions about them as you have seen and listened to them many times on TV programmes and read their views in newspapers. In this regard before I commenced my interviews I knew the possible approaches of the interviewees and thus tried to interview diverse backgrounds in order to have an unbiased outcome of the research.

The same selection method was applied while deciding news sources interviewees as well. The "elites" in academia, politics and the NGOs I interviewed were from different political, intellectual and economic backgrounds as well. The selection conditions of the interviewees were as below:
- to be an elite who is widely known by both the Turkish and Kurdish public

- to have specific studies (activities for NOGs) on the Kurdish Issue and media and democracy both for or against
- to have suffered from any kind of pressure while expressing her/his opinion
- to be from a different political background mentioned above
- to be known and highly debated by her/his approach about the Kurdish Issue, media- democracy and other subjects related to sociology of news.

Through this categorization of the interviewees, at the end of the analysis I will be able to know and establish the outcomes about what kind of opinions a group of elite persons has and their approaches and stances on the Kurdish Issue, governmental pressure on media (if there is so), censorship and media ownership .

During my fieldwork in Turkey, I interviewed seven political representatives from five parties. Four of these parties are currently in the Turkish parliament and are especially suitable for the research as they represent different specific ideologies. I also interviewed a party representative from a party that is not in parliament, as it was a religious party and the religious approach is quite determinant in Turkish perception. In this regard the academic sensitivity might be harmed if I did not get the religious approach to the Kurdish Problem and the media and democracy issues in Turkey.

There are two representatives from the party in power and two from the Kurdish party in the parliament, as I think they are the main contributors to the Kurdish Issue and media debates in this study in terms of political view. Thus the details of the political elites I interviewed are as follows:

1. AKP (Justice and Development Party): The party in power, conservative democrat (2)
2. CHP (Republic People's Party): The main opposition party, social democrat/secular (1)
3. MHP (Nationalist Movement Party): Turkish Nationalist, conservative (1)
4. BDP (Peace and Democracy Party): Kurdish Party in the National Turkish Assembly (2)
5. HSP (The Voice of People Party): Religious, not in parliament (1)

Apart from a few very "famous" and "elite" ones, each media professional I interviewed is from different media groups in Turkey. Almost all presumed approaches - nationalist, secular, religious, conservative, democrat, liberal, pro-Turkish and pro-Kurdish media professionals have been included. Furthermore I have tried to answer all possible questions that may form in the mind of the reader and thus I endeavoured to give all the details about interviewees in *Table 1* such as their occupation, ethnic backgrounds and gender. Therefore the outcomes which will be inferred from the interview analysis will allow us to make reliable and considerable comments on the results of the research.

Future Work

Although I have already finished elite interviews and thematically and statistically analysed them, the content analysis will be concluded in 3 months time. The content analysis in this study aims to answer the following questions:

- How is the Kurdish Issue represented in the Turkish media?
- How do the Turkish media cover an issue related to democracy?

- Where does the Kurdish Problem interact with the media-democracy relationship?
- What are the agenda-building dynamics regarding Turkish news-reporting of the Kurdish Issue?
- How has the evaluative stance of coverage changed over the years? Have newspapers become more or less hostile to the Kurdish cause?
- How has the interpretative stance changed? Do we see, for example, a shift from a news agenda fixated with military themes to one focused on civil/cultural dimensions?
- Do we see any increased evidence of improved news access for Kurdish sources in the news?

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Violent images in Mexico's war on drugs. Exploitation and right to information: a look from the Visual Peace Research perspective

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Abstract

The constant violence that happens in the Mexico's war on drugs has produced an infamous archive of images full of human disgrace which circulates freely on the media. From the Visual Peace Research perspective, this paper engages with the discussion on the ways an individual may relate to the spectator position and its implications.   The argument focuses on the process of exploitation when visual material depicting violence is produced and consumed. The availability of the material in certain Mexican media is linked with the exaltation of violence or right to information debate. Finally, the interest is to reflect the ways the Mexican society has developed own processes of relation to this conflict and its visual representation.

Key words: Mexico's war on drugs, violent visual material, exploitation, spectatorship

At dawn, a dead body hanging from a bridge located in a main street where thousands of people pass by every day is found; this situation was in the third most populated city of Mexico. The event is captured and reproduced; the visual testimony will transcend its location and spread a message. This situation is one of all kinds of shocking episodes that have been a constant reality affecting many places crucial for the criminal organizations (cartels) dedicated to drug trafficking and related criminal activities in Mexico. These cartels have been fighting each other in an extreme violent fashion to control routes, cities and regions in order to expand their dominions.

Violent acts committed day by day, one by one, the next with more brutality than the previous, and mostly all of these acts have their visual memoir. This conflict has produced an infamous graphic archive. The violent incident and its visual reproduction have consequences; collections of the absolute violence circulate in and by the media. From the front cover of local and national newspapers, to websites dedicated to all information reporting news about drug trafficking and related criminal violence, a toxic cloud of visual images on the media portraying all kinds of scenes is available for direct or indirect spectatorship.

The conflict was labelled as "war" since 2006; however, the public violence between cartels started in the early 2000´s. Therefore, its exposition on the Mexican media has been constant and at some points has taken all the public attention. Images of suffering are used by the media to create an emotional and moral reaction, they are presented to appeal, and ultimately to commercialize the image of the victims. Locally and globally, the mediated experience of suffering conveys a double risk: its

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commodification, and when the cultural representation of the disgrace is thinned out and distorted (Kleinman and Kleinman 1996:1).

Considering this grim landscape, the discussion will be addressed from the peace studies field, particularly from the visual peace research perspective. The aims of this paper are, first, to review the debate regarding the possible ways a spectator may respond when confronted with images of human pain.

Afterwards, this paper ponders the way the violent acts have been reported on this conflict and particularly, two specific cases in the Mexican media and the visual material they offer regarding this conflict is reviewed. The discussion focuses on the process of exploitation when visual material depicting violence is produced and consumed. This part deals with the availability of the visual violent material around this conflict and with the exaltation of violence or right to information debate. Issues of politicization and depoliticization are also considered in the discussion. Finally, the interest is to reflect the ways the Mexican society has developed own processes of relation to this conflict and its visual representation. As an initial effort to study this conflict from the visual peace research perspective, this paper deals with the question: which are the ways to coexist and respond to the permanent acts of violence and its visual representation? My argument considers that the permanent status and constant presence on the media, the conflict has become an entertainment, and the circulation of the media's reports on the conflict has produced some kind of commodification of the violent visual material. This situation brings the possibility to reinforce the cultural violence phenomena.

The conflict and its implications
A maze of alliances, break ups, treasons inside the drug cartels and their armed disputes against the federal security enforcement have spread the violence into many regions and cities along the country; the violence has also affected other countries in Central America or southern states in the United States, where the Mexican cartels have gained presence. This is a continental problem. The criminal acts of these organizations do not have limits, when extortion, kidnapping and trafficking of persons are also a common activities for them.

The violence related to the drug cartels in Mexico has different particularities. It is a permanent situation in many cities with a daily amount of executions, and with very specific episodes of many casualties and confrontation, and then moving to other cities.   Unfortunately, a real complicated web of interrelated problems has grown together. In the political sphere, the incapacity of the Mexican state to give effective solutions in security condemns the whole political system. The participation of politicians, high ranked members of the Mexican army and police officers with the drug cartels is a fact. The corruption of politicians and members of the law enforcement forces have weakened the institutional life. The desertion of soldiers and former police officials to join the cartels has increased the difficulty to control the violence. The legal system also suffers from the corruption and menaces from the crime organizations; impunity becomes a routine for the committed crimes. The capacity of the cartels to corrupt the political, legal and economic system in the country is one of the biggest challenges that the Mexican authorities have to face. On the social side many problems are consequences of the conflict: executed civilians, the increasing involvement of youngsters in drug trade activities as *sicarios* (hired killer), displaced people, human rights violations, and the assassination of journalist, human rights promoters, politicians and federal law enforcement forces.

In this dramatic scenario, all the violent acts have profound impact and consequences on the people that directly or indirectly have suffered insecurity or violence. The political and social spheres have been under permanent siege. In Mexico violence is measured with dead bodies. This conflict has produced thousands of casualties and the number grows day by day[2].

Ways, reasons and consequences of looking: spectatorship and visual peace research

Being a spectator of human suffering is a daring experience. The suffering of the others depicted in images demands an action from the spectator; the exercise of looking conveys a responsibility. However, responding as spectator is not an easy task. Engaged with the ways images may construct knowledge to recover a peaceful setting, the visual peace research perspective reviews different issues on the subject's own circumstance, its engagement with images, and the agency of the visual material within the social sphere.

The implications of being spectator and the ways to respond to it deserve careful attention. When Susan Sontag brings back Virginia Wolf's commitment to condemn the horrors of war using photographs as means to denounce and raise awareness about the misery and human suffering as consequence of a violent context (Sontag 2003), the experience and responsibility of looking human pain captured in a image the state of affairs seems one sided. Being a spectator of suffering[3] or disgrace should be a definitive *raison d'être* to reject the violent act and the issues involved. However, images are open to interpretations, objectivity is out of question; the visual and emotional impact of an image of pain depends on the spectator's subjectivity and the context of the image. There is a duality within the reaction and position of the viewer.

Since Sontag engaged with the relation about photography, the ethic responsibility, and the negative effects (anaesthetic) of it into the open spectatorship (Sontag 1973, 2005), diverse arguments have debated the topic. The looking-not looking dilemma surrounds our spectatorship experience, when there are two understandings in confrontation. First, the looking stance considers that being a spectator of images of human pain prolongs the victimization of the subject and it may create complicity that develops an exploitation stance. On the other hand, the not looking position also implies a problem; we are obligated morally to respond from our position of spectators. In a culture dominated by images, the individual can exert its political influence when the act of viewing is transferred to the collective sphere. Therefore, the not looking stance would diminish the political participation of the individual ((Möller 2009: 781-3). Not looking seems to facilitate the non viewer's position, but still, it may imply complicity when the images of pain have been produced on purpose as the Abu Ghraib photographs (Möller 2012: 21).

For instance, on the question regarding the agency of the images, there are arguments that condemn war photography and its potential action to aestheticize

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[2] There is a dispute between the official amount considered by the Federal Government, social organizations and the media. In the period of 2006-2012 the reports of casualties range from 45,000 to 80,000. For a report on the media see: Rafael López (2012, December 1) ´Las ejecuciones del sexenio 2006-2012´in *Milenio* *Diario* http://edomex.milenio.com/cdb/doc/noticias2011/7d97ccec10baf5f29e3d096cff54a3ea Accesed :18 December 2012 (in Spanish)

[3] I make it extensive to animals´ suffering, and specifically for "human" entertainment.

and desensitize the spectator's experience. This argument would imply that some characteristics of the photography would direct the attention of the viewer out of the disgrace depicted. This way to engage with the images then would lead to a posture where depolitization or desensitization attitude can be experienced by the spectator (Möller 2009: 783). However, there is no causal connection between the spectatorship experience and further reaction of the subject when confronted with images of suffering, the same image can be interpreted in contradictory ways, and it may lead to a politization or depolitization stance depending on the viewer's perception.

Hariman and Lucaites consider that certain images from photojournalism become cultural icons when common recognition develops into a veneration exercise, where complex emotional responses take place. These icons represent and give coherence to a possible collective identity giving to the individual connotations of obligation and power. However, this kind of "sacred status" that certain iconic images have, project an accessibility to construct a mass-mediated collective memory (Hariman and Lucaites 1-2: 2007). Has the visual aspect of the Mexico´s war on drugs developed an iconic status? Not one picture, but the sum of the daily tragedies just meters in front of us, at the newspapers stand, or at home through the screens. All the images connected by the nature of the conflict, all the images creating the collective visual recollection of this conflict exposed everyday to the Mexican society. The extensive reproduction of visual commonplaces produces an incorporation of these images to the ordinary daily routine.

In this sense, François Debrix[4] finds that in order to make acceptable the unacceptable in regards of how war as mediated spectacle is presented to the viewers, the sublime spectatorship is created. This kind of spectatorship gives the spectator an ideological shield (or sunglasses) to go through shocking images and transcend the initial painful experience (Debrix 2006). This exercise needs a main co-protagonist: "the other". The enemy and villain working as the antagonist of the play; *the other* will die and suffer while the protagonist reach a hero status; moreover, the images of the other suffering or dying are justified because it has been framed to the spectator as the enemy. Finally, the ending of this mediated play comes when the sublime spectator accepts the political message behind the exercise. Some images of suffering find justification with this judgment. On the other hand, Sharon Sliwinski engaged with Sontag's diverse arguments on photography and suffering traces a path. When confronting an image of suffering the recognition and tie with the other must be preserved. Sliwinski makes a proposition about adequacy when responding to an image and its content: the aim of the viewer is to alleviate the suffering depicted (Sliwinski 2004:154).

Reporting the daily horror, this is for real, isn't it?
We are living an era where death and suffering became a spectacle. The *horreour-réalité* is here (Marzano 2010). Or better said, it has always been here, or out there, but now it circulates freely, even in high definition. Grotesque visions started to be common in many regions of Mexico, when the cartels decided to leave messages on the streets full of blood and dismay. The more brutal, the better. The violent act is itself a communicative element; then the image is the permanent reminder of the perpetrator's clear and straightforward intention: *fear to us, we have the power to do*

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[4] This author applies this concept into the context of the military interventions of the United States and the way it is presented to the audience of this country. See Debrix 2006.

this. In this conflict, the specific recipients of the message are the rival gang; however, the message also goes to the security forces and the final recipient is the society. For the cartels, violence is a means to an end, a form of social control[5]. The public exposition of a dead body as a message and as a consequence: A final display of power.

Media generated images is one way to construct meaning about the world we experience, they are used to show the reality from the political and social spheres**.** Facts and images make sense when they are inserted within a system of meaning (Gamson et al, 1992: 374-5). Nevertheless, how do we make sense of reality when violent acts are the message? How many messages are embedded on mutilated bodies dumped on the street? It seems that the tendency in the mass media is to offer only impact images to attract the attention, but at the same time when reporting violent conflicts certain social or politic contexts are not presented, giving to the audience a biased view of the conflict (Penalva 2002:405).

Different academic fields analyze violence and the mediated experience of it. Diverse theories try to explain the consequences in the audience of fictional or real violent content (Carter and Weaver 2003). The relation between violent content in mass media, types of violence (Jensen 2002), the manner is represented in media (Penalva 2002), the ways the audience relates to this content (Fernández et al. 2008), and the uses and gratifications of violent genres of media violence (Kremar and Godbold 2005) stand as the most recurrent topics along with this subject. For instance, in cultural studies, the audience's understanding of messages in mass media has been a central topic within this discipline. One of the main references in this field is Stuart Hall; he proposed that the response of the audience to media's content (in his case focused on TV) is not lineal or predictable. Audiences (readers, viewers or listeners) engage to the stimulus in own ways. Hall proposes the coding-encoding process and three different types of readings made by audiences. Any kind of text is polysemic, even an image depicting suffering or disgrace. This scholar finds that the *preferred reading* goes with the hegemonic stance, where a dominant meaning imposes its message and the spectator assumes it (Hall 1980). Fixed meanings have different understandings, but the context is determinant.

The speed and amount of (des)information and images that flows nowadays represent also a challenge to the spectator (Campbell 2003:72) The availability of all kind of visual discourses is a characteristic of this conflict. Thus, the spectator of this "war" has also to deal with antagonist postures and the limited time to contemplate and react to it, the permanent status of the conflict and its presence in the media challenges the citizen at its position, and to all the related situations of the conflict. When the number of executed people was rising in a constant rate since 2006, and reaching a peak in 2010 with almost 12,000 casualties documented by the media in this year, the Mexican government felt uncomfortable with the situation. The government was accusing certain media that the information and depiction of the violence was creating a "social paranoid" and was an exaltation of violence. In 2011, more than 700 media signed a pact[6] to consider the ways news related with violent

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[5] Even criminal violence is not included as a recurrent situation; I consider that it can be included in the collective and organized violence category with terrorism. See Roberta Senechal de la Roche (1996), 'Collective Violence as Social Control', *Sociological Forum*, 11(1):97-128.

[6] See Greenslade, Roy (2011, March 25) "Mexican media sign drug reporting pact", *The Guardian* http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2011/mar/25/press-freedom-mexico   Accessed: 15 December 2012

acts should be reported. Even in main TV channels or national newspapers explicit images were avoided, the daily report of shootings and executions were the main topic. Main Mexican media conglomerates signed the pact. Popular images reproduced by large-scale corporations may imply the promotion of certain ideology reinforcing dominant narratives (Hariman and Lucaites 2: 2007). The use of the iconic images in mass media then implies a struggle.

Two cases

Twenty first century continues the tradition, consummates the era of violence and tragedy, and pushes forward the ethical responsibility for the ones dedicated to give documentary evidence (Keith et al, 2006). The conflict has pushed to the limits the society, government and media regarding the violence and the way has been presented to the society. Images in mass media are not neutral (Gamson et al, 1992, Hariman and Lucaites 2007); they have passed a filter of ideology or interests in the process of production and reproduction. At the beginning, the conflict was visually presented with the reports and images generated by the media. All the main enterprises of Mexican media followed an ethical treatment of the images avoiding explicit ones. The conflict reached a new level when three "producers" of visual material joined the experience: the cartels, the government and the civilians. The horror path was wide open when the cartels recorded their own criminal acts (mostly on video) and uploading them on the internet[7]. The Mexican government bet on a mediated massive campaign showing its strategy of deploying thousands of security forces and reporting the achievements against the cartels to regain the support of the public opinion. On the other hand, the duration and expansion of the conflict let the civilians be more than spectators, and they recorded their own experiences of events related to this conflict[8].

The cases I want to reflect on will be used as examples to bring up the right to information and exploitation/exaltation of violence discussion. Firstly, I will comment on two photos presenting the same crime. Both reports were on the respective websites of a national newspaper and a local newspaper. The second example is regarding the websites that were specifically created to "inform" about this conflict.

As commented before, the way the conflict has been presented to the society depended on the editorial guidelines of the specific medium. In the case of these newspapers, the graphic violence of the pictures shows two faces. On the first image taken from a national newspaper, a soldier (as main figure of the photo) was standing to the direction the photo was taken, many meters behind him, a crashed SUV car[9] with heavy damaged caused by shooting, and other soldiers are standing near the vehicle. On the second one, taken from a local newspaper, the angle was exactly the same as the previous one; the difference was that the soldier standing was not there. Then, the main figure of the photo was a dead body lying outside the vehicle. The focus was close enough to see the body with some detail. Both images

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[7] Youtube was the first website where one cartel uploaded the executions. It was until many hours after the personnel of this website realized the content and blocked it. This situation happened many times when other cartel retailed with the same procedure recording the execution and uploading it. There are hundreds of videos of this conflict on this website.

[8] See for example short video http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q6inHI9OVw8 Accessed: 21 December 2012

[9] Small Utilitarian Vehicle is the typical vehicle used by the cartel's 'sicarios' to move on the streets. Normally there are four or more heavily armed men in each vehicle moving in convoys of many units at the same time.

were with the written report of the incident. The reports explained the case and how many casualties were involved, and even in the local newspaper, the identities of some of them were published. As Sontag explains, photography and death have kept company ever since the invention of the former (Sontag 2002: 6). Looks of complicity will always exist along with media's economic and political interests.

The second case is related with one of the most debated issues in the media that has been following and presenting the violence in Mexico. Since 2010, a proliferation of websites dedicated to compile all kinds of stories and reports about drug lords, cartels and violence took place. The "argument" of these websites is clear and simple: '*it is better to show how terrible are things out there rather than live in ignorance*'[10]. At the beginning the content of these websites was information or visual material submitted by civilians, then the media´s report and finally the cartels. As commented before, the criminal organizations recorded videos of executions of members of the rival cartel and uploaded them on the internet; when the videos on other websites were banned, the perpetrators sent them as exclusive footage to these "narco information" websites making them available without restrictions. The "informative" duty that these websites claim to offer is open to debate[11]. However, the video is not used to incriminate the perpetrator or as evidence to denounce the crime.

When Michela Marzano reviewed the diffusion of diverse violent material on the internet, she asks herself: is it really necessary to show all this? (Marzano 2010: 34).

I consider that in the local newspaper and the websites cases, the reproduction of visual material containing explicit content makes exploitation as main guideline. The right to information is clearly abused and offering access to the cartels' propaganda develops an exaltation of violent acts. The availability and easy accessibility of visual material containing extreme violence does not have any regulation. In the local newspaper's online version[12], the material (mostly pictures) has open access as part of the reports of the paper version. In the case of the websites, the reports are not contextualized; the content (pictures and videos) depicting extreme violent acts only contain a written warning of "real explicit".

These examples challenge in certain way Jacques Rancière's argument about the dominant media and its treatment of images of suffering (Rancière 2009). Even the local newspapers that publish these images and the websites could not be considered as major media, their audience is massive[13]. For instance, many journalists have been killed during the conflict; these professionals were working in

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[10] I translated this declaration from an interview with one person in charge of one of the most visited sites: www.blogdelnarco.com. For the interview see: www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVcJ8WrjUBM (in Spanish) Accessed: 28 December 2012

[11] For example see: Manuel Mora y Araujo (2010 August 21) 'El blog del narco' in *Un Mundo Hiperconectado* http://www.perfil.com/contenidos/2010/08/21/noticia_0032.html Accessed: 29 December 2012

[12] See http://www.oem.com.mx/laprensa/

[13] The number of visitors to the most visited website www.blogdelnarco.com is estimated between 3 and 5 millions monthly according to media reports. See http://www.hispanicallyspeakingnews.com/authors/elblogdelnarco/ Accessed: 15 December 2012

La Prensa newspaper daily paper edition is 250,000 in Mexico City. It is part of one of the largest media company with 70 newspapers, 44 websites, 24 radio stations, and 1 TV channel. See http://www.oem.com.mx/laprensa/estaticas/quienessomos.aspx (in Spanish) Dozens of newspapers of this group show explicit photos in their content.

local newspapers or TV channels that denounced the corruption of the police or activities of the cartels. There are no reports of people from these websites harmed by the cartels.

Thus, the final way to engage with the conflict is to consume it. Consequently, when this material has reached a stable consumption the vicious circle is completed. On the internet the exaltation and saturation of reports and images of the conflict's violence is overwhelming, a desensitising stance where the objectification of a human being portrayed in distress takes place. Red-yellow "journalism" eager to show whatever it takes to sell it; then the bloodthirsty audience eager to buy a front page with dead bodies or watch videos of real executions. A marriage made in hell. The violent acts continue as well as the availability of the material, when some violence is accepted and tolerated, the process of consumption becomes a sign of trivialization. I think that this last position of consuming is close to be on the desensitization and depolitization side.

Horst Bredekamp's argument of spectator's complicity[14] with the perpetrators comes true with these cases. I consider that the entire tragedy comes when the commodification of violence becomes a routine. However, in the case of the videos, these websites have been growing and became the perfect showcase for the cartels to show their brutality and threats to the others. Marzano makes the question: is it really being informed the purpose of the ones who look this material? (Marzano 2010: 34).

Ways to relate to the violence and its visual sphere
This conflict has more than ten years, the intensity has changed during this time, after reaching a record of reported casualties in 2010, and almost repeated in 2011 and 2012, the expected tendency is to decline in the next two or three years. Nevertheless, the gallery of this conflict will have enough material to fill dozens of albums full of disgrace. This conflict has been full of violence and visual evidence. As presented before, one way to relate to the conflict and its visual sphere has been the consumption of it, however, it is necessary to differentiate that people relate with the conflict depending on their own experience within the environment. The experience diverge with the one who lives in a city affected by the conflict and have been involved in a violent act, or have been witness of it, and the others that have followed the conflict through the media. In both circumstances the majority of people reject the conflict and the exploitation of it, their position promotes a constant political participation. However, living in a city or region where the presence of the organized crime is permanent, the context develops toleration and even a trivialization of it, as seen in the videos uploaded by civilians.

Inside all the problematic that surround this conflict, it is necessary to think about the process when some violence is legitimated as well as its cultural representation. This justification involves a consolidation of what Johan Galtung considers the cultural violence (Galtung 1990). Part of the symbolic sphere of the society gets materialized and portrayed. Nowadays, violence is glamorized as part of the mediated experience, starting from TV programmes for children, videogames and related "entertaining" activities (Wilson et al. 2002).

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[14] See Bredekamp, Horst (2004, May 28), 'Wir sind befremdete Komplizen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Quoted in Möller 2012:20

This situation is experimented when drug trafficking and other expressions coming from the *narco-culture* have also reached the cultural consideration. A new *narco-terminology*[15] has been added to the daily lexicon in Colombia or Mexico. Specific genre of music describing *narco-lifestyle*s or honouring arrested or assassinated important drug lords is followed by an audience near to these phenomena. Soap operas[16] presenting different stories around the drug cartels and their leaders as the protagonists of the show have been the new narratives in the Latin American and even European productions of these TV shows.

The interest of this paper was to reflect on the ways the Mexican society could coexist with all the visual legacy of the conflict and respond to it. When Sontag engaged again on the effects of photographs of pain, she recognized the concrete problem of the subjects to identify themselves with the *pain of the others* (Sontag 2003). It can be argued that the consumption of this conflict with the saturation of images, but mostly with the lack of perspective to diminish violence from the politics and social perspectives brings the compassion fatigue stance. I consider that the fatigue consolidates with the duration of the conflict and the feeling of insecurity and desperation of constant violence. The permanent status of the conflict may have altered the compassion fatigue position, where the compassion fades and mercilessness rises. In this way to experience the conflict, the spectatorship proposed by Debrix makes sense, when the protagonist and antagonist are in battle, and the images of it find acceptance and support.

Regarding the circulation of the images and their consumption, for instance, Sontag suggests a way out: 'Let the atrocious images haunt us' (Sontag 2003: 83). However, for how long the visual material of this conflict will haunt the Mexican society when drug trafficking is there, and it will be at least in the near future? I consider that the whole dimension has become an iconic memoir of the *narco-violence*, a permanent reminder of this entire distress.

Concerning the issue about the responsibility of being witness of images of distress, I find that the situation in Mexico involves even more problems for the appropriate response of the individual witness. The viewer finds a way to exert its political power within a collective exercise, where the entire affected find the possibility the act politically (Möller 2009: 783). This situation happened in Mexico when civilians made public demonstrations against the conflict and the crime problem. However, all the violence has also produced a *terrorification* stance, when people have withdrawn from the politic and social sphere due to the constant presence of criminal acts.

Conclusion

Images understood as narratives show and hide something[17] at the same time (Campbell 2003:73). In Mexico, all these years of conflict, the violence has been a hegemonic narrative with images of human disgrace and destruction; it has taken the spotlight leaving other stories in the shadow. In the media cases commented, publishing and consuming violence is raw exploitation; a sadist complicity profitable for the implicated when vulture journalism and vile spectatorship are mutual. All the

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[15]See http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-narco-glossary28-2009oct28,0,1009690.story Accessed: 22December2012

[16] See http://www.fronterasdesk.org/news/2011/may/26/narco-culture-becoming-popular-north-border/ Accessed: 22 December 2012

[17] A good example is described by Debrix referring to the control of images with casualties in recent military interventions (invasions) by the US and allies in Western Media. See Debrix 2006:779.

photos in the front covers and crimes documented by video and reproduced on these websites are an evidence of it. The human factor of the conflict has been forgotten by some part of the media, when the interests of these have been determined by the violence and the statistics of the daily casualties. The privacy and dignity of the human beings that have been executed as part of the conflict, or in other situation of disgrace are not respected. Families in grief are also not considered.

One of the most shocking episodes in this conflict was the execution of 72 immigrants from different countries of Central America[18]. This situation prompted a different way[19] to deal with the conflict. Many Mexican journalist and social organizations tried to honour these immigrants following their path way back to their hometowns and their families. They are trying to bring back the *human condition* to all this distressing cruelty. In this conflict, violence is measured with dead bodies, these bodies are only statistics; their faces, names, and personal stories have been covered by stains of blood. They have been forgotten and consumed by the spiral of violence and images.

Images operate on different levels at the same time. They may prolong subject's victimization, but simultaneously they can give back the human condition to an objectivised subject (Möller 2009:787). In photojournalism[20], very good examples of commitment against the violence and its exploitation come with Alfredo Jaar's work refusing to utilize the despair of Rwanda's tragedy (op. cit.:788-93), or the way Jonathan Torgovnik presented the tragedy of raped women and their children in the same conflict (Möller 2010).

The *72 inmigrantes* effort or the Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity[21] go with this logic. They are remembering the humans behind the statistics and giving comfort for the ones who has lost relatives in this conflict. I think this is the genuine way to overcome the violence and its legacy that this conflict has brought to the Mexican society. The visual archive of this conflict is a reminder that behind the bloody covers of the newspapers, there are human beings. We the spectators must conserve their integrity and dignity, taking an initial step to overcome the violence and its visual horror. We the spectators must act and look in order to diminish the violence. Looking in a way that links us to the perpetrators' intention, it only continues the legacy of the vile action.

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[18] They were trying to reach the Mexico-USA border to start their personal "American Dream" as illegal workers, and they were killed in the "Mexican Nightmare". See http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/09/world/americas/mexican-drug-leader-salvador-alfonso-martinez-escobedo-arrested.html?_r=0 Accessed: 26 December 2012

[19] See: http://72migrantes.com/ (in Spanish)

[20] An excellent book on this topic see: Michelle Bogre (2012), *Photography as Activism*. Oxford: Focal Press.

[21] After the assassination of his son the poet Javier Sicilia founded the Movement. Their activities include "caravanas" (convoys) to the most violent cities in Mexico and organizing reunions with the victims' families. See: http://movimientoporlapaz.mx/ (in Spanish)

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PART TWO

CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL DISCOURSES

Does post-modern societies has to be ethical?

Paulo Moutinho Barroso[1]

Abstract

I intend to reflect on the implications between individuals and society, starting from the question "Does post-modern societies has to be ethical?" For this, I support my paper on the work of Franz Kafka, *In The Penal Colony*, to represent a social theater of cruelty aesthetics in contemporary societies of post-modernity. The social dimension of ethics is a sort of practice of cruelty as well as a sort of aesthetics representing prescriptions of society, which clashes with the contemporary trends of these post-modern societies characterized by the individualism, narcissism, consumption and media spectacle. The theater of cruelty works on punishing the condemned; it is essentially a work of social aesthetics or hygienist ethics. The insensitive machine of Law has social authority and it embodies the faults or the mistakes punished in Kafka's writing. Is this machine still working (in an invisible way) in our societies, where the social requirements remain the order of the Law?

Keywords: law, post-modernity, rule, social behavior, society, standard.

Introduction

In his *Notebook 1914-16*, Ludwig Wittgenstein wrote: "Ethics does not treat of the world; Ethics must be a condition of the world, like logic" (Wittgenstein, 1979: 77). If Ethics is such condition of the world, we should live an ethical life. The problem is that we live (ethically or not) in individualistic and senseless post-modern societies, i.e., Occidental societies stigmatized, according to Peter Singer (2006: 53), by crises of social values and by the loss of sense of community. Nevertheless, there are authors, like Singer, who answer clearly "yes" to the question "Can we live an ethical life?" Singer explains what is to live ethically: "it is to reflect in a particular way about how we live and to try act accordingly with the conclusions of that reflection" (2006: 16). But, the question "How we should live?" is ancestral, everlasting; it was already discussed in Ancient Philosophy, namely in Plato's *Republic*, therefore, it is not a contemporary concern of our post-modern epoch.

Returning to the above-quoted passage from Wittgenstein's notebook, it means that Ethics has an undoubted purpose, a sort of *condition sine qua non* to live or to be in the world. I share Wittgenstein's thesis, and also consider Ethics and Aesthetics as one, according to Wittgenstein's remark in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1999: 6.421). Ethics and Aesthetics are one because there is something beautiful (at least in an aesthetical existence perspective) doing good things to other people. For Wittgenstein, "when a general ethical law of the form '*Thou shalt...*' is set up, the first thought is: Suppose I do not do it?" (1979: 78). "It is clear", he points out, "that ethics has nothing to do with punishment and reward"; so he argues that the question about the consequences of an action must be unimportant, because

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consequences are not actions or events. But, we should be responsible following or not the social rules. Can there be any ethics if there is no living being but myself in the world? To whom my life (i.e. my behavior, actions or attitudes) could be beautiful or good?

I introduce the literary work of Franz Kafka into these contemporary sociological problems because he wrote metaphorically about human condition. A sort of miserable and painful condition of all aware men face a inflexible destiny of death, loneness, pain, suffering, misery, fear, angst and agony. These are the main worries or philosophical subjects of Kafka's writings. *In toto*, there is an existentialist perspective of Kafka's writings. This is the thesis of my paper, which is also corroborated by Alexandre Vialatte, Kafka's first French translator, who labeled these worries or philosophical subjects as a "diabolic innocence" (Vialatte, 1998).

One of the great qualities of Kafka's writings is the ability to explore these sensations, which are unconscious to the majority of people. These sensations are adverse, negative, and, therefore, they are also undesirable. But they belong to human nature; they characterize the anonymous and timeless human condition. Kafka's stories transform these sensations in common places. To understand Kafka is to understand his writings, because he starts from inside of himself. His biography is his bibliography, a fragmented bibliography composed by feelings, which *In the Penal Colony* is only one small part of the whole puzzle of tragic human condition. The cruelty, the prepotency and mortification or the absence of justice's principles suffered by a condemned during his execution is similar to our real life.

In the Penal Colony is a small fantastic story, one of the few works published by Kafka in his lifetime. This story allows us to feel Kafka's interest on those existentialists' subjects, challenging our understanding of everyday problems like a fair trial or a reasonable and mechanical power over our human behavior or human moral alienation.

The problem of cruelty aesthetics
The problem of cruelty aesthetics could be formulated through the following question: Why should we live ethically (taking an aesthetical existence) if we live in post-modern societies, where everything around us is spectacle and represents a sort of social theater of cruelty, selfish and apparent Aesthetics?

Conceptual framing
The conceptual framing of the previous problem presupposes a confrontation between 1) the ethical naturalism and 2) the ethical conventionalism and the moral relativism. *Ad primum*, a perspective already pursued by Plato and Aristotle, it is argued that there are good values or moral actions *per se*, i.e., we can live ethically by ourselves due to the (good or bad) human nature or essence. *Ad secundum*, a perspective radically opposed to the former, it justifies the diversity or the subjectivity of ways of life.

The moral relativism as a cultural relativity could be justified through these ways of life or a given "form of life", according to Wittgenstein's terminology. "Form of life" implies another important concept to Wittgenstein, the one of "language-game", i.e. the idea that to speak a language is part of an activity guided by rules, in a form of life. "To imagine a language means to imagine a form of life" (Wittgenstein, 1996: §§

19, 23). If a form of life is a language-game, then countless language-games exist, countless forms of life also exist.

The ethical conventionalism and the moral relativism justify ethical differences between human beings and deny the existence of a unique moral code with universal and timeless value to human condition.

The prescription: ethical conventionalism and moral relativism
In the Penal Colony represents a trilogy: language, technique and power, three vertices of those societies and cultures settled in principles of Order and Progress. This story is like a stage where the cruelty aesthetics of life is represented. Speaking of "cruelty aesthetics" seems contradictory, because Aesthetics, by rule, does not represent, promote or suggest any unpleasant and painful feeling, or, at least, it should not. On the contrary, Aesthetics is an exercise of beauty production. So, it should be pleasant to our
senses; it should stimulate positive sensations and feelings.

However, the cruelty aesthetics of *In the Penal Colony* comes from something that is external to the Aesthetics itself, i.e., from an ethical dimension, which is the legitimacy of cruelty (even in an aesthetical dimension). For this reason, I sustain a theoretical path to the prescription of the cruelty aesthetics and ethics over Kafka's *In the Penal Colony*. I mean the prescription of the Law on the body. The penalty execution machine writes the sentence on the body of the condemned till a bloodless death body. The machine executes the Law with authority, i.e. a given law as an outcome of an ethical conventionalism and moral relativism. The machine embodies the mistake or crime of the condemned on his own body. This is a kind of supreme and ironic manifestation of the relation crime-punishment. A relation well explored in the *Crime and Punishment*, the Dostoevsky's *magnum opus*.

The prescription is the order of the Law. The condemned pays his crime with the appropriated punishment: the prescription of the Law, forgotten or neglected by the condemned, is written on his body through his spilled blood until the last drop. Ironically, the prescription recorded forever on the body of the condemned would be pedagogically useless in future actions.

The machine allows the inscription taking form on the body of the condemned. According to the officer's description, the machine has two kinds of needles arranged in multiple patterns. Each long needle has a short one beside it. "The long needle does the writing, and the short needle sprays a jet of water to wash away the blood and keep the inscription clear" (Kafka, 2005: 147). During this process, the ethical prescription is written on the body. The calligraphy is hard to read and it needs to be studied closely. The point of the officer is that the script can't be a simple one, because it is not supposed to kill a man straight off, but only after an interval of, on average, twelve hours (Kafka, 2005: 149). The machine keeps on writing deeper and deeper for the whole twelve hours. If it is difficult, for someone, to decipher the script with the eyes, it would not be difficult for the condemned, as he will decipher it with his pains and wounds. At the end of this complex task, when the harrow has pierced the prisoner quite through and casts him into the pit, the "judgment has been fulfilled" and the condemned can be buried (Kafka, 2005: 150).

As we can read in Kafka's story, it was undeniable the injustice of the procedure and the inhumanity of the execution (Kafka, 2005: 151). The explorer that had been

invited to attend the execution (he could be anyone not familiar with this ritual) seemed to express a view against this kind of Justice. But the condemned would die with the prescription (that he forgot) on his body.

The aesthetics of the rule and punishing

What does it mean to follow a social rule? What may happen if one does not follow a given rule? There would be consequences for whom? In Kafka's story, the Law is shown aesthetically in the draft of the machine all over the body of the condemned. The performance of the machine is aesthetical, considering three aspects:

1) The prescription of the Law transcribed into alphabetic signs (i.e. into text) or into ideographic signs (i.e. into draws and images).
2) The passage of the verbal formulation of Law into a physical imprint, i.e. into a peculiar support: the proper body of the condemned, the one who made a rule deviation action considering the established Law.
3) A sort of idyllic death: a final pedagogical dimension that takes the condemned to die with the Law written on his body.

Ad primum, taking into account the Zen Buddhism, the creation of signs with the brush full of ink requires asceticism from the painter or writer, i.e. a sort of inner emptying. It is like the fulfillment of an aesthetical state of empty. This empty should be understood positively as an opportunity to fulfill something with something else. So, we shouldn't understand the empty as a simple absence or blank.

Ad secundum, the mentioned passage also presupposes the transformation of the criminal body (full of vice, faults and deviances) to an aesthetical body, with lines, letters, words, draws. Let us take into account one of the most striking episodes of the height of rationality in ancient Greece: the death of Socrates. This episode is described by Plato in his dialogue named *Crito* (Platão, 2002). Crito, the interlocutor and friend of Socrates, recommends the escape, but Socrates admits that it is irrational according to the laws of Athens and accepts the consequences. Aware of his situation, Socrates waits for death as a human condition face the Law, considering: a) We must always accept the laws of the State; b) We should respect our compromises; c) We shouldn't prejudice the *Polis*. From these three principles, Socrates takes the conclusion that he must accept death instead of run away. But, what is the sense of Socrates' behavior? It is the sense of ethical principles that must remain over any eventual personal benefit of his escape.

Ad tertium, an idyllic death demands an useless learning to the condemned's life, because he dies with the lesson. An idyllic death reminds us the importance of the *arête*, i.e. it's role, it's pedagogical ideal and cultural practice for the individual education. At this point, the classical culture and it's historical and referential legacy would allows an useful parallel with our contemporary western societies, taking into account the death of Socrates, representing a pedagogical ideal of the *aretê*.

In Kafka's writing, there is no option to the *askésis*, but there is some option to the *aretê* in death. In his turn, Latin tradition preserves the proverbial words of Ovid (1989: III, 136), who said *nemo ante mortem beatus* ("Nobody is happy before death"). What we have to do is to follow the sense and the practice of justice. How? The *Rhetoric* of Aristotle gives us a kind of taxonomy about the subject of Justice, including all the possible situations and motives to practice justice. "Every action must be due to one or other of seven causes: chance, nature, compulsion, habit, reasoning, anger, or appetite" (1998: 1369a).

The practice of (in) justice is one of the main issues explored by Kafka's *In the Penal Colony*. At the beginning of this story, the officer says, with a certain air of admiration, "It's a remarkable piece of apparatus" (Kafka, 2005: 140). This exclamation shows the prodigious machine of the Law, which "works all by itself". But the accuracy of a machine goes wrong and against our expectation sometimes, including this particular machine (symbol of Justice).

With such enthusiasm, the officer describes the machine as if it was an organic been. According to the officer, the sentence does not sound severe. But this seems a contradiction, because the punishment is an apparatus of cruelty. In his own words: "Whatever commandment the prisoner has disobeyed is written upon his body by the Harrow". The prisoner was condemned to death for disobedience and insulting behavior to a superior and his execution is witnessed as an exhibition or a show. So, the prisoner will have written on his body: "Honor thy superiors!" (Kafka, 2005: 144).

The problem is that the prisoner does not know the sentence that has been passed on him. The officer says that "there would be no point in telling him [the sentence]. He'll learn it on his body." (Kafka, 2005: 145). The prisoner doesn't know either that he has been sentenced; he has had no chance of putting up a defense or just defending himself.

The officer argues how the matter stands, saying that he have been appointed judge in the Penal Colony and that he knows more about the machine than anyone. He points out: "My guiding principle is this: Guilty is never to be doubted." (Kafka, 2005: 145).

What does it mean to say that guilty is never to be doubted? How does one know that? The officer says that the explanation of the case is simple and based in a report of a captain an hour ago. The officer wrote down his statement and appended the sentence to it. "Then I had the man put in chains.

That was all quite simple. If I had first called the man before me and interrogated him, things would have got into a confused tangle." (Kafka, 2005: 146). Nevertheless, everybody has self-awareness; therefore, they should be responsible for their acts and actions. Let us remember the Dostoevsky's classic scene from *Crime and Punishment*, where Raskolnikoff thought on his criminal actions and compared himself to Napoleon: "I asked myself one day this question—what if Napoleon, for instance, had happened to be in my place, and (…) instead of all those picturesque and monumental things, there had simply been some ridiculous old hag, a pawnbroker, who had to be murdered too to get money from her trunk (for his career, you understand). Well, would he have brought himself to that if there had been no other means?" (Dostoevsky, 2003: V, iv).

The crime is the result of a chance. If Napoleon were in Raskolnikoff's shoes, for example, before committing a murder and without other resource, maybe he would do the same and he would commit the crime.

If the method (strategy that point to what to do) is the order of the actions in the execution of the condemned, the technique is the specific instrumentation; it constitutes each stage of a complex process defined by the method and described by the officer of the Colony. The officer does not hide his passion for the machine of justice. The apparatus belongs to the spectacle of the execution. However, there are several ethical and political problems around this spectacle: The nature of the technique as a source of concern and worries or as a source of social progress; the

origin of the technique from a natural human necessity or from a capricious will of men over a superhuman and supernatural creation called "Justice"; the well-being or discomfort given by the technique to our post-modern societies; the deviant/normal use justifying potential discomfort; the apparatus of the machine described by the officer as a social frustration, individualism and moral alienation.

The technique is omnipresent in our contemporary stile of life. Postmodern societies seek civilizational progress, considering technique has a saver function (Spengler, 1993: 13). But the technique (*technikon*, *technê*) is just the ability to do something following certain rules and to transform a given natural reality into an artificial reality. The technique used in the Penal Colony has a final goal for life. As Martin Heidegger said: "The *technê* is part of the *pro-duce*, of the *poiesis*; it is something of *poietic*"; it is the possibility of knowledge, and knowledge gives us openings, that's why it is also unveiling (Heidegger, s/d: 18). This is the perspective of technique as "pro-vocation" (the essence of the technique as a domain of the unveiling of truth). According to Heidegger, the unveiling guides the modern technique and it is a provocation by which Nature is intimidated to give something.

The machine supplies the Penal Colony's demands of principles of Justice, but it also produces human necessities, i.e., improvements of the whole system (Ortega y Gasset, 2009: 31-33). One problem raised up by Kafka's story is the conscience of human condition. This conscience distinguishes and judges men and their life: on one side, those who have conscience; on the other side, those who are not aware of Justice and live the impulses of the instant without the sense of community. According to Nietzsche, men have pride of their humanity when they compare themselves to others animals, but they envy the happiness of animals (Nietzsche, 1976: 105).

Nowadays, we have an extraordinary development of technology and, therefore, the societies are in complete and permanent transformation, because they are the most immediate product of the globalization phenomenon. Does the instrumental (new ways of communicating and interacting) and qualitative (new ways of knowing and living) transformations mean a better life for men? That is, do we live better? Do we have more knowledge? Do we personally relate more with others? Are we less isolated? Are we more free and autonomous? Have we a society more democratic, reasonable and humane?

The post-modern societies are characterized by the triumph of the spectacle, by the "fast culture" and by the "fast thinking" or "ready-to-think". These societies are specialists in the manufacture of consent and consensus, as had already warned in 1922 Walter Lippmann (2004: 134-5). So, the above quoted passage of Nietzsche's critique about modernity remains useful to understand the tyranny of our contemporaneousness. According to Nietzsche, people are already starting to think with the watch in the hand while having lunch and the eye in the stock exchange journal (Nietzsche, 1998: 228-9).

The expression "society of the spectacle" follows the Situationism of the 1960's, i.e. the sense defined by Guy Debord in 1967 with his book *The Society of the Spectacle*. I mean the sense thought by Debord, the idea of the whole life of societies advertised as an accumulation of spectacles, inversions of life by which the truth is represented as the false (Debord, 1971: 19). According to Debord: "Le spectacle dans la société correspond à une fabrication concrète de l'aliénation" (Debord, 1971: 32).

The deviation of western societies face historical legacies has been increasing, since Nietzsche, showing the emerging sense of Nietzsche's critical philosophy and values. Indeed, I agree with the position of Anthony Giddens, for instance, that it is possible a systematic knowledge of human action or the trends of social development (Giddens, 2005: 33).

Concluding remarks

Undoubtedly there are many interpretations of Kafka's writings. The search for the meanings of his longer and shorter stories (the very core of his work) seems endless. Thus, we must read and re-read Kafka trying to find any useful meaning to our own life. After reading a book, the final reflection always raises the question about what the moral to be drawn from its history or story. In the case of Kafka's *In the Penal Colony*, as it happens with all narratives, moral interpretation is subjective and can be exaggerated.

The machine writes a kind of trial; it includes the Law on the body of the condemned. Only the sacrifice of the body keeps the sanity of the Law. The law is always a *post-facio* to the body, wrote Jean-François Lyotard respecting Kafka's *In the Penal Colony* (1992: 166).

In the Penal Colony offers a disturbing and figurative reflection about the relationship between, on the one hand, men and machine and, on the other hand, men and Justice. Kafka's view about these relationships is negative. So, do we live better with all technologic progress around Justice and awareness of life? I don't think so; we live in an inhuman way, i.e. with moral alienation and according to an individualistic way of live proper of the post-modern societies.

Along this paper, I have expressed a critical point of view over the individualism post-modern and the associate moral alienation and unawareness of life. Does post-modern societies has to be ethical? Not necessarily. Society has to be, at least, awareness about all adversities of human condition.

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Technology And The Inner Self. Reflections on the works of Albert Borgmann and Wendell Berry

Charles Falzon[1]

Abstract:
This paper looks at modern technology through the lenses of moral philosophy and ethics drawing on the works of ethicist Albert Borgmann and social theorist/author Wendell Berry. In particular we look at how technology challenges our ability to clearly connect with our true sense of who we are and what it means to be good, to be happy and to be fully human. How is technology a challenge and why? How varied can our relationship with technology be depending on our worldview and our particular engagement with it? Does technology promote a denial of authenticity, or can it be channelled as a support of our personal journeys? This paper initiates a dialogue relating to these questions by contextualizing technology within a free market commodity paradigm that has flourished within liberal democracy.

Key Words: TECHNOLOGY; MORAL PHILOSOPHY; ETHICS; IDENTITY; SELF AWARENESS

Introduction

We are engaged in technology like never before in the history of humankind. Co-creation, social sharing and the perception of seemingly limitless knowledge have given society the notion of democratic access to stories and a power to challenge, reflect and change. However a question persists as to whether or not this technological tsunami is a positive or negative contributor to the greatest story that each of us co-creates – the story of the self. Whether it is in the fulfillment of our spiritual cravings, our urge to understand a unique legacy in history, or merely to develop a sense of purpose, personal narratives that open up our sense of who we are and a self-image of our inner selves, have always been treasured by storytellers and recipients alike.

In this paper we will look at some of the effects of modern technology on our sense of our inner selves. To explore this topic we will engage in a philosophical discourse with ethicist Albert Borgmann who provides a broad and critical analysis of technology while remaining somewhat sympathetic to the role it plays in our lives. We will also look at the work of American cultural theorist and author Wendell Berry who has chosen to withdraw from technology seeing very little redemption in it when it comes to the authentic self.

Technology and Harm

Wendell Berry understands human beings to have an innate destructiveness that is driven by greed and that we are totally open to be manipulated by and to manipulate. (Berry, 2002, p.28) In our modern society this is most evident in our

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dependence on an economic model: a model that is built on the principle of the most for the least and an obsession with global exploitation in the search for cheap labour, energy and materials. We do not see the world as a community of communities that are all interdependent. We have lost track of the production process and the effect it has on our world.

> "..the great destructiveness of the industrial age comes from a division, a sort of divorce in our economy between production and consumption. Of this radical division of function we can say…that the aim of producers is to sell as much as possible and that the aim of consumers is to buy as much as possible….." (Berry, 2002, p28)

We have become trapped within our own technological inventions, the ones that have been created as a response to our unending drive for "more". (Berry, 2002, p28) Although we may at times get a glimpse of the ethical costs related to our ways, we have become dependent on the very same technology that was meant to set us free. Everything old is considered to be without value and is superseded by the newer and improved present. (Berry, 2002, p. 18) Technology, which was intended for good, according to Berry, has fallen prey to man's greed and is used for evil, including war, control and furthering injustice. We have lost track of the difference between our wants and our needs. We've lost the sense of responsibility for the price of this ambivalence.

> "This is an educated confusion. Modern education systems have pretty consciously encouraged young people to think of their wants as needs." (Berry, 2002, p.35)

Technology and a Distorted World View
Albert Borgmann argues that our distorted worldview of our lives can be primarily blamed on our distorted view of our technologically dominated culture. Technology, which is both structural and machinery, is often understood only through the machines and more specifically through the devices which are on the surface that are aimed at fulfilling our demand for immediate ease and pleasure. However, machines are transient and this nature encourages a sense of restlessness. Albert Borgmann states that the laws of science do not provide sufficient context for why we make the choices that we do and often leave us with a world view that is not sufficient to create a personal identity, nor determine whether or not our action is for the good. According to Borgmann, it is impossible to simply put the universe into an all-embracing empirical system of laws. Even basic social interaction between humans in their familiar natural environment is impossible to predict. Borgmann insists that our empirical world view and our obsession with deductive reasoning do not provide us with the whole picture.

Technology and Our Values
Borgmann argues that technology has distorted our sense of values. It has distanced us from our world and our sense of place in our village and universe. He explains that this lack of connectedness to a particular place actually started with the discoveries of Copernicus and that since then, our terms of reference and our sense of unquestionable standards have slowly been diminished. (Borgmann, 1984, p. 80) Have technology and our relationship to it become the new standard? Value has become measured by how much benefit something can be to the individual. We have shifted from values that build on customs and traditions to ones that focus on

goals and ambitions towards the future. . This worldview has created patterns that push us to connect with commodities in an obsessive manner as if they are the only way to demonstrate what it means to be free, disguising the effects that this obsession has on other aspects of our lives. We persuade ourselves that technology is meant to bring these values from the few to the many and yet we seem oblivious to the fact that this has not been accomplished and that our real interest is our self-gain. (Borgmann, 1984, p. 87)

In order to assess technology and channel it towards goodness, we must pull back and evaluate its propensity, or more importantly, the propensity of liberal democracy, to advertise an unequivocal success story despite the fact that many such claims are unfounded. We have been thrust into a paradigm that feeds on itself, pushing us to move forward and looking at the past with disdain. The past is looked at as an age of powerlessness, strain and social underdevelopment. Today, so we believe, we could no longer cope with an era where we opened our own garage door, or laboriously pushed a non-electric lawn mower. Our success today is not seen or gained through real self-improvement, but only as a result of machinery that is available to us - machinery that we may, or may not understand. These technological accomplishments quickly give way to complacency and boredom. We become obsessed and anxious to pursue more promises and more endeavours that seem to be limited only by space and time. Borgmann tells us that this leads to frivolity, furthering the disconnect between means and ends with increasingly diminished returns. (Borgmann, 1984, p.87) We do so without any real evaluation of the costs to our community, our environment and our own self-fulfillment.

Borgmann points at entertainment as a particular commodity that seems to have no limits. We have gluttonously developed an endless supply of visuals, music, shows, and diversions in general. Novelty and quantity, according to Borgmann, have replaced quality. He cautions that the entertainment industry has mined a source that may ultimately become depleted and that is the mine of social morals and sexual taboos. Much of what was culturally deemed as unmentionable in the past, is now not only discussed, but exploited. Topics that in the past were dealt with in private in order to protect a sense of human dignity and to maintain social order are now packaged openly through the technological machinery. In a device paradigm, social order focuses only on the production and consumption of commodities. The translated taboos are no longer hidden but become available to exploit. Borgmann argues however, that taboos too are limited. For them to be effective there must be an underlying morality that continues to define them as taboos. Hence we keep pushing the limits, raising the bar of sensation and titillation. Borgmann says that, ultimately, if left unquestioned our moral fabric will, like natural resources, be depleted entirely.

Albert Borgmann posits that television represents the perfect example of the superficial promise of technology. It aims to free us from the limitations of space, time and ignorance and allows all of us to feel, albeit temporarily, powerful and brilliant. To make the most of our leisure time we attempt to consume as many devices as we can in the limited time we have. This leads to a hectic and tense life and technology continues to challenge the psychology of humans and the fabric of life. In the digital revolution of the 21st century, we are yet again being promised that our world will be better if we put our trust in technology. However, will technology solve world poverty or conquer disease and global illiteracy? Why then has it not already succeeded in doing those things?

Disengagement and Alienation

Wendell Berry believes that as humans we are meant to live in a local community and that we can relate best within a micro, local economy. In such a world, people are connected to the land, to the families and to the product they make. Furthermore, he feels that without local agriculture in its purest form, such a connection with community is threatened and we as human beings will not survive.

The effect of technology on our relationship with the land is of paramount importance to Wendell Berry. (Berry, 2002, p.12) The uninhibited application of what Berry calls a "war technology'", aimed at expanding a global economy and developing cheaper forms of energy and food, implicitly ignores the real losses that are not immediately accountable for in dollars.

> "There is no mention of land loss, of soil erosion, of pollution of land, air and water or of the various threats to biological diversity – all problems of generally (and scientifically) recognized gravity." (Berry, 2002, p. 69)

Berry is perplexed as to why these matters continue to not seem grave to us. He points out that subsidies and regulations aimed at supporting and guiding new technological growth, do not address the vulnerability of the food production system. Many of the foundations of agriculture are being destroyed, such as natural fertilization, solar energy, localized genetics, and natural weed and pest control. (Berry, 2002, p.69) Instead, the small farm is being turned into a unit that is not at all self-sustaining but dependent upon corporations and a global economy. That detachment from our earthly roots has further extended into other aspects of our lives, such as entertainment, education, child care, care of the elderly and other human priorities that were in the past provided by the same local household at much less cost. Such cost is not measured only in dollars. Today we have various empirical ways of measuring the productivity without realizing the impact of degraded farming communities, failing ecosystem regeneration, and perishing communities.

Wendell Berry feels that technology has drawn us away from our land and community, but, consequently, also from our values and feelings.

> "…this is the orthodox assumption of the industrial economy- that the only help worth giving is not given at all, but sold. Love, friendships, neighbourliness, compassion, duty-what are they…this long sequence of industrial innovations has changed human life and even human nature in fundamental way….but arguably, almost always for the worse" (Berry, 2002, p. 69)

Technology gives us the illusion of being the centre of the world and yet we find ourselves not being part of anything at all. We have lost touch with the mystery of life. Only our hearts and inner selves can root us again.

> "…one's love gradually responds to the place as it really is and one's visions gradually image possibilities that are really in it. …what one wants can become the same as what one has, and one's knowledge can cause respect of what one knows." (Berry, 2002, p.187)

Albert Borgmann also invites us to rethink our engagement in our world. We still live in a world of toil, poverty, and suffering. The transformative promise of technology has been unfulfilled and we are alienated from our labour, working under an illusion

of freedom and progress.   Borgmann, like Berry, argues that technology's promise of liberation through disburdenment has meant disengagement and our only sense of enrichment is through diversion and distraction.   "Conquest makes way first to domination and then to loneliness". (Borgmann 1984, p.76)   All we see are the commodities. They are the foreground and the machinery is hidden. We replace the depth of our potential with shallow commodities that are easily disposable:

> "A commodity is available when it is at our disposal without burdening us in any way, i.e. when it is commodiously present, instantaneously, ubiquitously, safely and easily." (Borgmann, 1984, p.77)

Borgmann states that technology in itself is intrinsically passive. It is not creative or interactive. In a major effort to change this passive nature of technology, Borgmann suggests that we are doing so by creating a hyper-reality through electronic games, mobile apps and websites. He suggests that this attempt to solve the disengagement through technology as demonstrated in the creation of hybrid worlds, ironically, further accentuates the disengagement.   Reality itself becomes blurred.   This electronic affinity with hyper-reality and technology's partnership with the drive of liberal democracy to create more commodities to help fill the void, is leading to even more disengagement, not only from our skills, but from our capacity for human interaction.   Increased distraction leads to a scattering of focus. Used in this way, technology, according to Borgmann, does not help us excel, but encourages us to exploit.

> "It is already apparent that the new video technology is not used by people as the crucial aid that finally allows them to develop into the historians, critics, musicians, sculptors or athletes that they have always wanted to be. Rather the main consequence of this technological development appears to be the spread of pornography." (Borgmann, 1984, p.51)

Simple, accessible computers continue to split the commodity from the machine, while making us even more dependent on the machinery while making us more detached from our world.

Public and Private Division
Borgmann argues that a divide between our public and private lives is, today, a naturally accepted way of being. In political and economic language these divisions are called "sectors". Borgmann suggests that by situating public matters apart from our personal lives, we are able to hide the implication of, and the accountability that we may have for technology. It appears that accountability is limited to a private realm and there is no longer as much communal negotiation of meaning and value of our shared world. Meaning and value have primarily become a private affair. Borgmann points out that when we call on technology to help us define and present a public experience, it turns social celebrations into a "sophisticated machinery" as is evident in the Olympics and major sports spectacles. This public/private divide disguises the implications of technology but it still bespeaks in a frustrated way, people's desires for a kind of moral excellence. (Borgmann, 2003, p. 75) Traditions are limited to the private realm and to contrived and structured public pageantry, as well as technologically driven celebrations that are the heart of today's common order. Our common order has been depleted from tradition, from the wisdom that

comes with it and from a direct and personal accountability and connectedness with that sense of order.

Technology and the Self: The Challenge of Context

While today, we are all still innately drawn to our traditional ties, our world is defined less by our personal stories and sense of goodness, but more by a narrative of advertising, .As Borgmann puts it, "In advertising, the promise of technology is presented both purely and concretely and hence most attractively. Problems and threats enter only as a background to set off the blessings of technology". (Borgmann, 1984, p.58) We are defined by this advertising and in the complexity of the ever developing technological world this product messaging is somehow providing a stabilizing force. Tradition is still yearned for however, but more and more seen as a skeletal memory of a pre-technological world.   New, loose interpretations of tradition have taken over from the old archetypal stories and transformed the deep wisdom into the lowest common denominator: brandable, manageable and marketable devices.

Technology and our relationship with our world

Technology, feeding the American dream of freedom and technological enabling, withdraws us from our work, our tradition, our family and our sense of place. In its effort to combat medieval inequality, the capitalist system uses competition and new forms of social inequality in order to propel the system further.   Access to commodities is unequal, based on income, and this causes further tensions in our relationships. Lower classes now are driven in competition by the belief they can attain the status of higher classes. Motivating the lower classes to work harder and buy more only causes greater gulfs in the human dialogue. Technology actually further commoditises the inequality.   The upward yearning does not encourage people to associate with those below them. Those in lower classes tend to pay for economic declines, while the middle class is generally comfortable and therefore disengaged from issues relating to justice.   Borgmann argues that while technology is generally inconsequential to social activism, it has a safety measure which helps balance any sense of unrest. The justice process itself is commoditized. This is not relational. The labour movement for example, according to Borgmann is compliant. All   that is asked for is more money and more benefits. This can only be maintained as long as technology is advancing. Such progress says Borgmann, is detached from our sense of what it does to others, but becomes a type of social addiction.

With the rise of the bourgeoisie in a world divided between private and public distinctions, public celebrations rooted in friendship and religious life, gave way to artistic celebration. In the 19th century this evolved to the construction of buildings such as opera and art houses where the public more and more became a spectator rather than a participant. This loss of public dialogue and shared narrative was not missed by the public as it was balanced by a sense of glamour and prosperity. (Borgmann, 2003, p. 108)   Today, the public space is primarily a place of shopping centres and eating establishments aimed at feeding the commodity frenzy. It is generally not a relational space. Furthermore, the age of the World Wide Web has created a quasi-euphoric sense of hyper-intelligence that further accentuates the paradox of our relationships. While we appear to connect with more and more people, in grander and grander ways, we seem to relate to fewer and fewer.

This technological network has replaced the structures of our traditions, our teachers, our leaders and our family. Our allegiances are thin and our commitment shallow. In such a social dynamic our spiritual selves float in a lonely and stormy sea.

Technology and our relationship with who we are.
Spiritual leaders of all generations and all traditions have emphasized the importance of clearing one's calluses caused by the distractions of our material world. The creation of these calluses and the consequent disability that prevents us from looking inwardly is probably technology's biggest challenge. Many of us, if push comes to shove, are ambiguous and perhaps conflicted about the sense of how beneficial technology is to our personal lives. We don't want to go "backward" technologically, but many of us still do not have a sense of personal happiness and satisfaction as a result of it. The promise of the technological paradigm keeps perpetuating a feeling that life is not good enough and that we need even more - we are almost there but not quite. Consequently, there is a parallel feeling that we ourselves are not good enough. Despite all this, we remain patient with the solutions that we believe are yet to come from that same technological framework, while at the same time being more and more frustrated about our personal roles within that same system. This feeling of impotence, according to Albert Borgmann leads to "complacency that bespeaks a general acceptance of technological society". (Borgmann, 2003, p. 109)

The currency of "leisure" is at the forefront of our connection as persons with the technological system and gives us a sense that the system is indeed not closed, but that it is there for us, as persons. But how do we measure this relationship with technology in terms of personal awareness and happiness? Why does it seem to be less effective than we hoped? A reduction in substance and dignity of the self has created an emptiness to be filled only by further consumption. There is a major split between our surface appearance as individuals in society, showing off our opulent consumer acquisitions, and the core that underlies our true selves. To a great extent technology depicts itself in our lives though our surface exposure of consumption in public and its real effect sticks to us through various manifestations of personal anxiety and dysfunction. Borgmann argues that this line between good and bad has been blurred through technology as it overwhelms the surface sensibility of our lives, to the point that it suffocates our ability to connect with our inner most spirit. Our technical fixes disengage us from the real problems and more importantly, the real potential solutions that can only be found by tapping into our personal core. We live in a world where we are confronted with too much information to discern, too many committees to understand what is genuine and too much consumption to understand what is real.

Wendell Berry points out that technical progress continues to degrade our attitude towards our own physical body as well. In itself the body is not perfect, yet the mechanical standards we create are given an aura of perfection, or at least the capacity to achieve it. We have placed machines as models of our ideal and in doing so we almost desire to be free of the body's limitations and be more like the machines we have created. The body is just a pleasure machine that we can exploit by utilizing more technology. The consequences do not matter and will somehow take care of themselves.

> "They see the body as an encumbrance of the mind, that is, as reduced to a set of mechanical ideas that can be implemented in machines – and so they hate it and long to be free of it." (Berry, 2002, p. 74)

The role of the body has been largely replaced by machines and all has been placed into a type of formula. According to Berry, the role of the human body is slowly becoming perceived as being obsolete! (Berry, 2002, p. 140)

Technology and Hyper Reality.

Our lack of touch with our reality and our own selves has, yet again, led to new technological commodities aimed at making such reality better. A move to hyper-reality, or controlled reality, has developed contrived images of our selves, not only in our advertising and our consumer goods, but more recently in blatant virtual worlds on the web and in electronic games. Disney's "perfect" world of Disneyland, erotic music videos and instant foods that profess to be something they are not, are but a few examples of how the lines between authenticity and illusion have been blurred.   Borgmann points out, that hyper-reality seems to be morally inert. (Borgmann, 1993, p.94) It is indifferent to its context and not fully situated in any world, let alone a true reflection of our personal identity. At its root, hyper-reality is glamorous, disposable and very short term. No matter what, we must eventually return to a reality that can never be as glamorous and this often leads us to a deeper sense of despair and emptiness.

> "Commodities, glamorous ones especially, are alluring, but they are not sustaining. A highly interactive hyper-reality may provide you with fitness and co-ordination.   Totally disburdening hyper-realities can keep emptiness at bay through even more refined and aggressive stimulation. But since the realm of commodity is not yet total, we must sooner or later step out of it into the real world   it is typically a resentful and defeated return." (Borgmann 1993, p. 96)

The disconnectedness of hyper-reality doesn't provide the vigour, the patience and the reflection needed, for us to connect with ourselves, situated in the real world. Today's hyper-reality is quick and superficial, according to Borgmann. (Borgmann, 1993, p.106) Our connection is generally limited to eyes and ears. "The symmetry of the world and the body is reduced to a shallow, if glamorous world and a hyper informal, yet disembodied person." (Borgmann, 1993, p. 106)   Hyper-intelligence is broadening our abilities in some ways, but it is also creating a culture where we are limiting the time we allocate for intelligent questioning and reflection, to a narrow and often abbreviated font of knowledge.

Technology and Acts of Love

Albert Borgmann tells us that the moral decay of society is in fact a perfect incubator for technological growth. This reality, where vices are turned into benefits and something to be exploited, seems to minimise the consequence of moral failures. Greed, envy and gluttony take over from love and become manifest as the main drivers of the competitive aspect of our action. (Borgmann, 1984, p.48) Any dialogue about what is right or wrong is mainly left to the political milieu, from which, as we have discussed, we are detached and in which we place minimal credibility or accountability. As a result, a morally neutral stance drives the politics of liberal democracy as it constantly seeks to define the good life. The age of enlightenment and a sense of liberal discourse in society appear on the one hand, to liberate us from dogma and the oppression of ruling classes. On the other hand, Borgmann points out that we have created a new moral order that encourages autonomous self-development and self-regulation. Are we able to assess our actions without a moral barometer? Do the technical modelling and infrastructures that promise us

stability and unlimited growth, provide a sufficient understanding of the consequences of our actions to insure that they are grounded, first and foremost in love?

Wendell Berry agrees with Borgmann in challenging the forms of analysis and specialized management that we have become so used to and that are instrumental in our decision making. Berry's position makes us understand that technological efficiency ignores love and reduces everything to an abstraction, measured by numerical equations. He challenges the planners and scientists who look at the world from their lofty positions, trying to find the solutions as to how to bring everything together, while they are in fact, slowly, blindly destroying it. Macro specialists do not see the world with affection. Berry charges such professionals with simply "knowing and not caring".

> "To think better, to think like the best humans, we are probably going to have to learn again to judge a person's intelligence, not by the ability to recite facts, but by the good or harmoniousness of his or her surroundings. We must suspect that any statistical justification of ugliness and violence is a revelation of stupidity." (Berry, 2002, p. 193)

Technology, which helps gather and store knowledge, is also the desensitizer. It gives a false sense of control and alienates those who are seeking knowledge through facts and figures, from the real priorities of living. In such an instrumental world the technology is not connected or situated in a particular place and can therefore not understand, through feeling, what is really at stake? There is no valid testing of the tools and no sense of consequence. The means are more important than the ends and specialization leads to a dominance of machine over people and their natural world.

Technology can destroy relationships and can propagate an antipathy towards community life and in turn, to communal moral standards. Our motivations must be informed not only by knowledge, but by feelings. Our affection and sense of responsibility will help us evaluate our wants and can help us respond to the oppression within which we live. Reflection can lead us back to harmony, a harmony between our works, our pleasures, our wants and our needs. Such a harmony is needed for a moral existence. Such a world is not about technology for the sake of it, but about good order and balance. It is a world with a longer memory, multidimensional, and one that is not focused on a temporary agenda, but that has a long-term vision. (Berry, 2002, p207) Such a world is not to be justified by economics or science, but by humanities and by love. If left unto itself "industrialization always proposes to correct its errors by more industrialization". (Berry, 2002, p. 141) Instead, we must look into our hearts and into our sense of goodness. We must rediscover a world where technology is a tool and not an end unto itself. It may be a functional aid on our journeys, but not the central navigator. Ultimately, we must ask ourselves a central question: is technology being used in a life affirming way?

A New Ethic of Technology
A new ethical perspective of technology is necessary, one that helps us go through the vortex of technological blindness and that challenges us to consider ways of understanding our roles in the universe, beyond the medieval metaphors. Technology is all about efficiency, speed and growth. Wendell Berry points out that nature is all about being in the present, drawing from the past, without mortgaging

the future and that, good work takes time. Good work is a "cosmic intention" which assumes the essential wisdom of communities over generations. (Berry, 2002, p.188) Berry asks us to look beyond the ease of technology and regain our depth. We must seek to redeem the society that is dominated by gluttony and a competitive environment made up of winners and losers obsessed with profits at any cost.   This is a society that has turned against the potential of our human nature.   It has abandoned honesty, compassion and mutuality.   Such a society needs to be redeemed.

Albert Borgmann is a realist and accepts that technology is not going away. We understand how the system that technology has developed around itself, is denying us the awareness and ability to go back and evaluate the root reasons for machinery. We have a responsibility to not leave it to be propelled primarily by unmitigated greed. The storytellers of today have a responsibility to engage in this dialogue and reflect the totality of what it means to be human. Through open discourse we can help each other re-engage as full human beings. We must challenge the superficiality and romantic solutions that we apply to the technological issues and delve deeply into the core of our actions. This will show us the root propensity for evil and indeed, the root manifestation of goodness. (Berry, 2002, p. 88)

A Call to Engage
The machine is a symbol of both the potential and the weakness of humanity. We see how technology has brought much opportunity and knowledge to many more people than in a pre-technological world.   We also see how opportunity gives way to opportunism and power in the hands of a few. Most in our society are not in a place of happiness, but are, as Borgmann puts it, lost in "distracting and debilitating affluence". (Borgmann, 2003, p. 95)   Motivation that is limited to individual aspirations leads to ultimate decay and indifference. (Borgmann, 2003, p. 95) The technological model, like capitalism, does not have the ability to self-modulate. That function is in the hands of persons of good will, relating, reflecting and acting. A tradition that seeks goodness cannot be invoked by law or a policing authority, but by an open heart and an engaged spirit. In many ways communication technology has given us the opportunity to be more connected and open in our dialogue. However, inherent in it is a culture of economic growth driven by unending consumerism. At the same time, the superficiality of the technological paradigm acts as an anaesthetic against the fundamental challenges and injustice.   Ultimately, liberal democracy and technology are intimately tied to each other, mutually supportive to a level of quasi-idolatry. Recently, we have seen how the urban occupation movements by social justice demonstrators collaborated in substantial group dynamics with the help of technology and social media. At the same time, it was that same technology that kept such movements in check that swayed public opinion and measured society's patience through media reports, and ultimately secured the core of the urban machinery in the name of economic stability and progress. The technological machine was at the source of many of the injustices which were being protested. They were also what connected the protestors, and in turn, controlled the security of the city on behalf of the status quo. It is difficult to engage in such a dance. What is at the heart of what is right?

To reform technology we need to be true to what we feel and what is challenged at the heart of our world view. We must ignore the seductive promise of technology and look within it with an authentic mandate and openness to reform. In this way we can learn to distance ourselves from technology's addictive qualities while

pushing to do something genuine and positive. We engage technology not just because something is possible, but to embrace gifts of creativity now available to us - gifts that upon inner reflection we feel are constructive in our human journey.

Conclusion

We cannot withdraw from our technological environment. The technological paradigm is overwhelmingly today's acceptable standard. Despite its shortcomings technology is not seen by society as a force of power which we created and that we can change, but as something that implicitly and intrinsically defines our world perspective. Neither must we allow its distractions to make us oblivious to the issues we have discussed. Ongoing engagement must be at forefront of our minds. We can thus be aware that we have the capacity to infuse goodness in that same technological world. (Borgmann, 2003, p. 104)

The choice to take on technology and help revive its beauty will be difficult. We will be confronted by familiar, seductive promises: glamour, the further ease of burden, the guarantee to provide ourselves and our children with finer things, reaffirmation of our existence through material goods and ultimately, happiness. (Borgmann, 2003, p. 105) However this can be balanced by our ability to tell stories from the heart that respond to the sense of loss and sadness, the feeling of betrayal of our tradition and the joy of being true to our real potential as partners in creation.

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The Ethics of Freedom on Facebook

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Abstract

As a technical object, Facebook's vocation is to produce a maximum of effects with the least amount of effort. This fundamental determinism is a powerful motive of Facebook's implantation as a socialization device in contemporary societies. However, with Facebook, the web user is faced with an ambivalence, which illustrates an important ethical problem. On the one hand, he opens himself to a potentially immense social web which nourishes the roots of his self-determination. On the other hand however, through the facility and the exclusively digital mediation that the tool offers, the user abandons more or less partially the building of his self and his social interactions to strongly disciplined digital exchanges that fragment his identity and that of others. Thus, the progressive and deep infiltration of these new organizational modes of communication seem to influence the traditional meaning of ethics. What ethics are at work? Is there something lost or is there a risk of something being absorbed by these digital social practices? This article proposes answers to these questions by opposing two philosophical perspectives on freedom: kantian deontology and anglo-saxon utilitarianism.

Keywords: Ethics, Kant, utilitarianism, Facebook, freedom

Introduction

As a technical object, Facebook's vocation is to produce a maximum of effects with the least amount of effort. This fundamental determinism is a powerful motive of Facebook's implantation as a socialization device in contemporary societies. Thus, "[a human being] wants to conquer nature with a new prodigy" (Ovide, 1806). However, with Facebook, the web user is faced with an ambivalence, which illustrates an important ethical problem. On the one hand, he opens himself to a potentially immense social web which nourishes the roots of his self-determination (Deci and Ryan, 2000). Thanks to the keyboard he fully controls, the user does what he wants. In a few moments, he can be informed, make contact, play, like, hate, meet, consult, agree, publish, be touched or moved, share, converse, work, or role play. In this way, which is the sense we usually attribute to the notion of liberty, the use of this technical object renders the web user a free agent. On the other hand however, through the facility and the exclusively digital mediation that the tool offers, the user abandons more or less partially the building of his self and his social interactions to strongly disciplined digital exchanges that fragment (because of the digitalization of the exchanges) his identity and that of others. In addition, because of its internal

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coherence, Facebook's structure favors a certain disposition of elements, meaning that certain elements of the device have more effects than others and this has a major incidence on the web user whose interpretations and behaviors are either encouraged or discouraged. As defined by Foucault (1977), the device refers here to an apparatus, which is formed by a series of parts placed in a way that affects the field of action. This arrangement has a normative effect since it creates a propensity for certain types of actions (Raffnsøe, 2008).

While Facebook disciplines individual actions, it also disciplines, through its structure, social relations. A regularization conditions the relationships between Facebook members and the virtual platform, giving form and regularity to the way the users give news (status updates), stay in contact (reading friend's or acquaintance's "wall"), organize events (invitations which can be checked "going" , "maybe" or "not going"), manifest their agreement ("I like"), etc. Non-participation seems to be the only possible contestation of the discipline. Moreover, this discipline spreads to other digital social networks while some reflexes acquired in Facebook are reproduced elsewhere, always with the risk of prefomatting social exchanges.

This is not all. The practices developed through Facebook migrate to other web platforms. Originally dedicated to practitioners with certain criteria making them admissible, Facebook is now open to all web users and the diversification of the type of member is observable. Facebook's structure instills an order for the collective use of the platform where the new subscribers copy the "old" subscribers' practices: there is a reproduction and then a consolidation of the different ways to use the device. The platform transforms itself to respond to new technologies and conforms to more and more usual and consensual practices. For example, Facebook is now adapted to smart phones and optimizes their functions through this type of apparatus, which is available at all times. Disciplining a practice produces effects on you, which are not restricted to the use of technology. This explains, in part, a generalization of this type of disciplining of the Facebook device into other life experiences. By generalizing itself as much in the population as in everyday practices, the Facebook device is therefore introduced in many fields of social experiences.

Thus, the progressive and deep infiltration of these new organizational modes of communication seem to influence the traditional meaning of ethics. To the face to face interaction, which constitutes the founding act of ethics, is added a diversity of digital platforms which regulate exchanges. From that moment, what becomes of this apparent freedom proclaimed through Facebook's popularity? What ethics are at work? Is there something lost or is there a risk of something being absorbed by these digital social practices?

Freedom as duty
To answer this question, there first must be a deconstruction of the commonly referred to notion of freedom. To pursue this task, there seems to be a need to oppose two aspects of freedom, which emerge from the use of the Facebook device as a mode of self-production. In modern ethics theory, influenced by deontology or utilitarianism, freedom is generally conceived in two ways: either as *duty* or *satisfaction*. The notion of freedom as a duty focuses on the discovery of a psychic competence which renders the subject capable - or at least, partially capable - of detaching from his natural determinants or from his emotions to accomplish a deliberate and autonomous act. This vision of freedom is primarily associated to Kantian deontologism. Contrarily to Descartes, it is not founded on ontological

dualism that understands body and spirit as two separate entities. This understanding of freedom rather relies on a phenomenological[3] dualism revealed through the introspective experience of a rational consciousness, which can allow self-determination, even if sometimes it goes against certain desires and inclinations.

> The *will* is a species of causality of living beings, insofar as they are rational, and *freedom* would be that quality of this causality by which it can be effective independently of alien causes *determining* it; just as *natural necessity* is the causality of all beings lacking reason, of being determined to activity through the influence of alien causes (Kant, 2002 [1785]: 63).

This definition of freedom is referred to as *negative*, since it indicates what freedom is opposed to in order to manifest the autonomy of will. Positive freedom, for Kant, is will's attribute of determining its own law (Kant, 2002 [1785]: 64). However, through what means is this possible? It is possible because will, guided by reason, can determine actions from psychic dispositions which are tied to preferences or desires geared towards objects. For example, it is possible for a gluttonous human being to adjust many of his behaviors to his desire to eat. At the same time, if he wants, he can also dismiss this desire and not let the object (food) determine his action. This gluttonous person can, on the contrary, choose to ignore his immediate desire by founding his actions on motives that do not come from his own interest. He does this when, for example, he shares with his peers despite his hunger. The possibility of sharing, like all other ethical act, emanates from the fundamental and universal aptitude of human reasoning which is to act in an objective manner, despite considerations solely rooted in physical and egotistical needs. In more technical terms, Kant calls this rule of action *categorical imperative*[4] and it allows the subject to determine himself freely. The categorical imperative underlines the importance, for subjects of an ethical nature, of acting in an impartial manner and, consequently, of adopting a way of conduct, which can be deemed acceptable by all reasonable human beings, placed in similar circumstances.

For Kant, the possibility of the categorical imperative (and what he calls the moral law) is the necessary condition for ethics because it is through freedom that human beings best express their singular essence, that is to say, their dignity. It is thanks to freedom that they can maintain their integrity as individuals and as members of a species. Indeed, if all human actions were motivated uniquely by personal interests, humanity would quickly find itself in a state of permanent war of all against all (Hobbes, 2005 [1651]). In Kantian reasoning on ethics, we can see an analogy with science. For knowledge to exist, it is not possible to have an intelligible world without universal laws, founded principally on causality, and whose coherence is shared by *all* human beings granted with reason. If there exists something as opposed to nothing, it is precisely because life and the world are ordered according to regularities, which can be assimilated to laws. A world without laws would not exist because its structural instability would make it imperceptible to human intelligence. Decidedly, without structural stability, the existence of life would be impossible. That also goes for ethics. Kantian ethics suppose a structure of possibilities supported by the

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[3] By phenomenological, we mean knowledge as a result of the process of a conscience which observes itself.

[4] There exists many formulations of the categorical imperative, the most known is this following: "Act in a way so the maxim of your will may always be worth a universal legislation principal." (free translation from Kant, 1985 [1788].

capacity to make choices which are decentralized from strict self reference; choices that are supported by freedom and by a shared meaning from which each human being can judge the validity of an action. This freedom and this meaning are necessary to the integrity of human life as proclaimed in international law or the religions of the world, the prohibition of murder or the defense of dignity and fundamental liberties.

Therefore, by following the deontological Kantian tradition, freedom is conceived as a responsibility or a duty. Meaning that the movement by which human beings surpass themselves is an *effort* without which neither liberty nor ethics can occur. Honoring human beings is in itself a way to act through duty while refusing natural and spontaneous inclinations to command our actions. Whoever has had thoughts about the meaning of ethical action will recognize with Kant that, at all times, it (ethical action) is made possible by the strong capacity for abnegation that all human beings, who are granted with reason, share.

Freedom as satisfaction

On the other hand, freedom as satisfaction is based on the natural tendency of human beings to value useful actions, those that produce a maximum of benefits for the lowest possible cost (human, economical, etc.), (Sen, 2010). This conception first was defended by the British philosophers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, and interestingly, it has dominated economic theory for many decades. Freedom as a satisfaction relies on an anthropology radically different from the one enunciated by Kant. A famous passage in Bentham's works eloquently synthesizes this vision:

> Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure.* It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think… (Bentham, 1789: 1)

For classical utilitarianism, whether it be economical or philosophical, human actions are motivated by a *summum bonum:* the quest for well being and the avoidance of sufferance. Thus, what is ethical is what promises the greatest amount of well being for the greatest number of people (Mill, 2008 [1863] : 19). It is in this context that freedom appears, in its positive definition, as the power to satisfy a certain quest for well being. Inversely, in its negative version, freedom commands to not impede the pursuit of happiness, which is what leads to the *harm principle* enunciated by Mill:

> Acts, of whatever kind, which, without justifiable cause, do harm to others, may be, and in the more important cases absolutely require to be, controlled by the unfavorable sentiments, and, when needed by the active interference of mankind. The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited; he must not make himself a nuisance to other people. (Mill, 2001 [1859]:52).

This research on well being as the ultimate goal of ethics results from three principles which, we will see, are worthy of interest to grasp the ethics of self-production which is enabled by the Facebook device: the maximization of the cost-benefits ratio, the freedom of expression and the full development of individuality. The principle of maximization is the logical outcome of the imperative: "the greater well-being for the greater number" insofar as it invites a summation - thus, a calculation in which the

option producing the greatest sum will be chosen. Obviously, like all calculations, the negative aspects of a given situation are added to the positive ones to create the arithmetic of the utilitarian ethical choice. That said, it becomes natural to aim for the most efficient means since they offer the greatest sum of well-being if the costs and the benefits are both related to an action.

As for freedom of expression, in the political sphere, it remains a transposition of feedom as satisfaction, which is to say a transposition of the seeking, through an action, of a certain state of well-being. Well-being is an effect inseparable from the possibility which offers itself to all human beings, of living the life he wishes to live, of adopting mores that are as he sees fit and of abiding to ideas in which he believes.

> As it is useful that while mankind are imperfect there should be different opinions, so it is that there should be different experiments; that free scope should be given to varieties of character, short of injury to others; and that the worth of different modes of life should be proved practically, when anyone thinks fit to try them. It is desirable, in short, that in things which do not primarily concern others, individuality should assert itself. (Mill, 2001 [1859]: 53)

If he wishes to have access to an authentic form of liberty, a human being must be able to confront, by himself, his personality and specific faculties with a diversity of situations, which will help him construct his individuality. On this topic, Mill writes, in a beautiful passage borrowed from the German philosopher Wilhem von Humboldt:

> The object towards which every human being must ceaselessly direct his efforts, and on which especially those who design to influence their fellow-men must ever keep their eyes, is the individuality of power and development; for this, there are two requisites, freedom, and variety of situations; and that from the union of these arise individual rigor and manifold diversity, which combine themselves in originality (Mill, 2001 [1859]: 54).

In sum, and contrarily to the vision of Kant's deontology, the conception of freedom as satisfaction is characterized by its eudemonist scope, meaning its focus on happiness. Therein, Mill's ethics and what he contributes to the concept of liberty is not far from the Greek philosophers. For them, as Foucault reminds us, it is first by concern for one's self which is expressed in the integral development of the individual and of his liberty, that a social group's progress can occur. The Kantian scope is different since its ethics is charaterized by a systematic search for self-detachment, which can validate an action with the inate truth of a universal law.

Freedom Emerging from the Facebook Device
It is now clear that the question of the self-production through the Facebook device first falls into the reflection of the theme of freedom, whether it be understood as duty or as satisfaction. The Facebook platform allows the web users to satisfy their desire for socialization, personal expression, exposure and, more globally, gives them access to a stimulating environment. Here, the abolition of certain spatial and temporal boundaries is not so banal. The multiplication of information sources and their establishment through networks on a universal scale can certainly contribute to reinforcing the sentiment of decompartmentalization of thoughts and the development of a consciousness, which reinforces the feeling of liberty. What unites

the different conceptions of freedom is first and foremost self-consciousness and knowledge. Thanks to both of these, a human being can detach himself from parts of the programming inherited from his childhood and become an adult, and thus, more free: he grows out of his "state of minority[5]" according to Foucault's (1984) reading of Kant's answer to the question *Was ist Aufklarung?* (What is enlightment?). This observation is applicable to Kantian ethics because reason and will imply the growth of self-consciousness. It is also applicable to Bentham and Mill's ethics since the search for well-being requires an acute judgment generated by consciousness and knowledge. The distribution network constituted by Facebook participates in the enterprise of the sensitization of consciences through the free flow of information. It contributes to the edification of a truly collective intelligence, which profits each stakeholder.

Yet, the device of disciplining by micro-actions still inducts certain perverse effects explainable by a behaviorist mechanism of conditioned reflexes. The Facebook device offers its users the possibility of socializing in a relatively safe psychological environment (the affects are present online, but they pass through the platform's filter) and, contrarily to the face-to-face approach where shyness and uneasiness is exposed and visible, Facebook allows to present oneself to others with the mediation of a screen. Thus, a greater control of the socialization steps exists. This comfort, which results from the influence exerted by the user on his digital reality, acts as a defense mechanism for the ego. This situation therefore risks creating a sentiment of dependency towards the foreseeable and safe universe where the pain of rejection or poignant looks from others can be avoided. The experience of suffering and that of alterity is still, however, considered essential to the emergence of an ethical meaning in existentialist and phenomenological currents of philosophy (Husserl, 2000 [1931] ; Sartre, 1976; Lévinas, 1990).

In fact, paradoxically, the object which is given to the web user through the means of a keyboard and screen, creates for him an insurmountable physical limit, namely the organicity of the body and all its attributes: energy of the presence of the other, integral sensuality, uncontrollability, proprioception, etc. Consequently, the shaping of the web user through repeated contact with this input, risks producing a habit in which fundamental aspects of ethics and liberty can be partially absent. From a developmental point of view, self-consciousness - a motor of liberty - relies on learning through receptors (senses), but also through the physical and psychological ordeals resulting from life, which can, at times, be heavy, afflictive or uncontrollable. The Facebook device can only partially translate these aspects. Given the relationship to another, which is modulated by the prism of particularization, Facebook's structure promotes an egocentric dynamic and a reification of identities. If it is simplistic to affirm that this dynamic is a fatality through which all users ineluctably progress towards their own dehumanization. the power of attraction of this tool is the possibility of a seclusion from socialization and corollary, from ethical meaning, within a digital corridor which assures a relationship with another. In the end, we accept the idea that within the Facebook device, the search for well-being which is at the core of the utilitarian conception of freedom as satisfaction, can end up gradually hollowing out one's capacity of abnegation necessary for the realization of freedom

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[5] Minority is characterized by a "certain state of our will which makes us accept the authority of someone else to lead use in areas where it is appropriate to use reason" (free translation, Foucault, 1984: 1383).

as duty. We must find means to avoid the individual's seclusion while leaning towards an ethical ideal for the use of Facebook.

Conclusion

We saw that disciplining practices on Facebook subscribes to a larger disciplining of practices within the internet and digital social media era. This puts a pressure on the individual using these new technologies in such a way that his field of action undergoes a normative effect, which transforms certain dispositions. The device tends to favor certain behaviors of socialization. Thus, the question is to know if the user can still create a space to allow his behaviors to have an ethical aim and if he is capable of refining them by transforming his use of Facebook.

In the perspective where we have defined the ethics of freedom from the Kantian deontology of freedom as duty and the utilitarian approach of freedom as satisfaction, we conclude that these conditions for liberty can exist within the Facebook device. However, it comes with the cost of an ethical effort, which renders the action a means of self-fashioning "in accordance with reason". It is important to become "stronger" than Facebook's structure (and of its mercantile and police-like objectives, for instance) in order to free ourselves from it and learn to use the tool in order to diversify its functions to our own advantages. That is to say, to shift towards a quest of the common well-being and the reduction of suffering for all; collectively, to use Facebook not to harm others or to distance oneself from our corporality, but rather use the device to open ourselves to one another and participate in the amelioration of social life. We should consider the use of Facebook as a way of varying the relation to oneself and to others or as an addition (and not a replacement) to the diversity of means we have for coming into contact with others and remaining authentic to oneself. This technique of the self can be part of the integral development of the individuality and also could contribute to the happiness of the greatest number. Thanks to the sharing and the networking perpetuated by the online tool and because of each micro-actions, we could maximize the cost-benefits ratio of this tool to optimize liberty of expression and collective well-being in which each individual could participate in the edification of a world in which he wants to live. In other words, we might adopt the rigid structure to transform it into a political tool, which is artistically proficient thanks to a disciplining of behaviors, which leans towards this collective quest for better living. What has been described is what the ethical ideal of Facebook's use could be in order to make it into a "thought out practice of freedom" (Foucault, 1984) and for us, an action towards our own freedom.

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PART THREE

ETHICS, DEONTOLOGY AND SELF-REGULATION

The ethical values within the
Spanish journalistic culture

Martín Oller Alonso[1]

Abstract

Based on data collected from 100 interviews with journalists in Spain[2], this paper analyzes the Spanish journalistic culture based on ethical values of journalists. Our goal is to determine the common traditional ethical values within western journalism and journalism in Spain. One of the conclusions of this study is that we do find global ethical influences on journalism, empiricism and work in Spanish journalistic culture. We also find universal ethical values within the Spanish journalistic culture. Although, the results show that Spanish journalists in their daily work do not pay excessive attention to these philosophical aspects. We could determine this, because our analysis of professional elements, organizations and procedures within the Spanish journalistic culture showed greater interference with practical factors.

Keywords: *worlds of journalism study*; journalistic culture; ethical dilemmas; Spain.

Introduction

This work is part of the *Worlds of Journalism Study* (WJS). For the first phase (from 2007 to 2011), called *Worlds of Journalism* (WoJ), were carried out a total of 2100 interviews with journalists from 400 news organizations (radio, television, newspapers, media agencies, etc.) in 21 countries. For our analysis of the Spanish journalistic culture we have based our study on 100 interviews with journalists in Spain. In the following table the basic parameters of the sample are reflected:

TABLE 1: Basic parameters of the sample in the studio *Woj Spain*.

Basic parameters of the sample	Spain
Journalists surveyed	100
Women journalists (%)	40
Age (M)	40
University degree (%)	99
Year worked as journalist (M)	17

SOURCE: Compiled from WoJ results.

The objective of this paper is to determine to what extent traditional ethical values common in Western journalism, can be applied to Spain.

Journalistic culture and ethical ideologies

We understand the journalistic culture as a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, legitimate their role in society and

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render their work meaningful for themselves and others (Hanitzsch 2007). Because the journalist's professional work is rooted in a particular culture. The theoretical construction of journalism culture is complex. Therefore its analysis should start from the representation of different institutional manifestations in different stages. We do this by creating three dimensions of analysis according to Hanitzsch (2007): institutional roles, epistemology, and ethical ideology.

Here we will focus on the study of the third block: ethical ideologies. This examines how journalists respond to ethical dilemmas. In this block are four perspectives: 1) the *standard professional approach*, when journalists are committed to universal ethical codes and editorial guidelines; 2) the *liberal professional approach*, which is based on the criteria of the pre-established perspectives through exposing a series of arguments; 3) the *cynical approach*, which appears when journalists do not give importance to ethical dilemmas; and 4) *ethical relativists*, who are journalists who promote *ad hoc* responses (a solution developed specifically for a specific problem or need) to ethical dilemmas.

An alternative approach was suggested by Plaisance (2005), who organized the ethical ideologies in two dimensions. Those Hanitzsch (2007: 371-379) has taken as reference when he created the dimensions within this block: 1) *relativism*, based on the belief and affirmation or rejection of universal ethical codes; and 2) *idealism*, based on certain actions by the media or their results. The intersection of these two dimensions results in four different perspectives: 1) *situationism*, journalists who reject universal ethical standards and analyze *case by case*; 2) *absolutism*, related to idealism but considers that best results are achieved from universal ethical rules; 3) *subjectivism*, defines journalists who support their judgments on personal values but are receptive to certain negative thoughts in order to achieve something new and better; and 4) the "*excepcionism*", in this group are the journalists who are guided by universal ethical codes, but also remain open to any exceptions provided to help prevent certain negative consequences.

Influence factors

Ethical values depend on the influences that journalists perceive in their daily work. More specifically, we detailed six areas of influence proposed by Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011:406-7): 1) *political influence* (government, politicians, censorship, etc.); 2) *economic influences* (expectations profit, market research, public, etc.); 3) *the influence of the organization* (the editorial decisions of journalistic routines, the influences of the owners of the media, supervisors or chief editors, etc.); 4) *the influences of the procedure* (common constraints such as lack of resources, space, rules, standards or routines); 5) *professional influences* (media beliefs, laws, guidelines, editorials, etc.); and 6) *the influences from the reference group* (other colleagues, competition among media organizations, audiences, friends, family, etc.).

This study shares the conceptual framework and the methodology of the project WoJ, assuming that this research conducted in Spanish journalistic culture allows us a comparative study. And thus, expands our range of issues and results, and can operate from various methodological perspectives intended to find the similarities and variances between different journalistic cultures (Mills et al., 2006: 620).

Results

Concerning the ethical ideology of journalists in Spain our results show that journalists tend to follow the universal ethical principles, regardless of the situation

and the context (90.2%). The table 2 shows the results relating to the analysis of ethical ideology of journalists in Spain:

TABLE 2: Journalistic culture in Spain: ethical values.

		N	Spain %
There are ethical principles which are so important that they should be followed by all journalists, regardless of situation and context		100	90.2
	M		4.51
	SD		0.87
Journalists should avoid questionable methods of reporting in any case, even if it means not getting the story		100	83.0
	M		4.15
	SD		1.12
There are situations in which harm is justifiable if it results in a story that produces a greater good		100	63.6
	M		3.18
	SD		1.28
What is ethical in journalism varies from one situation to another		100	65.2
	M		3.26
	SD		1.41
Ethical dilemmas in news coverage are often so complex that journalists should be allowed to formulate their own individual codes of conduct		100	53.0
	M		2.65
	SD		1.37
Reporting and publishing a story that can potentially harm others is always wrong, irrespective of the benefits to be gained		100	69.2
	M		3.46
	SD		1.03

SOURCE: Dates compiled from the results of *WoJ*.

Centered mean scores: values indicate the importance of the item in relation to the Spain mean all items belonging to the same domain of journalism culture (institutional roles). Original scores ranges between 5="extremely important"/"strongly agree" and 1="not important at all"/"strongly disagree". Are represented the number of the sample, mean, arithmetic mean and standard deviation.

M: mean
N: number of the sample
SD: standard desviation
x: arithmetic mean

These results regarding the dimension of *relativism* reveal that the journalists based their individual moral philosophy on universal ethical rules, even though news coverage is often complex and journalists should be able to formulate their personal codes of conduct.

Regarding the dimension of *idealism*, journalists in Spain also believe that professionals should avoid "questionable methods", although this Could mean that they cannot present their story (83%). Therefore, they believe that the information that they want to reach must always be obtained through "correct" ways. However, journalists ethics can vary from one situation to another (65.2%).

Figure 1 allows us to visualize a two-dimensional spatial representation of the idea that Spanish journalists have about ethical.

FIGURE 1: Position of Spain regarding ethical values, *CoPlot*, coefficient of alienation= 0.118, average of correlations= 0,856.
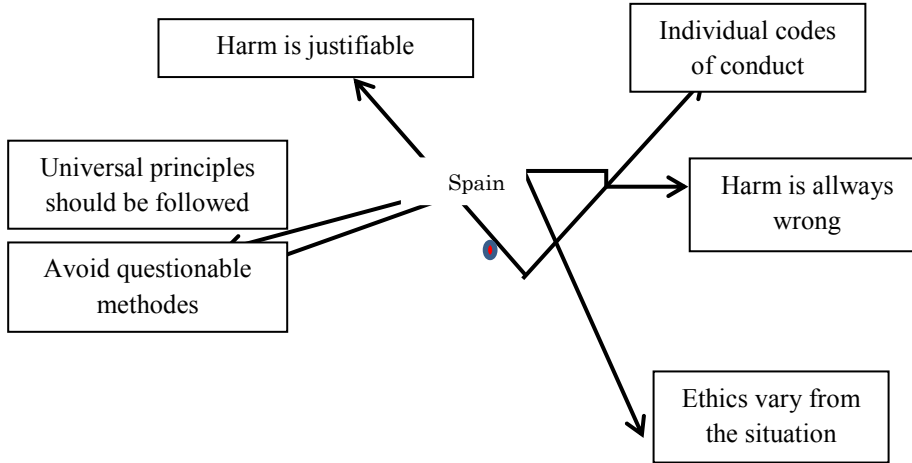
SOURCE: Compiled from WoJ results.

From the relative position of the vectors can be seen that Spain is situated on a point that could be defined by its "abstract structure". The vertical axis in this composition is represented by individual and situational ethical ideas. The horizontal axis represents the focus of the media and of the consequences of this information. Spain is positioned at the bottom of Figure 1 in an intermediate point. We should note that the right side of this figure represents the journalistic cultures in which they tend to follow universal ethical standards; and the left side represents the journalistic cultures where there is some skepticism about these universal ethical values. The position occupied by Spanish journalistic culture in this figure would be a symptom of its evolution to adapt to the "Western journalistic culture". Spain, as other countries, as affirm by Hanitzsch et al. (2011:19) and Forsyth (1980:176), is in the middle point, and this shows a tendency to follow the universal rules of ethics, but with a practical viewpoint that is open to exceptions.

With an analysis of the influences that journalists perceive we can define certain mutualities within the journalistic Spanish culture. Figure 2 shows the statistical data obtained from the survey responses:

FIGURE 2: Journalistic culture in Spain: influences that journalists perceive.
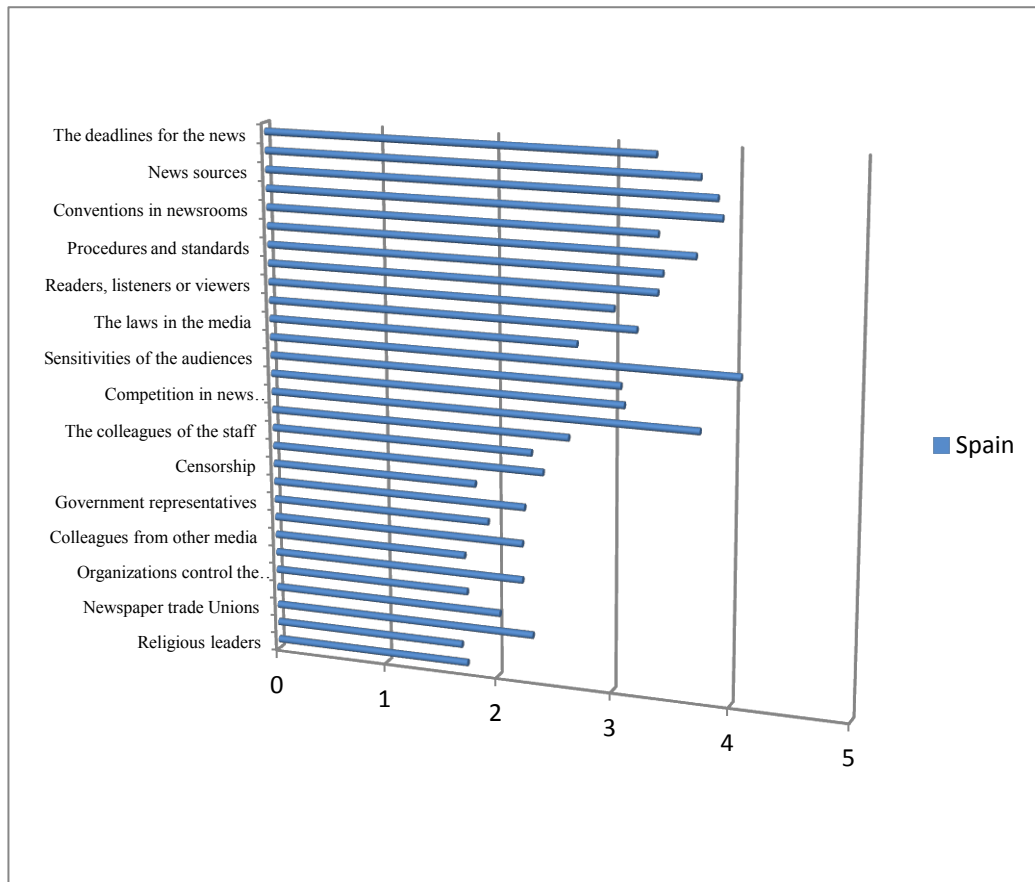
SOURCE: Compiled from WoJ results. Original scores ranges between 5="extremely important"/"strongly agree" and 1="not important at all"/"strongly disagree".

Conclusions:

Within the Spanish journalism culture the journalists accept of universal ethical codes in their daily professional decisions. In a second plane are the individual ethical codes. At this point, we find some inconsistency regarding the allegations of journalists surveyed. Because the results show that it appears to be quite accepted, that ethical values can vary from one situation to another.

We can establish that these philosophical issues are presented to journalists as a diffuse and difficult situation to understand. Because the concept of journalistic culture is inclusive enough to integrate diverse discourses on concepts such as professionalism, objectivity, professional perceptions of roles journalistic or ethical standards (Hanitzsch et al., 2010: 274-275; Oller and Meier, 2012: 10).

Despite the complexity involved in this issue, journalists choose to reject the information that harm a person or a group, irrespective of the benefits to be gained.

We must emphasize the difficulty to find results that can be placed at one extreme or the other in actual journalism practice. The main conclusions obtained are:

    a. Spanish journalists share the common values of Western journalism based on universal ethical principles.

    b. When discussing the ethical ideology of journalists in Spain we entered a complex and diffuse issue. The results do not show anything conclusive, except that the opinion of journalists are in some cases inconsistent. Still, it is clear that most

journalists believe in universal ethical values and they think that they must be maintained. In general, Spanish journalists fit the standard in journalism understood as "profession".

c. Journalists believe that they have a high level of autonomy. Although the survey responses show how the influences of the audiences, editorial decisions and economic reasons reduced the individual freedom of journalists. We note, as said Hanitzsch (2011), the low perceptions in economic needs by journalists. Less than you might expect. This aspect can explain for the filter action conducted by the media. Anyway, we deduce that journalists are not aware of the real influence of the external factors in their daily lives. Although they speak about internal pressures within the media (closing time news, bosses, owners, lack of resources, media standards and rules, etc.) and their influence in their professional and ethical concepts.

d. The main influences are perceived by journalists in the middle and inner levels closest to them. These are the professional elements, organization and procedures, which interfere with their daily routine of journalists. The current crisis is reflected in the lack of resources that professionals have in their work. External influences with higher rates of impact on journalists are strong competition between media, a factor indicative of the economic influence in the media market, and the relationship with their sources.

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Deontological codes of journalists:
the romanian experience

Marian Petcu[1] y Ruxandra Boicu[2]

Abstract

In this study, we follow the evolution of the effort of self-regulation of journalism in Romania, more specifically, the evolution of ethical and normative discourse. We propose a historical examination of the development of the concepts included in the regulating Romanian documents, since 1899 to the present moment.

Likewise, special mention is made of the various forms of the Journalists' association, whose mission has been the conception of a coherent set of professional claims. During the process of democratization that began at the beginning of the 90's, Romanian jurnalists have become ever more aware of the need for specific deontological rules to guide their professional activities.

Unfortunately, the concepts contained in the most recent deontological codes remain rather "metaphorical", which gives rise to misunderstandings in journalistic practices. In this respect, there are no clear stipulations about the penalties applied to journalists who violate the ethical norms inscribed in these codes. This article supplies numerous comments and examples of such ambiguous formulations.

Keywords: ethics, self-regulation, journalistic profession, rights and obligations

> *Pre-text*: Romania, 1998. In the town of Buzau, a man is found dead in a well. Police, firefighters, prosecutors and the media arrive on the spot. The corpse is taken out of the well, television teams are filming, numerous photos are taken. Yet, one television are missing, the one that had an exclusivity agreement (concerning priority in announcing on the events occurring) with the police. This television will arrive later and will cause a short scandal. Consequently, the corpse will be submerged again and drawn out of the well, the television exclusivity being thus satisfied by this gesture of the Police. The deceased's family are shocked, the journalists present are stunned, the neighbours are indignant. Late in that evening, at the TV newsreel, audiences learn about this unfortunate happening. Can we call that journalism ...?

Ethical reflection ought to be more frequent and more intense in Romania, compared to other countries, because we have sad records - the greatest manipulation of contemporary history, as Timişoara diversion has been called (tens of thousands of

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imaginary dead, killed by Securitate – political police), which is why this city has recently hosted, the international days of misinformation ...

In this study we follow the evolution of self-regulation in Romanian journalism, more specifically, the evolution of ethical and normative discourse. The media in Romania has long evolved under the sign of paradox. For example, until 1927, when the newspapers in Bucharest published an international code of ethics, there had been no such code of professional conduct. There had been some discussions, even indignation against the performance of the journalists who defied the rules of good cohabitation, but no document had been adopted.

However, imitating the professional practices in the West, some self-regulatory bodies appear also in Bucharest; in fact, these bodies had the functions of trying and punishing disciplinary violations. In this context, we should mention the honorary jury of the Journalists' Syndicate in Bucharest, as well as the juries of the Professional Journalists' Union, and of the General Federation of Provincial Press etc. As a matter of fact, since its founding, the Press Society (1899) statute stipulated the creation of a jury of three people in charge of judging "incorrect", "unworthy" acts of some of its members[3]. The sanctioning of disciplinary offenses was performed by an honorary jury consisting of prestigious representatives of the profession, and judgement was based on the rules of common sense, so to speak, on what was believed that professional conduct ought to be.

During the communist administration there were no codes, but regulatory attempts which, understandably, bore the mark of the official ideology. Provisions assimilable with deontological norms were included in what was called the Statute of Journalists (1955), as well as in the drafts of statute of the Journalists' Union in the Socialist Republic of Romania (1970), which contained the phrase "the ethics of the Romanian journalist" (art. 12), and for whose infringement one could be liable to be excluded from the profession[4]. This used to be the responsibility of the "Jury of honor", referred to in art. 27. Such provisions were also included in the 1972 draft of statute of professional journalists; however, the political authorities rejected these proposals made by the journalists, preferring a specific law. That is why the Press Law, adopted in 1974, in Chapter IV: *The journalist profession*, Section 1: *The journalist's rights and obligations*, mentioned that professional journalists have the duty, among others, "d. to demonstrate high ethical and professional consciousness, objectivity[5] and sense of responsibility in performing their profession exemplarily, to observe the laws and the state secrets, to strive steadfastly in any circumstance for the triumph of the truth; e. To consistently respect the norms of socialist ethics and equity in their everyday life ...[6]". Since all journalists were members of the Romanian Communist Party, they were obliged to comply with the Code of socialist ethics and equity adopted by the political leadership of the country.

After the collapse of the communist regime, a real explosion of information takes place in Romania, given the fact that no law and no professional norm was observed, while the access to the profession of journalism was freer than ever. The quick

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[3] Statutes of the Press Society (Statutele Societăţii Presei. Asociaţiune a ziariştilor, oamenilor de litere şi de artă din România), Tip. Corpului Didactic, Bucureşti, 1899, pp. 13 and 19.

[4] Although "the ethics of Romanian journalists has never been defined – *our note*.

[5] Communist legislation abounds in metaphorical formulations – "ethical and professional consciousness", "objectivity", "sense of responsibility" etc. – *our note*.

[6] Press Law in the Socialist Republic of Romania (Legea Presei din Republica Socialistă România, *Buletinul Oficial*, Part I, No. 48 from 1 April 1974, p. 12.

liberation from under the political control made possible new forms of press associations. The first congress of creation of the Federation of the free Trade Unions of journalists and printers took place on January 5, 1990; the participants decided "the creation of a Council of honor meant to judge litigations between journalists and cases involving the loss of the quality of journalist[7]". Not even this time we got a set of professional norms, but rather a list of professional claims. On September 19, 1990, the Association of the Journalists in Romania – the Federation of Trade Unions of all the press adopt an important document for the democratization of the field - Press Freedom Charter[8]. At art. 8, the representatives of the journalists inscribed the following: "The deontology of press works is conceived by the professional organizations. They, as guarantors of the quality of the press, have the right to set rules for qualification and practice known by the entire population (...). The State recognizes the rights of journalists at least those related to the relevant professions[9]"; here they claimed the need to be recognized as a profession with its own rules , like in the case of various liberal professions. The document will be drafted in a final form, on 20 September, publicized and submitted to the attention of the legislative power. Soon, the Association of the Journalists in Romania (Societatea Ziariştilor din România: SZR) will include about 100 unions, representing as many older or newer newsrooms.

There follows a succession of groups, of unions and an ideological clarification, we can say, when the new political power proposes a new press law. To be more specific, in the 1990-1998 period, 11 draft press laws were proposed. Their initiators were journalists (five projects), government members (two projects), political parties (two projects). The projects were rejected by Parliament, but even so they show a certain professional immaturity: there was no need of new laws, but of self-regulation.

The deontological codes would have been a way to deter politicians to propose new laws for journalists. Yet, during the above mentioned period, only three codes of conduct were adopted, including an "organizational" one (the editorial office code of Tineretul liber, adopted in 1995). As a proof of non-professionalism, we mention the three bills (1992, 1994, 1996) issued by the Union of Professional Journalists (!); they referred to "the profession of journalist[10]" and included deontological codes. In other words, the ethical norm was seen as juridical norm, which would have annulled the right of journalists to regulate their activity independently.

Other press law drafts will be submitted to Parliament by groups of journalists supported by certain political groups, in 2008, 2011 and 2012; probably, there will be more similar initiatives.

There followed a series of discussions about the need for professional training, of seminars, conferences etc. Two moments were of great interest, from our point of view – the adoption of the Code of Deontology and of the Journalist's Statute by the Convention of Media Organizations (2004) and the adoption of the Code of Deontology by the Romanian Press Club (2003).

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[7] The Daily *România liberă*, year XLVII, new series, No. 12, from 6 January 1990, p. 3.
[8] The Daily *Adevărul*, year I, No. 227, from 21 September 1990, p. 2
[9] Ibidem.
[10] Marian Petcu, "La législation des médias en Roumanie", *The Global Network. Communication and Society in Eastern Europe*, No. 9-10, 1997, p. 121.

Serious talks have appeared quite late, if we judge by what has been happening in the media: a great economic crisis during 1993-1994 (in Romania, there was an inflation of 280%, a context in which numerous publications disappeared, while those that remained on the market have turned into tabloids), a stronger politicization of public television and radio stations, lack of professional cohesion, a credibility crisis crossed by the press.

However, since December 2002, based on some funding programs from the U.S. and from the EU, there have been debates on a code of ethics to which most editorial offices could adhere. The initiative of the newly established Convention of Media Organizations has had an echo among the journalists, so that, on 11 July 2004, the Journalists' Deontological Code was adopted. The novelty is that the document has clarified some concepts that were frequently used, but about whose content each person understood what he thought. For example, it clarifies the significance of the concept of *public interest*[11] and especially that of *the role of journalists*, on which we will insist further on. According to the document, the journalist "has obligations" and "enjoys" certain rights ensured by the law, which journalists themselves decide to nuance. The journalist is obliged "to exercise the inviolable right to free speech by dint of the public's right to be informed" and "enjoys greater protection in order to exercise this right, through the vital role of defender of democratic values, which the press fulfills in society"[12]. Beyond metaphors - *inviolable right, vital role* - the essence of this statement is that journalists claim what they deserve in liberal regimes: free exercise (we would say even privileged) of their profession.

For example, the document proclaims the duty of every journalist "to look, to observe and to communicate the facts - as they can be known through reasonable search – by dint of the public's right to be informed". This is a formulation that avoids the supreme value of journalism, namely *the truth*, but does not protect journalists against all vulnerabilities: from the public's point of view, they will never seek enough. They will never respect the facts integrally, because in the journalistic approach, they mobilize all their subjectivity; they are not devices for detecting outstanding facts in the presence of available evidence. Never will the public be informed enough, because there are but few people who know and accept the limits of journalistic knowledge. Another element that makes the journalist vulnerable is the concept of *fact*: it is as unclear, as the concept of event. An action, the same as an inaction, is a fact. "The government have decided ..." is a fact. "The government failed to react ..." is also a fact. Hence the difficulty of conceiving rigorous standards.

To persist in tough normativity, the authors declare no more, no less than the following: "a journalist has to express opinions based on facts. When relating facts and opinions, the journalist will act in good faith "(art. 1.3.)[13]. Here, again, there are difficulties in clarifying and implementing some rules. A legitimate opinion relies on knowledge, on a "factual basis", as the document indicates. What penalties will be applied if the journalist relies on emotions, on appearances, in expressing his/her opinions? We have no answer to these questions. What about the phrase "good

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[11] Alina Hogea, Raluca Radu, "Autoreglementarea presei în România – Statutul şi Codul deontologic al jurnalistului", *Jurnalism & Comunicare. Revista română de ştiinţe ale comunicării*, year IV, No. 1 (10), 2005, pp.3-11.

[12] http://www.paginademedia.ro/2010/05/codul-deontologic-al-jurnalistului-elaborat-de-conventia-organizatiilor-de-media / consulted: 21/ January / 2013.

[13] http://www.paginademedia.ro/2010/05/codul-deontologic-al-jurnalistului-elaborat-de-conventia-organizatiilor-de-media / consulted: 21/ January / 2013.

faith"? How can it be proved in a court? According to a widespread practice, "good faith" is based on: 1. neutral language, 2. absence of personal animosity 3. legitimate journalistic endeavour.

The document does not mention anything about this interpretation.

Further on, the journalist is assigned some universal attributes - "to expose negligence, injustice and abuse of any kind" (art. 1.4). Once again, we remain in the metaphoric zone, even in the fictional one. How could a journalist reveal all the authorities', citizens' etc. weaknesses? How can he/she punish injustice and abuse, without having legal culture and means other than publishing what seems to be outside the norm? Attention, we used "seems", because he/she is not asked to supply unequivocal material evidence of illegality!

Now we enter a zone of ridicule that can rarely be found in official documents of journalists. For example: art. 1.5. states that "... a journalist is in duty bound to reflect society as a whole and in its diversity, allowing access of individual and minority opinions to the media". There follows an untranslatable paragraph even into Romanian: "The public is entitled to know not only the information and ideas that are favourably received or regarded as inoffensive or indifferent, but also those that offend, shock or disturb. This is the exactingness of pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness, compared to which there is no democratic society ". Finally, in this area of the "role of the journalist", another empty remark is worth mentioning: the practitioners of the profession have no "rights and obligations, freedoms and responsibilities"? So it makes no sense to comment on such statements.

In relation to the "professional conduct", specifically "the respect of human rights", we learn that the journalist is obliged to comply with - another metaphor - "the presumption of innocence". This "presumption" is a fake – it does not exist; the proof of the falsity of this concept is precisely the presence of the defendant before the court. We should treat this aspect seriously! Actually, there is no "presumption of innocence"! In the series of the values that journalists must respect, the next value discussed is "privacy". This is another elastic concept, which each person interprets ad libitum – we can see a gesture of seriousness in the British journalists' union. In the context of Princess Diana's death, of the arrest and interrogation of some of the journalists who were taking photos of the tragedy, the British leaders of the journalists gathered and decided that interference with someone's private life is not only justified by "public interest", but by "major public interest". Unfortunately, too little was learned from this episode, that we could call an ethical lesson ... Neither in Bucharest nor in other capitals of the world...

A succession of prohibitions that the journalists assumed (but never observed) contain the identity and the interests of minors, the identity of the victims of various disasters - accidents, natural calamities, delicts, sexual assault etc. The journalist is forced to study ethical treaties for taking the right decision - when and how we ought to reveal the victim's name, and when we ought not to do it. The agreement of the victim or that of his/her family is difficult, perhaps even impossible to obtain, under the circumstances of an accident, for example. Journalists know this very well, but the Code fails to supply clarifications.

Another series of prohibitions ("the journalist is in duty bound to...") refer to discrimination - the journalists will be specially concerned with the implications of

ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, disability and so on, lest they should incite to hatred or violence. Of course, the major principle in the profession of journalism is to do no harm. It is obvious that harm can be done by discrimination. Therefore, the Code warns the professionals against that danger.

The same code of the Convention of Media Organizations includes some chapters on "Writing Rules" (to reasonably verify the authenticity of information, to publish the opinions of both parties involved, not to distort one person's message), on " Sources Protection" (to preserve confidentiality of sources ...), on "News Gathering" (to obtain information in an open and transparent way). Another chapter entitled "Abuse of Status" contains provisions regarding the journalists' personal benefits, the prohibition of accepting gifts, conflicts of interests. If we refer to the journalists' "independence" , we should mention the article that stipulates that the journalist "will practice his/her profession according to his/her own conscience and in accordance with the principles laid down in the Journalist's Statute, as well as in the present Code of Deontology"[14].

The formulation of "personal conscience" is sufficient to generate rule infringement – we should wonder whether there are differences between the professional conscience of a reporter in the editorial office of a tabloid and that of a reporter working for a quality newspaper. In theory, there are no such differences. But in practice, there are different ways of producing a profit for the newspaper or the television for which you work. That is why we warn against the excessive use of metaphors, of inaccuracies in the journalists' codes of conduct.

With the repair gestures (error correction and right of reply) we are passing on to the rights of journalists, which, from the perspective of the journalists in Bucharest include: protection of the law, refusing censorship, protection of sources, conscience clause, refusal of contracting advertising, if you work in the editorial sector, intellectual property protection, the protection of the media organization for which you work (professional solidarity).

The document summarized here was approved by 30 associations of journalists (at local, regional and national levels). As one can see, there is not even one provision concerning punishments, which makes this Code invalid both *de jure* and *de facto*. We consider that it is one way of exposing oneself to ridicule.

A document discussed *in extenso* in 2003, when the code analyzed in this article was adopted, was the Code of Deontology conceived by the Romanian Press Club. This institution was a creation of some media owners; its initiator was the journalist Mihai Tatulici. The institution also has an Honour Board (a book might be written about the honorability of the members of this Board ...). This club presents itself as being composed of 20, or, of 40 publishing houses (mass media institutions - press, radio, television, press agencies) and as representing 20,000 journalists (never have so many journalists worked in Romania – our note). For the present research, the composition of this institution matters less; we are mainly interested in its Code of Professional Conduct.

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[14] Alina Hogea, Raluca Radu, "Autoreglementarea presei în România – Statutul şi Codul deontologic al jurnalistului", *Jurnalism & Comunicare. Revista română de ştiinţe ale comunicării*, year IV, No. 1 (10), 2005, p. 9.

In this Code, we can find some provisions inspired from Romania's Constitution, as well as provisions that are common to all the existing codes in the democratic countries. Obviously, there are the already familiar metaphors; for example, the journalist has the "paramount duty to tell the truth ...[15]". This "primordiality" is quite questionable. Just as questionable as the following assertion "journalists have the civic responsibility to act for the establishment of justice and social rightness" (art. 7), which gives the impression of a court outside the legal system. What is "social rightness"? Moreover, the "most serious" deviations as defined by this Code are: to deliberately distort information, to make unfounded accusations, to plagiarize, to make unauthorized use of photos or TV shots or slanderous sources. This proves an incomplete understanding of professional responsibility. There are no remarks here about blackmail, commonly practiced in our country, the undeclared political commitment and other illegal practices to obtain funds or other advantages.

A Code for the audiovisual media was adopted in April 2006. It regulates audiovisual program content; it is based on 29 codes, resolutions, statutes of journalists in Romania and other countries. It will be modified so that in 2011, a Deontological Code of the Romanian Association for Audiovisual Communication was drawn. This code resumes the provisions of Resolution 1003 of 1993 of the Council of Europe concerning the ethics of journalism, as well as local provisions, such as those of the Statute of the Romanian Television journalist etc. This document regulations are predictable and address certain editorial standards, rigurosity of information[16], independence and impartiality, accuracy of opinion[17], editorial responsibility, the public interest. The representation of violence is the longest chapter; it refers to the protection of vulnerable publics, in particular. There is no mention of an authority that will administer penalties for breaching the code. This Broadcasting Code would be taken over by some media groups such as those in Târgovişte, Turnu Severin etc.

The succession of such documents may continue, but we will stop here. What is worth mentioning is that not one journalist was penalized on the basis of the codes of ethics, which says a lot about professional seriousness and (in) consistency.

There are still professional issues that have been insufficiently debated so far and too little turned into ethical standards such as: obtaining and treatment of information, accuracy and verification of facts, separating facts from opinions and separating authentic events from commercial communication, conscience clause, protection of sources, conflicts of interests and so on.

The journalists' prestige, largely affected precisely by the deviations from the professional norms, has been the subject of several surveys. One of the largest was initiated in 2005 by the Center for Media Studies and New Communication Technologies[18], the University of Bucharest. 1,005 journalists were asked about

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[15] http://blog.bitpress.ro/utilizatori/iulia/70-coduri-deontologice/566.html /consulted: 24/ January / 2013.

[16] It is not the so much mentioned "objectivity". In this respect, it is woth consulting the work by the Romanian professor Tudor Cătineanu : *Deontologia mass media*, Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2008, in which he promotes a new deontological concept, namely correctness.

[17] Here is the ECHR thesis according to which "value judgments should not be subject to the proof of veridicity", although opinions are free, they should be honest and ethical, based on "credible and sufficient factual support," which gives rise, in our opinion, to many excesses from the journalists.

[18] Dan Dragomirescu, "Aspecte ale identităţii profesiei de jurnalist- privire din interiorul breslei", *Jurnalism & Comunicare. Revista Română de Ştiinţe ale Comunicării*, yearl IV, No. 2 (11), 2005, pp. 3-13.

certain aspects of their work, including those related to their freedoms. 25. 6% of the journalists working in Bucharest and 25. 2% of those who worked in the counties declared that they were forced to speak against their own views in the last three years, which stands for a sign of concern. Out of the Bucharest journalists who confessed that their journalistic expression disagreed with their own views, 28.8% said that they did so under the influence of the editorial management, 14.7% because of the employer, 3.8% under political pressures; 4.5% because of economic reasons. Another major value of journalism, honesty, was the topic of investigation applied onto the same sample. The investigation results showed that 82. 2% of respondents said that media in Romania is corrupt. For example, 51. 4% of the journalists working in the public television answered that in their institution there are cases of corruption. As far as the remedies are concerned, such as error correction and right of reply, as provided in the Codes of Ethics, 5.2% of the respondents said they did not grant the right to reply to those affected. In addition to that, 43% of the journalists think that the correct information of citizens is "largely" performed, and 3.5% believe that this practice is rarely applied.

As we have shown above, journalistic ethics has an obvious national footprint; that is why we consider that comparative deontology would deserve special conferences, even books about this area.

Journalists remain the most common instance of judgment, due to their constant exposure. It is an additional reason to make more serious and deeper ethical reflection.

In Romania, the media are in a continuous loss of audience, the economic crisis that started in 2008 affecting numerous publications and some radio and TV stations. The crisis generated the phenomenon of media concentration, whose first effect was the reduction of the number of journalists, then another effect followed: their compliance with the economic objectives of their institution. The consequence was a certain intensification of tabloid offers (be they printed, tabloid TV or radio shows). This led to an accelerated lack of credibility of the journalists.

The debates within the professional community, as well as in the academic environment, indicate that there are many drawbacks in terms of the journalists' professionalism, their accountability; there is a certain culture of derision, a high share of mock events in the media offer, aesthetic mediocrity of many programs. Unfortunately, none of the above criticisms appears in any code of ethics.

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Bloggers, Journalists and Epistemic Responsibility. A Particular Type of Self-Regulation in the Romanian Online Media[1]

Victor Popescu

Abstract

The passage from traditional press to digital media requires from professional journalists not only an improvement of their technological skills, but also a special kind of awareness of the new deontological challenges. Our attempt is to identify the novel dimensions of responsibility, accuracy and truthfulness in digital journalism and the "intellectual virtues" that online journalists should embody. We will identify these virtues starting from the criticism brought by Romanian bloggers (many of whom are or used to be journalists) to the lack of professionalism of online media journalists. Additionally, we will try to identify a particular type of "regulation" for the Romanian digital media, founded upon a collective critique developed in the blogosphere and focused on the inappropriate practices of the journalists that lack digital literacy and accuracy.

Introduction: "bloggers vs. journalists", a fake problem

"Once they have been roused from their comfortable routine, Romanian journalists are at first confused (they don't have a clue what's going on with the blasted Internet), then they become downright aggressive only to give up in the end or quit their jobs", the blogger "Zoso" (Vali Petcu) recently wrote in an analysis of the local online press[2]. The author of the best Romanian media blog in 2007[3] criticizes the journalists' lack of *savoir faire*, underlining that these journalists post online materials which barely fit in the overly-crowded pages, use non-copyrighted photos and sign articles that plagiarize the content of other blogs – not to mention the lack of links to the sources, which is one of the capital mistakes of inexperienced online journalists: "Linking to the source story is actually not a bad thing because, even if I go to *FemaleFirst.co.uk,* I'm not going to stay there, because I am still one of *Mediafax.ro'*s readers".

Zoso's opinions are not singular and they have been reiterated by several other Romanian bloggers, some of whom previously worked as journalists. On the other hand, current journalists, especially those who got most of their experience before the days of the Internet, continue to stand their ground. They refuse from the very beginning to be compared to bloggers. The value of the topics that bloggers broach can be described as "substandard", according to one of the veterans of Romanian

[2] Zoso, "The State of Romanian Online Journalism", 22 June 2011, http://www.zoso.ro/starea-jurnalismului-online-romanesc-2011/ (all the Internet pages quoted below were accessed before 30 November, 2012).
[3] The prize was awarded at the 2007 edition of RoBlogFest (http://www.zoso.ro/about-me/). In December 2012, Zoso had the traffic rank of 105 out of the Romanian sites (Alexa.com).

print media, Cornel Nistorescu, who is the current owner of the online newspaper *Cotidianul.ro*[4]. The blogosphere, he says, "concentrates on trifles such as this guy has left this party, that politician's wife has affairs or the like". Very often, such topics are not only irrelevant, but also undocumented, Nistorescu points out. For him, a blog is just a personal diary, lacking any kind of news value or critical relevance.

It is however unfair to envisage the blogosphere as a bundle of superfluous information or simply as a new competitor to the traditional media. It is true that several of these personal sites, together with socializing networks (*Facebook*) and alternative information platforms (*IndyMedia*) have become instruments promoting civic responsibility, social criticism and alternative information, competing with the traditional press, which has a hard time adapting to the new wave of "citizen journalism".[5] However, the heights reached by citizen journalism (and here we have in mind especially the blogosphere centring on social, political and even media themes) should not be regarded as a threat to the classic or traditional media, but rather as a complement to those media. Thus, we should see blogging as "supplementing and interconnecting the work of professional journalists" while bloggers distribute and comment on the articles from the traditional media, broadening its audience[6].

Without falling into the trap of the fierce dispute between bloggers and journalists and without succumbing to apocalyptic predictions such as "The Internet is going to kill all print newspapers", we shall start from the premise that the digital media channels and platforms should be seen as a way of challenging the classic press to take the next step towards the 2.0 Web interactive culture[7]. Judging from the perspective of media changes and technological convergence, as is explained by Roger Fidler, the newspapers, the magazines, the TV and the radio will not be superseded by the new media, but reintegrated in the digital space. The identity of the source, its credibility and its editors' brand name will continue to matter in the virtual space[8]. No matter what publication medium the future news journals will belong to, their core duties remain the same – the responsible information of the public, the strong reaction to abuses and liberties- or life-threats, and the support of opinion exchanges and public discourses[9]. At the same time, digital journalists will have to pay increased attention to the values specific of interactive journalism, in order to be able to make a genuine difference in the realm of the alternative sources of information (blogs, advocacy and citizen journalism sites, news aggregators).

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[4] Cornel Nistorescu, "România, între bloggeri și jurnaliști", in *Cotidianul.ro*, 27 April 2010 (http://www.cotidianul.ro/romania-intre-bloggeri-si-jurnalisti-113321).

[5] In a standard definition, "citizen journalism" refers to „any contribution to discussion in the public sphere, whether in the form of simple information, syntheses, reporting, or opinion" (Lewis Friedland and Nakho Kim, "Citizen Journalism", in Christopher H. Sterling, ed., *Encyclopedia of Journalism,* Los Angeles, Sage Publications, 2009, p. 297).

[6] Stephen D. Reese et alii, "Mapping the Blogosphere. Professional and Citizen-Based Media in the Global News Arena", *Journalism,* vol. 8(3), 2007, p. 258.

[7] Forged by Tim O'Reilly, the concept of Web 2.0 "includes a social element where users generate and distribute content, often with freedom to share and reuse", such as in YouTube or Wikipedia (Glen Creeber and Royston Martin, "Introduction" in idem, eds., *Digital Cultures. Understanding New Media*, New York: Open University Press, p. 3).

[8] Roger Fidler, *Mediamorphosis. Understanding New Media,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press: 1997, p. 257-258.

[9] *Ibidem*.

In order to understand what the new ethical and professional points of reference in online journalism are and how can these be instilled into media professionals, our article will attempt to solve two interrelated themes: A) the significance of "intellectual virtues" in online journalism and B) the importance of the Romanian blogosphere as a watchdog of professional journalism.

A) Our first hypothesis is that the digital journalist's values/virtues are guided by truth, transparency and credibility in front of the public. Thus, we will show that the professionalization in the online media involves increased emphasis on the intellectual virtues (accuracy, curiosity and perseverance, digital literacy), which can be subsumed by the concept of "epistemic responsibility", understood as the "central [intellectual] virtue from which all others radiate"[10]. The current emphasis on the aforementioned virtues is due precisely to the fact that, among those standards of excellence that are inherited from the classic press (good writing, depth inquiry, care for the public interest), those that center on accuracy[11] and reliability[12] are the most threatened in the context of the business pressures and of the fierce competition among online newspapers which tend to reciprocally" cannibalize" their genuine content[13].

B) Our second hypothesis is that, in Romania, the highlighting of the "intellectual virtues" of digital journalists is due especially to the criticism made by the local blogosphere. While one cannot talk about moral-philosophical conceptualizations made by these Romanian bloggers, the critical remarks that these bloggers direct against the errors in online journalism can be seen as an unprecedented kind of "self-regulation" in the Romanian media. Thus, the adaptation of journalists to the ecology of digital communication and their professional growth could be encouraged and, partly, facilitated by the much-criticized bloggers[14]. Being often a useful mirror for journalists, the bloggers play an unprecedented function of regulation within the online medium, adopting "the role of watchdogs of the more mainstream, established news media"[15]. While it is not an obvious high-impact trend, this critical initiative of the new watchdogs of the trust press is useful in the Romanian

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[10] Lorraine Code, "Toward a 'Responsibilist' Epistemology", in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research,* vol. 45, no 1, Sept. 1984, p. 34.

[11] Commenting on the standards for excellence (the "virtues") in online journalism, David A. Craig underlines the importance of speed and accuracy in breaking news: "When online writers and editors work quickly to produce multiple stories per day in multiple forms while holding strictly to accuracy and seeking depth, they achieve a kind of newness that raises the bar for what immediate reporting can provide for an audience" (David A. Craig, *Excellence in Online Journalism*, Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage, 2011, p. 34).

[12] The lax verification or even the conflict of interests are very dangerous dimensions at a time when journalism "requires higher standards of intellectual reliability to shore up its credibility and to compensate for organizational pressures to dilute its standards" (Sandra L. Borden, *Journalism as Practice: MacIntyre, Virtue Ethics and Press*, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007, p. 86).

[13] Cf. Angela Phillips, "Old Sources: New Bottles", in Natalie Fenton (ed.), *New Media, Old News. Journalism & Democracy in the Digital Age*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2010, p. 96.

[14] The journalists' disparagement of bloggers is also present in Western countries, where professional journalists claim that blogs are badly-written, egocentric, subjective and amateurish - cf. Joyce Y.M. Nip, "Exploring the second phase of public journalism", in *Journalism Studies*, 7(2), 2006, p. 212-236.

[15] Laura Hendrickson, "Press Protection in Blogosphere: Applying a Functional Definition of 'Press' to News Web Logs", in Mark Tremayne (ed.), *Blogging, Citizenship and Future of Media,* New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2007, p. 187.

environment, where the written press has long lacked an enforcement of deontological rules[16].

These two hypotheses will be addressed concomitantly, only to be reprised separately in the final section. Besides an attempt to sum up the opinions on the media of the most widely read bloggers in Romania, our article will rely on the application of virtue ethics to the media (D.A. Craig, S.L. Borden), on the observations in virtue epistemology regarding the "intellectual/epistemic virtues" (L. Code), and on the analyses centring on the professional environment of the digital journalism in Romania[17].

The Development of the Blogosphere: From "Rough" Information to a Debate Space

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 are often seen as a breakthrough moment concerning the evolution of new media. Those who witnessed the collapse of the Twin Towers posted terrifying images online shortly after, images which were later used as first-hand sources by newspapers and TV networks. Live information and moving sequences were offered at a rapid pace, sometimes as minute-by-minute news bulletins. The terrifying American tragedy „led to the emergence of an alternative space of communication, especially since the traditional media were unable to fulfil the global need of information"[18]. This alternate information channels rose „rapidly offering correct and credible information" on several subsequent tragedies – the Katrina Hurricane, the Asian *tsunami* and the London or Spain terrorist attacks[19]. Moreover, besides their informative values, the blogs became arenas of debate on the responsibility and possible solutions on the consequences of those tragedies. Although an important part of the alternative news media has been appropriated by „consumerism" (advertising and branding), the Internet contributes, at the same time, to the democratization of information and to a widening of the public debate arena. New media allows the creation of a dialogue space through forums and discussion groups and accelerates the mobilization of different opinions[20].

A similar development took place in the Romanian blogosphere[21]. Born on September 16, 2001, with a note on the disastrous situation of Romanian roads (on troniu.blogspot.com), blogging will be taken seriously only in 2003, when it is tested by several local pioneers coming either from journalism (Brăduț Ulmanu, with *Jurnalismonline.ro*) or from the entrepreneurial site (Bogdan "Bobby" Voicu, who will subsequently become *Community Manager* for *Yahoo!Romania*). From 2005, there is

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[16] Cristian Ghinea and Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "The case of Romania", in the Mediadem Consortium report *Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European countries, The EU and the Council of Europe,* October 2010, p. 327.

[17] See Natalia Vasilendiuc and Peter Gross, "New Technology, new professional practices: A study on Romanian new media", in *Comunicatión Y Sociedad*, vol. XXV, num 1, 2012, p. 59-83; Marius Dragomir and Mark Thompson (eds.), *Mapping Digital Media: Romania*, London: Open Society Foundation, 2010; Romina Surugiu and Raluca Radu, "Introducing New Technologies in Media Companies from Romania, Portugal and Cyprus. A Comparative Approach", in *Revista Română de Jurnalism și Comunicare,* 3(4), 2009, p. 93-102.

[18] Dorina Guțu-Tudor, *New Media*, second edition, Bucharest: Tritonic, 2008, p. 39.

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 40.

[20] Rémy Rieffel, *Sociologie des médias,* Paris: Ellipses Publishing, 2001.

[21] Our short history is based on the synthesis the media analyst Iulian Comănescu makes in his book *Cum să devii un Nimeni. Mecanismele notorietății, branduri personale și piața media din România* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2009, pp. 135-136) and in his article "Articolul colectiv despre primul blog" (*Dilema veche,* 15 December 2007: http://www.dilemaveche.ro/sectiune/mass-comedia/articol/articol-colectiv-despre-primul-blog). Comănescu is also blogger and editor-in-chief of *The Industry* media magazine.

a significant rise of those blogs written by young people who are inexperienced writers, followed in 2006 by the online presence of veterans in the fields of journalism, technology or publicity. Thus, blogging become a trend, "sparking debate over whether blogs would replace traditional media"[22]. In this manner, the specialized blogs are born, which will bring credible information and will represent an essential alternative to the traditional media that lean more and more towards the tabloid genre, which is devoid of responsibility. The new media became a considerable force and a regulating principle of society in an age where "the classic media have remained somewhat aimless – not only in Romania – because of the opulence that suppresses the concern for the public interest and the future of the public who crave for entertainment"[23].

The alternative media (blogs, socializing networks, discussion forums) thus represent more than a bunch of diary impressions, accompanied by food recipes and amateur photos. Since the private life elements and the "rough" information on public events moved mainly to the socializing networks (Facebook, Twitter), the blogosphere offered more room for debate, for social criticism and alternative information, necessary ingredients of the democratic public sphere, of a dialogue space which is not dominated by economic interests and the lobbies of the media trusts[24]. In the same manner abroad, in Romania too, the blogs no longer place emphasis on a diary dimension but on that of debate, evaluation and comment[25].

The Internet Generation and the "Antibody-Blogs"
"We don't like to watch the news on TV", the Internet-savvy young people say; the digitally-educated generation has been fed, from a very early age, on publicity and marketing ads and has thus learned to be suspicious of the messages laced with tabloid exaggeration or economic interests. "Honesty, transparency and authenticity are crucial if you want to get through the Net Generation"[26]. This is the context in which independent blogs sometimes come to enjoy as much credibility as traditional media, which are now more often than not met with "the suspicion of corporate control"[27].

More and more people choose alternative sources of information, often preferring a blog or an online local newspaper to the national journals, which must have lost some of its relevance and credibility.[28] Moreover, the blogosphere hosts an

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[22] C. Ghinea and A. Mungiu-Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

[23] I. Comănescu, *Cum să devii un Nimeni*, p. 147.

[24] David Beers, "The Public Sphere of Online, Independent Journalism", in *Canadian Journal of Education*, 2006, pp. 109-130.

[25] One has to notice that, if in 2009, only 35% of the Romanians read online newspapers (while in the US and Germany, there were twice as much such readers) and only 15% read blogs weekly, in 2012, the Romanian online audience increased significantly by up to 73% (see Sorin Adam Matei, "50% din români ajunge pe Net. Mircea Badea îi întâmpină", published on *Pagini.com*, 8 September 2009, at http://www.pagini.com/blog/2009/09/08/romanii-ajung-pe-net-din-ce-in-ce-mai-des-unde-ii-asteapta-mircea-badea/, and Eurostat report "Internet Access and Use in 2012", at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/4-18122012-AP/EN/4-18122012-AP-EN.PDF).

[26] Don Tapscott, *Grown Up Digital: How the Net Generation is Changing your World,* New York: McGraw Hill, 2008, p. 285.

[27] Deni Elliott, "Essential Shared Values and 21st Century Journalism", in Lee Wilkins and Clifford G. Christians (eds.) *The Handbook of Mass Media Ethics*, New York / London, Routledge, 2009, p. 36.

[28] Reading blogs is also a part of the new "monitorial" reading style: people „scan all kinds of news and information sources – newspapers, magazines, TV shows, blogs, online and offline social networks, and so on – for the topics that matter to their personality" (Mark Deuze, „Journalism, Citizenship, and Digital

increasing number of specialists coming from various areas, who do not seek notoriety, but only want to counteract the distortions of the truth often perpetrated by the press. Bloggers with legal training often correct the tabloid news referring to laws and penalties, medical experts (for example PharmaGossip) fight against the publicity campaigns of the pharmaceutics industry, while other blogs often try to give a clearer picture of the local administration's activity (MayorWatch, for example, is cantered on the London administration)[29]. When asked why they have chosen this form of "citizen journalism", the authors of this type of blogs invariably answer that they only want to "correct" the classic press information. "There would not be a need for bloggers like me if the journalists did their job properly", says an administrator of one of these professional blogs[30].

It is hard to say to what extent the Romanian blogosphere includes such professional sites, meant to correct the inaccuracies of the press. While this question remains open for further research, we can however identify a number of blogs, often owned by persons who worked as journalists and who are able to regard the press, especially the online kind, in a critical manner. *BlogulDeMedia* for example talks about the "inherent blunders" in this area[31]. *ReporterVirtual*, another Romanian media blog, often broaches topics, which concentrate on the interface between management and the political dimensions in the area of journalism, hoping to restore the „lost dignity" of the press[32]. There is a long list of well-known blogs, which refer, in one way or another, to the press (*StareaPresei*, *PaginaDeMedia, Tolo.ro*). What we are interested in is the fact that blogging journalists have already carved for themselves, in a spontaneous manner, a place that hosts debates on the topic of the Romanian press (classic and digital). "Zoso's" criticism of the journalists' inability to adapt to the requests of the online medium (see above) exemplifies the type of reactions awakened by the errors made by classic journalists in their passage to digital media.

It is by that kind of bloggers' criticism that „the new media become the only feedback mechanism of the *classic* or *old* media" and the blogs become the „natural antibodies of democracy"[33]. Even if this label widely refers to the public space, we believe that it could be also appropriate for the micro public space inhabited by journalists and bloggers, since the latter are regarded as "media watchdogs": "they employ the blogosphere to draw attention to issues marginalized or ignored by the mainstream media"[34]. This special type of „regulation" in the new media, consisting of opinions and criticism by the blogosphere directed against the press (or the other way round), proves especially important for the functioning of the digital press. These are reasons for which we believe this phenomenon is worth clarifying, instead of being seen as a mere symptom of the fierce debate between bloggers and journalists:

- Compared to other professions, there is no „job description" for journalists, that is subject to well-defined regulation; in other words, there are no clear

Culture", in Z. Papacharissi, ed., *Journalism and Citizenship: New Agendas.* New York: Lawrence Erlbaum/Taylor and Francis, 2009, p. 18).

[29] Nick Couldry, "New Online News Sources and Writer-Gatheres", in Natalie Fenton (ed.), *New Media, Old News. Journalism & Democracy in the Digital Age*, pp. 142-144.

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 144.

[31] Cf. http://bloguldemedia.ro/despre/.

[32] Cf. http://www.reportervirtual.ro/about.

[33] I. Comănescu, *Cum să devii un nimeni*, p. 149.

[34] Zizi Papacharissi, "The Citizen is the Message. Alternative Modes of Civic Engagement", in idem, (ed.) *Journalism and Citizenship: New Agendas*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum/Taylor and Francis, 2009, p. 37.

standards that refer to specific areas of competence, except for a variable set of editing techniques and of „a body of knowledge which legitimizes the journalists' mission and social responsibility."[35]

- Although Romania has possessed a unified Professional Ethics Code since 2009, followed by the organizations that represent the written press, this Code has not been internalized and enforce in an adequate manner by the journalists or by those in charge[36].
- There is no ethical organism that specializes in the regulation of the written press (print or online) [37], which would be an institution having a similar role to that of the National Audio-visual Council which takes care of the Romanian public TV and radio networks.
- The bloggers that have a manifest interest in the regulation of the press have become notorious in the sphere of the new media[38].

What Bloggers Demand: Accuracy, Transparency, Digital Expertise

The age of „believe me, but it is as I say", that is, of the epistemic authority of the journalist, is at an end. The growing multitude of the media channels and the suspicious attitude of the "Net Generation" have given rise to a new attitude, which can be summed up by the principle: "Be skeptical!". This means that we, the readers, don't have "to take for granted the trustworthiness of what we read, see or hear form media of all kinds, weather form traditional news organisations, blogs or online videos"[39].

Bloggers are undoubtedly the most demanding, critical and "skeptical" readers of the professional media, because they compete with news professionals and continuously challenge the "authority" of traditional media[40]. But this challenge of authority can be also seen as a chance to raise the standards of excellence of the online media. As the famous journalist Alex Jones stated, "accountability is the greatest thing that blogs are bringing to journalism"[41]. As we will show below, the main values and virtues that bloggers demand from journalists are those belonging to the "intellectual" realm: truth, credibility, transparency, honesty and trust. In the struggle against alternative sources, credibility and the reader's trust are the survival

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[35] Mihai Coman, *Introducere în sistemul mass-media*, third edition, Iași: Polirom, 2007, p. 240.

[36] A major concern for the Romanian press, identified in 2011 by the Mission of the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ), is the lack of a "well established and recognized mechanism of self-regulation in the media"; that is why EFJ recommends the journalists' Unions to "promote the Professional Ethics Code" and to create "a debate about the importance of a new approach to media accountability and ethics" (*Journalism in the Shadows: The Challenge for Press Freedom in Romania*, Report of EJF Mission, 3-4 February 2011, p. 14 – accessible online at http://europe.ifj.org/assets/docs/215/123/229d0d7-93d7a7b.pdf).

[37] *Ibidem*.

[38] In November 2012, the monitoring blog *ZeList.ro* included in the Top100 of famous Romanian blogs, the blog *Tolo.ro* belonging to Cătălin Tolontan, editor-in-chief for "Gazeta Sporturilor", the aforementioned site *ReporterVirtual*, the opinion aggregators *VoxPublica* și *Contributors*, including notorious senior editors, the political blog *Sutu.ro* of Cristi Șuțu, former senior editor of serveral newspapers, *Orlando.ro*, the blog belonging to Orlando Nicoară, the head of the Mediafax Group, and the blog Ciutacu.ro of the editor-in-chief of the national newspaper *Jurnalul Național*. All these blogs frequently post information, opinions, evaluations and debates on the topic of the Romanian press.

[39] Dan Gillmor, "Toward a (New) Media Literacy in a Media Saturated World", in Z. Papacharissi, ed., *Journalism and Citizenship: New Agendas.* New York: Lawrence Erlbaum/Taylor and Francis, 2009, p. 9.

[40] See Stephen D. Reese et alii, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[41] Quoted by Rebecca MacKinnon in her report of the press conference "Blogging, Journalism & Credibility. Battleground and Common Ground" which took place in 2005 in Harvard (http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2005/Blogging_Journalism_Credibility).

chance of the traditional media which seeks to take its place among the new media. Here are some examples in this respect:

Accuracy and fact checking. Some years ago, one of the most popular Romanian bloggers, musician and actor Tudor Chirilă (who is an exception compared to the other bloggers who write about the media, since he does not have press experience) made an experiment meant to demonstrate the incompetence of the so-called „copy-paste" journalists, who, in haste, mechanically copy the news, without even minimally checking them. Chirilă wrote on his blog the story of how he ran stark naked in the city centre of Bucharest. Shortly after, *Ziare.com* (a news aggregator) took over this item of news as such, without priorly checking it. After Chirilă admitted this was a hoax[42], *Ziare.com* claimed that the information should not be checked if it was directly taken from the person involved. The way in which the news aggregator above chose to defend itself reveals the general situation of Romanian journalists, who are more into the fast selecting among multiple sources (blogs, mobile conversations, chats, RSS) and are much less concerned with digging for information. In the Romanian online journalism, "privileging the speed over thorough fact checking" is an unfortunate outcome of the digitization of the journalists' work[43].

Digital expertise. At the beginning of the article, we were quoting „Zoso's" observations concerning the inability of online journalists to organize the content of a webpage. The blogger and current editor-in-chief of the national newspaper *Adevărul* Mihnea Măruță also talks about the way in which bloggers know how to tell stories that „warm the readers' hearts", something that traditionally-trained journalists need to learn: „Now you can add video materials, texts, links to the sources you used, which is, over all, more than you were able to do in print, where you could at most add a photo gallery"[44]. The accession of the press to the online medium requires journalists to become adequately familiar with the instruments and „ecology" of the digital media. Journalists have to adapt their writing style (which should be shorter and more direct), to effectively use search tools, to be able to edit video and audio materials. All is part of a „digital expertise" that is necessary in order to improve the quality of online journalism[45]. Unfortunately, Romanian online journalists had a harder time adapting to the new media than bloggers, mainly because, in Romania, the digitization of the media began later than in the countries of Western Europe, but also because Romanian media companies "did not organize coherent training programs for the use of new technologies"[46].

Transparency and integrity. "The blogosphere's golden rule" is to always quote sources and also the reasons for which you write, the principles you abide by and the means by which you came by the sources you offer[47]. It that sense, journalist, blogger

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[42] Since Internet hoaxes are more and more frequent, it is no wonder that the updated variant of the ethical code of the Canadian Association of Journalists stipulates: "We consider all online content carefully, including blogging, and content posted to social media. We do not re-post rumours – see *CAJ Ethics Guidelines*, http://j-source.ca/article/caj-ethics-guidelines.

[43] Marius Dragomir and Mark Thompson (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 43.

[44] Mihnea Măruță, "Revoluția biografică", communication presented at the third edition of the debate series "Din On în Off" organized by the blog *TVdece.ro* in Cluj on 27 October 2011. See video recording on http://mihneamaruta.ro/2011/10/28/revolutia-biografica/.

[45] Dominic Boyer, "Digital Expertise in Online Journalism (and Anthropology)", in *Anthropological Quarterly*, volume 83(1), 2010, p. 87-89.

[46] R. Surugiu and R. Radu, *op. cit.*

[47] Cecilia Friend and Jane B. Singer, *Online Journalism Ethics. Traditions and Transitions*, M.E. Sharpe, New York, p. 123.

and "green" activist Mihai Goţiu "denounces" on the blog aggregator *VoxPublica* a number of ads that were presented in the guise of news on the site of *Realitatea TV* (both outlets are part of the same media group – *Realitatea Media*). The „advertorials" were advocating for a questionable gold mining project in Romania[48]. The lack of transparency/integrity can be explained by the mentality of the journalists of the 2000s generation, who are known to give in to the business demands of the media trusts they belong to. The digital medium is used by Romanian online journalists for "increasing the array of money-making vehicles to the detriment of increasing the platforms for socially responsible media"[49].

The list containing the bloggers' critical remarks directed against online journalists could go on – from plagiarism ("copy-paste" journalism) to unacknowledged corrections (corrections introduced directly inside the body of the article, instead of providing an errata), from the lack of interaction with readers to conflicts of interests. All these standards are necessary to ensure the credibility of online journalism, which has been challenged by bloggers, and to offer valid and useful information to the public. Besides the care for the community's welfare, in the context of "the pressure of immediacy", online journalists must combine the concern for accuracy, the spirit of initiative and the inquisitiveness and, last but not least, the ability to discern between the real knowledge of hoaxes and gossip[50].

In the last section, we will not only attempt to summarise the most important abilities or „virtues" of the journalists that live in the Web 2.0. Age, but also investigate in what way the criticism brought by blogging journalists could partly support the ethic and professional regulation of the press (at least of the online one). We will try to examine in what way, without appealing to restricting and politically sensitive laws, there can appear innovative ways of inculcating values and principles that are specific to digital journalists.

The Ethics of Intellectual Virtues and Its Regulation by the Blogosphere
A) *Epistemic responsibility.* Function of financial and temporal limitations, journalism was defined as a hastily written history[51]. The novelty, by no mean easy to accept, of the new media is that now contents are no longer perishable, but can be accessed (almost) any time and (almost) anywhere. While in the past, a radio show was lost into thin air once it was over and paper soon found its way into the garbage bin, in the online medium, the radio show can now become a podcast and the edition of the paper that was published a month ago becomes quasi-synonymous with the site of the same newspaper. This is what prompts the update or the revision of the materials which appear in online newspapers once new and relevant information has appeared on the same topic. Metaphorically speaking, if the classic press suffered from an "attention deficit" – which meant that an item of news was readily abandoned and its consequences seldom monitored, due to the prejudice that the public would lose interest soon after, the new media seem to suffer from the reverse tendency, an "obsessive-compulsive" one: the blogger (but also the digital journalist)

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[48] Mihai Goţiu, "MythBusters la Roşia Montană. Noua avalanşă de minciuni publicitare de la RMGC. Chiar pe aici, pe Realitatea.net", published on *VoxPublica* (http://voxpublica.realitatea.net/politica-societate/mythbusters-la-rosia-montana-noua-avalansa-de-minciuni-publicitare-de-la-rmgc-chiar-pe-aici-pe-realitatea-net-68940.html).

[49] N. Vasilendiuc and P. Gross, *op. cit.,* p. 80.

[50] D.A. Craig, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

[51] Clifford G. Christians *et al.*, *Media Ethics: Cases and Moral Reasoning*, ninth edition, New York: Pearson, 2011.

comes with "a linear discourse, intertwined cases and stories, which repeat themselves and become more complex with each passing day"[52]. Due to the possibility of completion and subsequent adjustment of the situation, the so-called hastily written history should become, in the Internet age, a cumulative history, which grows more and more accurate and credible.

From the point of view of the necessity to revise and complete the news, the online event reporting has begun to resemble scientific research, since it requires the same type of intellectual virtues. In the case of lab investigations, besides physical skills, such as visual acuity (which is a required „sensorial" virtue), the stress falls on the abilities that pertain to determination and inquisitiveness: a sharp spirit of observation, an open mind from an intellectual point of view (the ability of accepting that your hypothesis is wrong), the care for the checking of the data, perseverance (a continual actualization of your knowledge). All these skills, which guarantee professional excellence in the field of research, contribute to "our *reliability as agents*; they enable us to deploy reliable faculties and mechanisms to good effect"[53]. These "intellectual virtues" are not required only in the case of physicists or biologists. They should be also shared by another type of "agent", who is also in pursuit of the truth, namely the journalist. In the case of the online journalist, perseverance (the news update) and a preoccupation for an attentive source check (from blog gossip to fake statements) acquires new dimensions which did not characterize classic journalism, where the sources (faxes, phone calls, press conferences) were usually more reliable.

Without denying the importance of courage, of honesty, impartiality, search for justice or involvement in the community's causes (for the greater good) or of the respect for tradition[54], we believe that the passage from classic journalism to the new media requires, above all, the strengthening and training of two professional virtues that are separate yet intertwined: on the one hand the loyalty towards one's public (a virtue that has become increasingly necessary in the context of an increased interactivity between journalists and readers, as readers are able to post their opinions at the end of the online article), on the other hand, what we could call „epistemic responsibility"[55]. The latter actually comprises several intellectual „sub-virtues", some of which were already discussed in the previous sections. The journalist's skepticism of the possible „traps" set by politicians or by those in the advertising business, their modesty (the availability to correct their reports), but also the honesty (transparency) and the credibility offered by the accuracy and attentive information check[56] are all intellectual virtues essential for any journalistic genre, but,

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[52] I. Comănescu, *Cum să devii un Nimeni,* p. 146. An example in this respect is the temporary adding in the digital layout of Romanian newspapers (*Adevărul, Evenimentul Zilei*) of new sections, besides the traditional ones (Politics, Society, Art & Culture, Sport) centering on the report of more complex events or stories stretching on several days (a famous film festival, a series on the recent history of Romanian Communism, etc.).

[53] Christopher Hookway, "How to be a Virtue Epistemologist", in M. DePaul and L. Zagzebski (eds.), *Intellectual Virtue. Perspectives from Ethics and Epistemology*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003, p. 188.

[54] Dan Gillmor, *We the Media. Grassroots Journalism by the People for the People*, Sebastopol, Ca.: O'Reily Media, 2004, p. 134.

[55] We take over this concept from an approach on the ethics of journalism based on virtue ethics. A former journalist, but also a specialist in Alasdair MacIntyre's philosophy, Sandra L. Borden uses the term "epistemic responsibility" in order to refer to a group of intellectual virtues, which range from honesty and credibility to the willingness to provide the information necessary for the flourishing of the community (Sandra L. Borden, *Journalism as Practice: MacIntyre, Virtue Ethics and Press*, ed. cit., p. 50 et sq.).

[56] For the list of the journalist's intellectual virtues see S.L. Borden, *op. cit.,* pp. 17-20.

more than ever, especially for the online media. All this can be placed in the realm of "epistemic responsibility", in the sense of an ability to discern between knowledge and rumour/opinion and to delimit the information which is worth thorough research. In the terms of virtue epistemology (L. Code), "epistemic responsibility" (synonymous to the Aristotelian "wisdom") presupposes an ability to realize how serious the effort of inquiry should be "before it is reasonable to claim knowledge" and "what cognitive ends are worth pursuing" in our own interest, but especially in the common interest of an entire community[57].

The stress on intellectual virtues is translated in the case of journalism as an extra degree of professionalization. The improvement of the quality of the journalist's work coincides in this case with an ethics of „intellectual virtues". Along with Lipovetsky, we state that addressing the essential questions and resisting rumour and manipulation are skills enacted not only due to a „clear conscience", but mainly due to „professional intelligence". This is acquired above all due to an "intellectualist ethics" concerned with professionalization, the pursuit of truth and the curiosity for the world[58].

B) A substitute for ethics committees. The interesting issue, at least for Romania, is that the intellectual values and virtues of online journalism, which reside within the perimeter of epistemic responsibility, are taken into account by bloggers rather than by an ethics code or by ethical boards. The 2009 Professional Ethics Code, adopted by the Convention of the Media Organizations in Romania, includes chapters referring to the checking of information, to plagiarism or information corrections, but was not updated (up to the end of 2012) to refer to online journalism[59]. Even if it stipulated that the rules and principles of this code refer to the online medium as well (art. 1.3), as long as for the written press (print and online), there is no ethical and national council meant to enforce the conduct code, such as, for example, the Press Complaint Commission in the United Kingdom. Thus, the self-regulation of the Romanian press cannot function properly[60].

This is why we believe that the debates and criticisms that have appeared in the blogosphere on the level of the professional press, concerning not only the journalists, but also the abusive managers and politicians who manipulate the press, are meant to compensate for certain gaps regarding the institutionalization of media ethics; deontological codes have not been properly internalized and the owners of press trusts interfere in the editorial process or abusively fire those who have become an encumbrance; there are no ethical committees for the written press and last, but not least, there are no *ombudsmen* in the private trusts who would listen and react the public's criticism. Without being a separate institution and without representing the will of the people, blogging journalists appear as a *sui generis* instance, placed somewhere in between the press councils, made up of experienced journalists who daily analyse, for significant newspapers, possible code violations,

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[57] L. Code, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

[58] Gilles Lipovetsky, *Le Crépuscule du devoir. L'éthique indolore des nouveaux temps démocratiques*, Paris: Gallimard, 1993.

[59] If we look at the *CAJ Ethics Guidelines,* for example, we will see that it includes a final chapter focusing on the rules of online journalism and on the way in which principles apply in this context (see *CAJ Ethics Guidlines*, published on http://j-source.ca/article/caj-ethics-guidelines). The Professional Ethics Code for the Romanian Press can be found at http://www.organizatiimedia.ro.

[60] See C. Ghinea and A. Mungiu-Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

and the citizen associations that lodge complaints or write letters deploring the unethical dealings of the press[61].

Thus, beyond the belligerent paradigm which opposes bloggers to journalists, we believe that, within the Romanian context, the critical attitude coming from the blogs that center on the criticism of journalism is a positive thing, which can contribute to a better awareness of the importance of credibility and veracity in the online media, where the loyalty to an increasingly discriminating public is the key to the survival of professional journalism. Naturally, the criticism on the themes of ethics and professionalization issued by watchdog bloggers does not replace ethical commissions, but can be of genuine help in the Romanian journalistic environment.

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Regulation of communication in latin america, spain and portugal: overview of the proffessional codes of ethics

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Abstract

If professional ethics is defined as "the set of principles, attitudes, virtues and ethical standards and specific ways to judge the ethical conduct that characterizes a particular group of professionals" (Prado, 1999, p. 27); in the case of communicators it is essential not only to act in accordance with these principles, but even to ensure the compliance of the same in the institutions for which they work.

The professionals linked to the communication field work with messages that can affect perception (Blázquez, 1994), and for that reason deontological ethics is very suitable for establishing guidelines for the performance of the profession. Based on the foregoing, this research offers an overview of the application of ethical principles in the organizations that are related with journalists and communicators in Latin America, Spain and Portugal: professional associations, civil society organizations having an observer status in the ethical aspects of communication, trade union bodies and public and private media.

Key Words: ethics, deontology, Latin America, Spain and Portugal, associations, media.

Introduction

In recent decades the challenge of implementing ethics to the problems presented by the social reality has made several thinkers return their gazes toward confronting this challenge. Among other issues, the problem of the media and the Internet, its growing influence, and the need to find ways for their social practices that are narrower in ethics and do not only seek out economic gains and of power, it has generated the need to create a set of agencies and social agents that oversee this in society. These social agents have generated a series of forms of action, and various forms of regulation that counteract the negative impact of the media and enhance the positive influence of the same in society. Some examples of these actions are: media education, the content classification, the organization of civil society, and even present-day aspects of regulation and self-regulation.

The purpose of this work is to provide a description and analysis of its existence and content in light of the principles of the UNESCO, the International Commission of Human Rights and the World Summit on the Information Society, existing codes of conduct in the Latin America, Spain and Portugal Region in four types of organizations that are related to the media: civil associations, professional associations, media trade unions and the media themselves. For this purpose a content analysis of the web pages of these organizations was performed and whose

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results were quantified to reach final conclusions that indicate the need to increase the participation of the civil society in the work on media influence and on the professionals who work with information in the society.

Applied ethics in communication

Human acts have intentionality (motivation) and always have consequences. These two conditions are those which allow that human acts can have some form of regulation, and of course, that may be reviewed, tried and questioned. It is not to say that any other motivation is exempt from being judged, more if it is a concerted action by several people with a massive scope, as is the case of actions that may arise from the exercise of professional communication. In this case, both the professionals and the institutions that are dedicated to the communication field have to start from the fact that their decisions have a very important relevance, given the range and level of penetration that they have on the development of the consciences of their respective audiences.

For all who are gathered here in the Second International Congress on Communication Ethics there are fundamental questions that we are asking ourselves. For example: how and with what principles should we use to prepare norms that are appropriate for the communication field. The constant within the last few decades is the development of codes of conduct that govern the professional activity of communication, and without having comparative and critical work to analyze the implementation of such codes. This is a very important labor that has emerged from the same ethical demand, which is to analyze and question the performance of communication institutions. If this is not done, ethics would be voided due to a pragmatic performance that would supplant other principles, for example, the use of simple monetary gain as an ultimate reference.

As such, applied ethics in communication has a dual field of contemplation. First, the role of responsible subjects who can be professionals, audiences, workers, government, as well as the same institutions that are dedicated to communication, in the preparation of the content and channels that are used to communicate such content. Second, the relationship between communications professionals and their audiences, which can be close to ethics or totally detached from it.

In addition, there are ethical foundations that the United Nations (UN) had established from the Declaration on Human Rights, where it is enshrined in article 13, as the freedom of expression of all people. Later, the Organization of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), a UN agency whose mandate is to defend the freedom of expression and freedom of the press; developed and consolidated the rights and duties of the media, through the Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and the fight against racism, apartheid and the incitement to war (UNESCO, 1978) and the International Code of Journalistic Ethics UNESCO (1983).

And not only that, the Declaration of Principles on the Freedom of Expression of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR, 2011) and the World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva 2003 - Tunis 2005) reflect the genuine interest of global organizations in providing ethical principles in the media - and more rooted in

the exercise of journalism - to respond to the demands of the flow of information and current communicative processes.

Many competent international bodies in the promotion and protection of human rights have recognized, with authority, the fundamental human right of information access held by public bodies, as well as the need for effective legislation to ensure respect for this right in its practice. These include the United Nations, regional human rights bodies and mechanisms of the Organization of American States, the European Council and the African Union and other international organizations that mandate human rights. (Mendel, T., 2008, p. 7)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the UN in the General Assembly of 1948 is considered as the standard on human rights. Article 19 - binding for all States under customary international law - guarantees the right to freedom of expression and information in the following terms: every person has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and convey information and ideas through any means regardless of borders. (Mendel, 2008, p. 9)

In its 1999 Annual Report, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights stated the following: "The right of access to official information is one of the cornerstones of a representative democracy." (Mendel, 2008, p. 10)

And as such, the Principles that recognize the Right to Information are:
a. Every person has the right to access to information about themself and their property in an expeditious and not onerous manner, whether it is contained in a public database or in private records, and if necessary, update, rectify and/or amend it.
b. Access to information held by the State is a fundamental individual right. States have the obligation to guarantee the full exercise of this right. This principle allows only exceptional limitations that must be previously established by law in the case of a real and imminent danger that threatens national security in democratic societies. (Mendel, 2008, p. 10)
By the principles set forth, it is clear that there are solid foundations to defend ethics in communication within the human rights framework, upon which lies a general agreement of minimum indicators that should be considered in assessing the performance of individuals and institutions related to communication.

I. **People responsible for the ethical regulation in the communications field: civil associations, professional associations, media and trade unions**

For purposes of this research, four social agents are taken into account, which of whom are organizations that are linked to the media that analyze its proposals and view the scope of them in regards to code of conduct development.
a. Civil Associations. A civil association that is understood as a private legal entity formed by a group of natural persons (partners) that, with the prior permission of the State, join forces to carry out activities that tend to the common good, they do not pursue commercial or economic gain and this is why they are also called non-profit organizations. (City and rights, 2013)
b. Professional associations. These are groups that are legally constituted, composed of people having the same profession for purposes related to their professional activity. (Social channel, s/f).

c. Unions. Trade unions are known as permanent worker associations whose purpose is to defend themselves and to negotiate with employers on wages and other working conditions that are favorable to their guild. (Pampillón, R., 2007)

d. Means of communication. Are public or private organizations that have systems in place for the transmission of messages through which they inform and communicate, on a massive scale, to the contemporary society. Their purposes are varied and mixed: from disseminating information of public interest to seeking profit. (Library Luis Angel Arango, s/f).

II.   Mechanisms that come between social actors for the ethics, regulation, democratization and inclusion of the media and other related associations.

a. Codes of ethics and their importance. The deontology is a set of principles and rules that guide professional conduct. A code of ethics is the body of norms that are applied to a group of professionals performing a role from a set of rules. Both ethical codes as well as PROFFESSIONAL CODES OF ETHICS contain moral character precepts whose goal is to ensure honest practice and honorable conduct among the members of a profession. With the growing influence and penetration of ICT's on the disclosure of information, codes of ethics have become a source of research on the statements and principles of great interest to professionals as well as various social actors. It is therefore essential that organizations develop and/or strengthen their implementation of their own codes of ethics. (Vidal, M., 2009)

b. Education of audiences. When media audiences are exposed to these, they define - according to their own criteria - the meaning of various television programs. Therefore, what occurs is that although TV (or other media) does not educate, they can still learn from it. The education or pedagogy of audiences seeks out the transformation of these mediation processes and enriches them through workshops and conferences in order to form active audiences; the research and publication of reports on the quality of media content; the opening of spaces for self-criticism in the media, among other activities. (Orozco, G. ,2001)

c. Defense of audiences. The idea of audience defense emerged in Sweden at the beginning of the twentieth century, derived from the figure and functions of an ombudsman, who acted as mediator between citizens' and different instances of political power. This case summarizes the two ethical principles essential to the operation of communication media: self-regulation and transparency in the social processes of public information management. The Swedish Council for Press, founded in 1916 and funded by four private associations of journalists was the first agency to put these principles into practice. These defenders are institutions that have contributed to the opening of communication channels and audience interaction for socialization, discussion of the relevant ethical principles and citizen participation, especially from the continuous public audience intervention that challenges and expresses -through social networks, above all - their disagreement about mass media, their content, their regulatory frameworks and driving forces, for example. (Dorcé, A. , s/f)

III. Methodology of the analysis (through which categories and samples)

a. Sample of social actors by country

We took a sample of three communication media, three professional associations, three trade union associations and three civil associations of each country in Latin America, Spain and Portugal. Regionalization and its denomination was made on the basis of a renowned study in 2009 that was made by UNESCO and Felafacs. The

countries in this study correspond to six regions and 20 countries distributed as is shown in Table 1:

Table 1 Regions and countries in the research [2]

Region	Number of Countries Considered	Countries Considered
Southern Cone	4	Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay
Andes	5	Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela
Central America y Caribbean	7	Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic and El Salvador
Mexico	1	Mexico
Brazil	1	Brazil
Iberia	2	Spain and Portugal
TOTAL	20	

b. Categories for analysis

The ethical categories under which media organizations in Latin America, Spain and Portugal were evaluated belong to three of the statements of human rights principles accepted and consolidated internationally, namely:

1. There is or there is not a Code of Ethics in the organization.

2. Organizations who have implemented the *Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to the strengthening of peace and international understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and the fight against racism, apartheid and the incitement to war* (UNESCO, 1978).[3]

3. The implementation of the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression, of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (CIDH, 2001) in organizations. [4]

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[2] It should be noted that not all countries have each type of the three organizations (media, professional associations, trade unions and civil associations), which are considered the most representative and whose web sites are available.

[3] Article 1. Free circulation and wide dissemination of information; Article 2. Freedom of opinion, freedom of expression and access to information, promotion of human rights and safe practice; Article 3. International cooperation for peace and promotion and encouragement of public policies for inclusion, diversity and non-discrimination; Article 4. Promotion of citizen participation; Article 5. Right of reply; Article 6. Global Linkage between media; Article 7. Promotion of a more just and equitable economic order; Article 8. Professional organizations, as well as the people that participate in the professional training of journalists… should agree on the particular importance of the principles of this Declaration in the code of ethics that they establish and should ensure its application. (Not applicable to study); Article 9. Openness to external monitoring, favorable conditions of the State toward the media, encourage and develop exchanges of information between bilateral and multilateral states.

[4] Freedom of expression; freedom of opinion; right to information (Article 19); the access to information in the State's hands is a fundamental individual right; Prior censorship, interference or direct or indirect pressure on any expression, opinion or information disseminated violates the right to freedom of expression; journalistic activities must be guided by ethical conduct, which in no case can be imposed by States; preconditions, such as truthfulness, opportunity or impartiality on part of the States is incompatible with the right to freedom of expression; The right of social communicators to the reserve of their sources of information; murder, kidnapping, intimidation, threats to social communicators, as well as the destruction of material of communication media, violates fundamental individual rights and severely restricts the freedom of expression. It is the duty of the State to prevent and investigate these facts, to punish their authors and to ensure that victims receive adequate reparation; privacy laws should not inhibit or restrict research and the dissemination of information of public interest. The protection of reputations should be guaranteed only through civil sanctions, in those cases in which the person offended is a public official or public or private person who has voluntarily become involved in
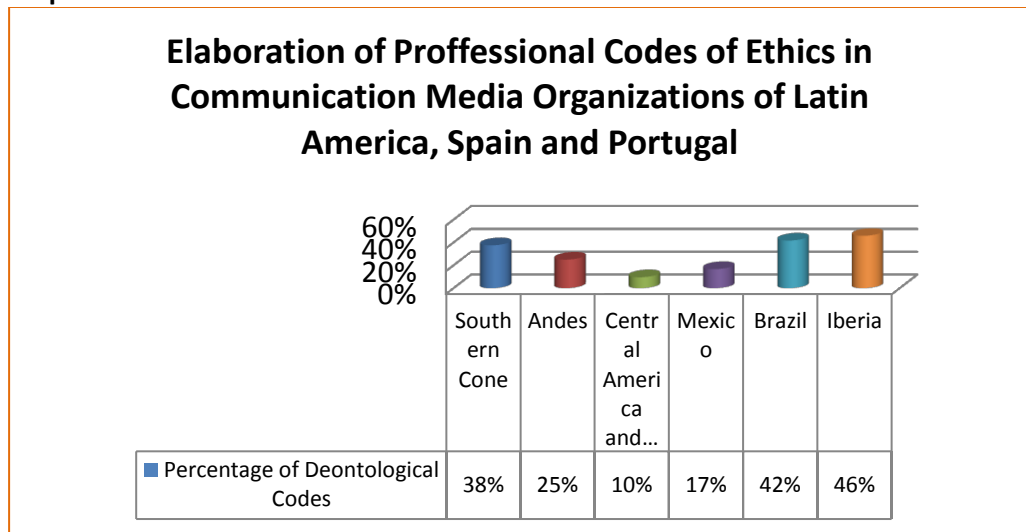
4. The implementation of the principles of the World Summit on the Information Society (Geneva 2003 - Tunis 2005) in organizations.[5]

It should be noted that since some of the principles are common in the three statements set forth, they are graphed as a single category. For example, the principle on freedom of expression is common in the statements of UNESCO, the IACHR and the World Summit on the Information Society; therefore, the result of this category is indicated as one indicator, not as three.

IV. Analysis of the commonalities in the activities carried out by institutions dedicated to communication in relation to their respective audiences.

Graph 1

Elaboration of Proffesional Codes of Ethics in Communication Media Organizations of Latin America, Spain and Portugal

	Southern Cone	Andes	Central America and…	Mexico	Brazil	Iberia
■ Percentage of Deontological Codes	38%	25%	10%	17%	42%	46%

It is clear that the codes of ethics reflect the interests and the provenance of the associations that promote them. This highlights trade unions as social associations of workers with more advanced democratic approaches (Graph 1).

The existence of codes of conduct in various associations related to the media in Latin America, Spain and Portugal is medium-low. Considering the different regions

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matters of public interest; the laws that criminalize offensive speech directed to public officials, generally known as " laws of contempt" violate the freedom of expression and the right to information; monopolies or oligopolies in the ownership and control of the media should be subject to anti-trust laws as they conspire against democracy by limiting the plurality and diversity that ensures the full exercise of the citizens' right to information; The use of State power and public finance resources; the granting of tariff patronage; the arbitrary and discriminatory allocation of official advertising and government loans; the granting of radio and television frequencies, among others, with the aim of pressuring and punishing or rewarding and privileging social communicators and the media in terms of their informational areas, undermines the freedom of expression and must be expressly prohibited by law. The social communication media have the right to carry out their work independently. Direct or indirect pressures aimed at silencing the information work of social communicators are incompatible with freedom of expression.

[5] Promotion and development of ICT's; information and communication infrastructure; access to information and knowledge (right to information, which is Article 19); Promotion for the development of the skills and knowledge required to understand the Information Society and knowledge economy; confidence-building and security in the use of ICT's; environments conducive to national and international levels for the development of ICT's in favor of the Information Society; promotion of cultural diversity and identity, linguistic diversity and local content in ICT's; Adherence to the principles of the freedom of the press and freedom of information, as well as the independence, pluralism and the diversity of the media; adherence to ethical dimensions of the Information Society: Liberty, equality, solidarity, tolerance, shared responsibility, dignity, value for the human person, family protection and respect for nature; international and regional cooperation.

that make up this set of countries, it is very clear that in Spain and Portugal the largest part is found, with 46% of the total number of codes of ethics in the Latin America, Spain and Portugal region. Brazil also stands out in this set with 42% of their associations having code of ethics. The Southern Cone accounts for 38 %, the Andean Region with 25% and Mexico with nearly 20 %. Other regions referred to: Central America and the Caribbean are in the 10 %. There is an uneven development in the terms of codes of ethics referred to in the region. Clearly Spain is the country that has been setting the standard in terms of their level of sensitivity to the needs of the codes of ethics presence that contributes to a better and more democratic performance of media in society.

However, in regard to the existence of codes of conduct by type of organization in the study, it was found that half of the professional associations have codes of conduct that define them and that in the lower end, a fifth part of the media analyzed also have them. Clearly the media are not agencies that are the most sensitive to the need for codes of ethics that govern professional behavior in their organizations. The media are, by nature, institutions that have a greater impact on society due to their ability to influence the consciousness of their audiences.

Graph 2
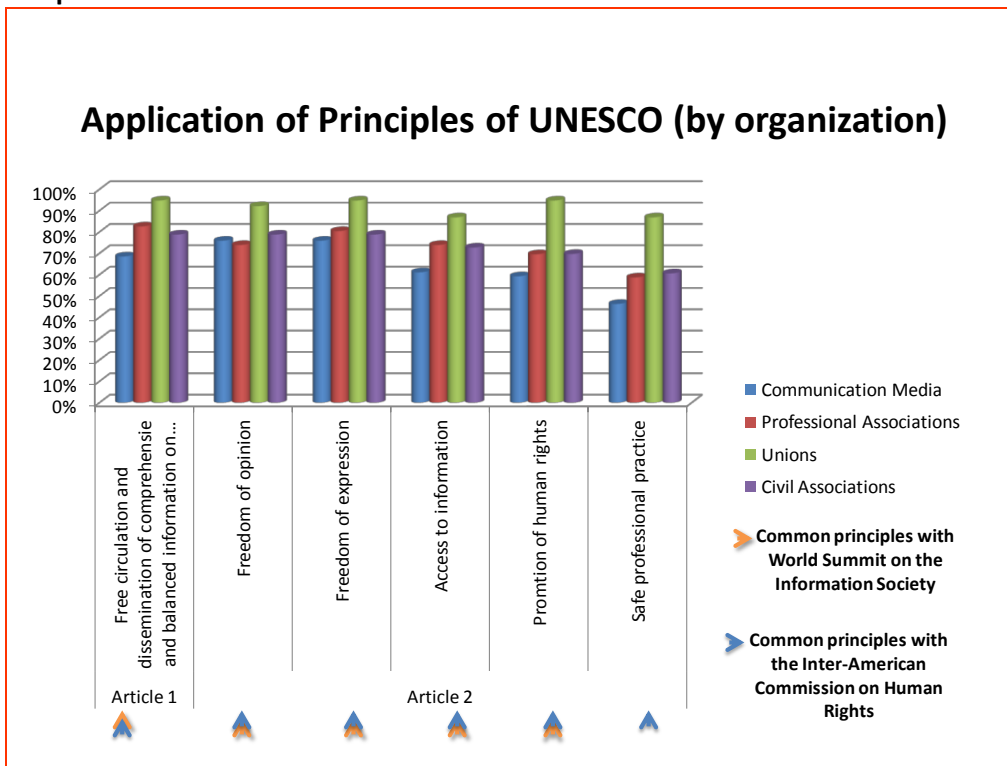
In terms of the type of principles that these codes of conduct reinforce, it is precise to say that there are coincidences with the approaches identified by UNESCO. Clearly the trade unions are those who have proposed, with greater force and determination, the principles of the UNESCO, namely: free circulation and dissemination of comprehensive and balanced information of public interest; freedom of opinion; freedom of expression; access to information; promotion of human rights; safe professional practice. Among the different types of associations the trade unions are known as the main promoters of the principles of UNESCO (Graph 2). These are the civil associations that place a special emphasis on the

freedom of expression. Professional associations place a greater interest on the free circulation, wide and balanced dissemination of information of public interest and show a lower rate of interest (interestingly) in the safe exercise of the profession. One would expect just the opposite: that the professionals would be the most concerned about ensuring safe practices and freedom from aggression in their work. In summary, the media advocates with greater emphasis the freedom of expression, the professional associations in the wide dissemination of information of public interest, civil associations in the freedom of expression and the trade unions in the defense of human rights.

If analyzed by region, according to this study, a greater importance is given to the free flow of information and broad public interest in the Iberian region, Brazil, the Southern Cone and Mexico. On the contrary, a behavior was observed in all the regions that gave lesser importance to safe professional practice. It is paradoxical that in places such as Mexico, Colombia and other countries, which have the highest rates of aggression and violence by journalists, existing codes of ethics show that this is not a priority. Another trend worth noting is that in the Iberian regions and in Brazil information access is of greater importance than the right to freedom of expression.

Graph 3
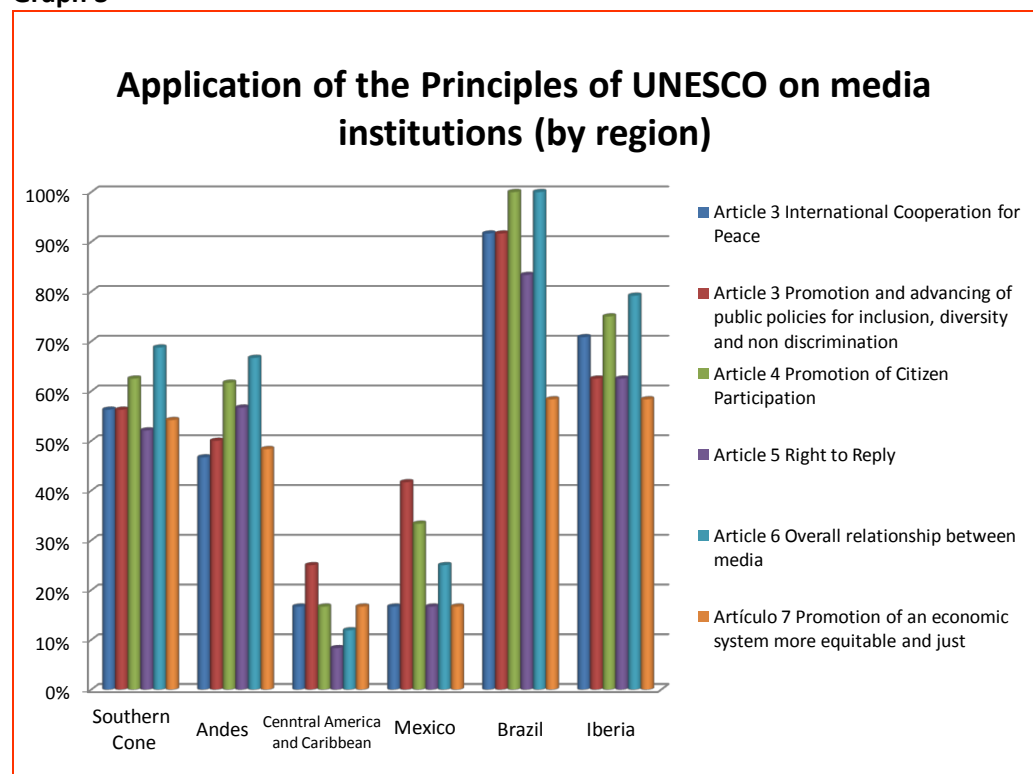
If someone was to concretely ask which articles of UNESCO organizations and associations related to the media consider in their codes of ethics, it is interesting to see that almost all the regions have as point of reference with the greatest importance as the global networking between media, which is a clear indication that they see the benefits of being able to join with others in order to deal with problematic situations that they see as threatening. On the other hand, it is clear that the idea of citizen participation is one that has permeated throughout years through the insistence of the defenders of audiences and here there is evidence that at least it is expressed decisively in writing (Graph 3).

Graph 4

Application of the Principles of UNESCO on media institutions (by organization)
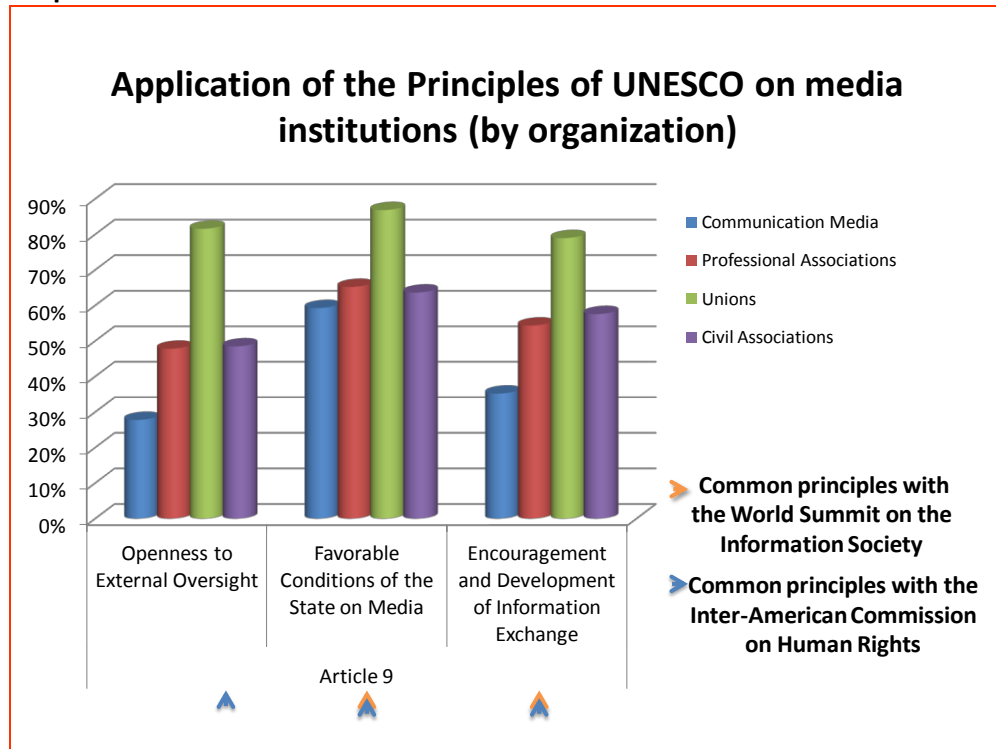
The World Summit on the Information Society and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights have agreed to support two fundamental principles: the strengthening of the idea that the State should establish favorable conditions for media development and the idea of encouraging information exchange between bilateral and multilateral states. Both principles are being strongly supported, in first place, by trade unions. These point to a broad vision of trade associations in the promotion the policies of a national and international scope and do not have a short-sighted approach that only encourages strategies that favor the guilds work (Graph 4). If we see by regions the encouragement of these principles by the State in creating conditions for media development and the encouragement of bilateral and multilateral exchanges, it would be important to note that Brazil has taken the lead, and is followed by the Iberian region and the Andean region and the Southern Cone.

Graph 5
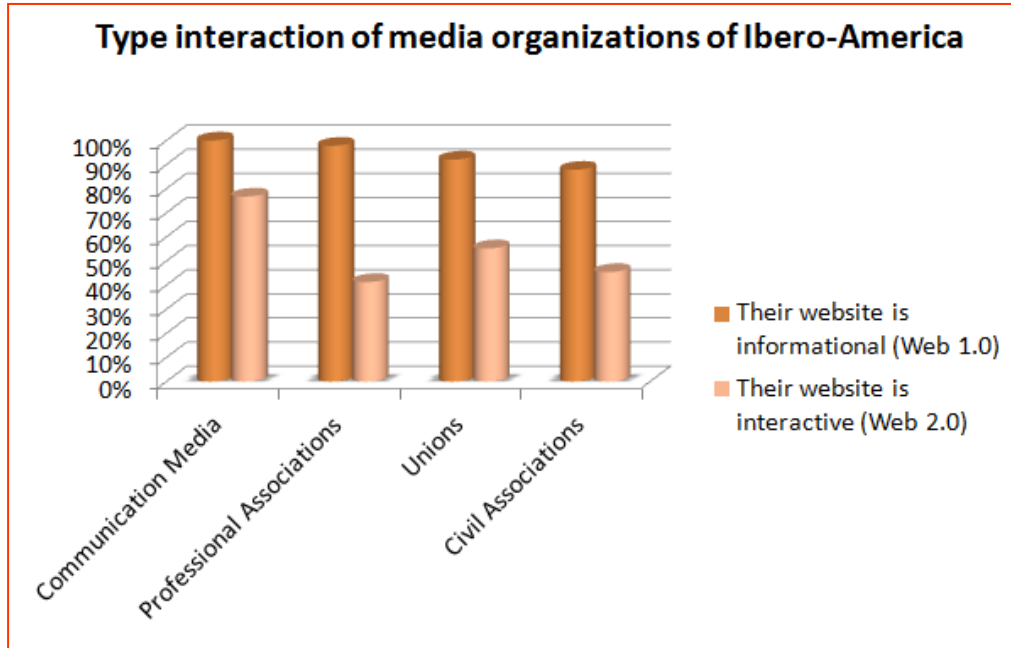
An element that makes a big difference between the degrees of openness that an association has, or a communication media, or a union, to receive comments and suggestions and then communicate them with their audiences is the type of web site they have. For example, there are web sites that are only informational and expect that their users simply receive the information that is offered on the site offers. On the other hand, there are sites that have interactivity platforms and require that their visitors use feedback forms to give feedback on their activities. With the types of communication that are put in place in different organizations they also manifest their commitment with one of the principles of the World Summit on the Information Society, which points out the importance of the development and promotion of Information Technologies (ICT) in favor of the active participation of citizens (Graph 5).

If we take a look at the communication channels in organizations, in the last few decades they have been multiplied, in such a way that the public can come into contact through the channel that best suits their preferences or needs. The communication media are the organizations that have the most availability and variety of channels of communication with the public. It is the nature of their work which sensitizes them to this variety of options, highlighting the use of Facebook, Twitter and e-mail. The civil associations still depend largely on the telephone the postal mail and e-mail. These same trends are seen in trade unions. The professional associations equally prefer in first place E-mail, followed by the telephone and postal mail.

V. Conclusions and proposals
Five main arguments can be concluded from the study:
a. There is a lack of active participation of the different associations related to the communication toward their audiences, but there is a growing concern on part of media, civil associations, professional and trade unions to communicate with their audiences through social networks.

b. We are faced with a shortage of both codes of ethics that reveal the priority of the different associations with fundamental human rights related to communication: freedom of expression, opinion, right to information, promotion of peace, among others.

c. International agencies and civil associations that transcend borders carry out strategic alliances that allow us to know the ethical status of communication in different nations, resulting in information exchanges and knowledge construction in the media, above all, for the benefit of entire regions.

d. The challenge of the communicators that are part of civil associations, professional associations, trade unions and the media is to offer what they have been demanding of other institutions: public and transparent information about how they act; greater interaction with their audiences that each time require and have a more active role in communication processes; publication of reports, articles and information which would reveal their commitment to human rights and the Information Society; establishment of alliances between national institutions that make their studies more productive and efficient on the ethics in communication at a regional level.

e. Finally, organizations today have a great opportunity to be closer to their audiences by taking advantage of the ICT's, which have become the most efficient channel and is quick at putting into the reach of the public, information and scientific research to broaden their perception and improve their knowledge about these communicative agents. We have seen in this study that the communication media leads the forefront in communicating with their audiences. If these channels are opening up, why not achieve greater citizen participation and influence as part of the media agenda?

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The dilemmas of ethical publishing in post-apartheid South Africa: the politics of dignity v freedom of expression raised by the case of The Spear

Lynette Steenveld[1]

Introduction

Journalists and editors are frequently faced with questions about what they should do in particular circumstances. This, "in a nutshell" is the basics of ethics, writes Ward. He clarifies the basis of such ethical decision-making: that it should be a "reasoned, principled, position". In his view, "Some ethical questions will require reflection on our basic values and the purpose of human society" (http://ethics.journalism.wisc.edu/resources/ethics-in-a-nutshell; Ronning 2002: 5). But the basis of such "reasoned and principled" positions is often not clear-cut. And in societies, such as post-1994 South Africa, riven with class, gender, racial and ethnic divides, these decisions often beg questions about 'whose values' are the reference point, and what are we trying to achieve in our 'new society'. In the course of their daily routines journalists and editors are thus faced with huge intellectual challenges in which there is often not a lot of time for 'deep reflection'. Arguably, what passes for such reflection, is simply a reflection on what has been 'proven practice' and what constitutes their 'experience' and 'knowledge' of the society in which they are operating—as well as, of course, the business constraints under which they operate. However, this knowledge is necessarily contingent and circumscribed.

In this paper I probe some of the theoretical issues that underpin the discourses which provoked the *City Press* editor's decisions about publishing, and then withdrawing, the photograph of the painting which has become popularly known as *The Spear*. In particular I focus on debates about identity which speak to key questions within media ethics about universalism v particularism; the individual v the collective (Ronning 2002; Ward & Wasserman 2010). In so doing, I hope to show the fine distinctions that academics working in these fields of knowledge make in attempts to clarify what is at stake, not only theoretically, but also politically. By examining the Editor's rationale behind her decision-making I show the remove between the discourses of academics and those of media practitioners. My observation is how much harder it is for journalists and editors to make such judgment calls when they probably do not have access to the theoretical debates involved, nor the luxury of time to consider them in detail, and are also accountable to the publishing institutions of which they are a part[2]. This necessarily begs questions about the ethics and politics of such decision-making.

Background

On 11 May 2012, *City Press*, a local 'black' newspaper published a review of an art exhibition by local 'white artist', Brett Murray, titled 'Hail to the Thief II'

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[2] In this case, for example, there are questions about whether the Editor of *City Press* was put under pressure by the owners of the publication to take the offending photograph off the website (see Bruce 2012,

(http://www.citypress.co.co.za/lifestyle/white-noise-20120511/).   The article was accompanied by photographs of various exhibits which were satirical works critical of aspects of the ANC government's politics: their misuse of public funds; the lack of public accountability; what has become known as their political culture of 'tender-preneurialism' in which ANC/government cadres win economic contracts/tenders; and the development of a culture of elite governance, unaccountability and untouchability.

Johnnie Walker… 'Forward Comrades'
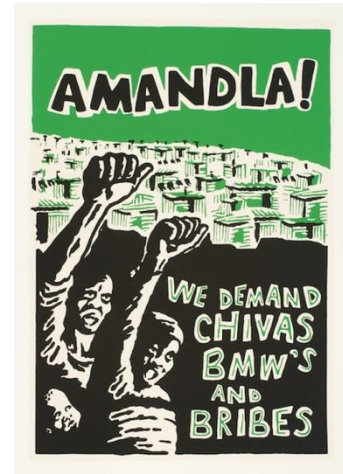
Amandla. We demand Chivas, BMWs and Bribes
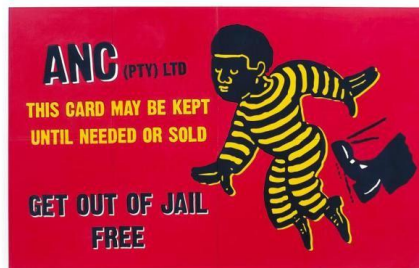
ANC…get out of jail free card.

ANC logo with 'for sale' and 'sold'

Another painting, "The Spear – a portrait of Jacob Zuma" was a parody of the president based on the iconic image of Lenin (see right-hand image)—with his penis exposed. The publication of the photograph provoked a furore, with the President launching a High Court application to have the painting removed from the gallery as it impugned his dignity. South African Minister of Education of Higher Education, Minister Blade Nzimande, and ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe called for a boycott of *City Press* (Etheridge 2012). Tweeters called on the public to support *City Press*. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) organised a march on the art gallery. The South African Communist Party (SACP) called the painting 'sadistic', noting that "Freedom of expression has never meant freedom to insult and harm the dignity of another person" (*Mail & Guardian* 21 May 2012). The Publications Board rated the painting N16—which means not to be viewed by children under the age of 16. The Black Management Forum viewed the painting as "…an attack on the culture of the majority, the black people of South Africa. It cannot go unchallenged." They also saw the painting as a "'crude attempt' to reinforce the 'hostility harboured by a small number of South Africans towards our democratic dispensation and towards members of the national leadership" (*City Press* 21 May 2012). An art critic saw it as a typical racist colonialist representation of the Black male colonial subject (Schutte 2012). The Nazareth Baptist church called for the stoning of the painter. Numerous articles and blogs were written either in defence of the painting and its photographic publication in *City Press* on the grounds of freedom of expression, or against the painting and its public reproduction on the grounds that they impugned the dignity of South Africa's 'first citizen'. Through all this, the Editor-in-Chief, Ferial Haffajee, maintained the paper's right to publish the photograph. In a column in *City Press* (18 May 2012) headlined "The spear of the nation stays up", she explained her position:

> A group wanted the image of an "exposed" president to lead our arts section…but too many people in our office objected on grounds that ranged from us being a family paper, to concerns about dignity and cultural values. We put the image inside and ran a funny version on page 1, its indignity covered by a price tag…In the past week—and in the one to come—we will hear (sic) again this clash of free expression and dignity. Inevitably, race will be drawn into it: only a black president would be depicted like this, the race brigade will drone. Inevitably, sexuality will be drawn into it: it is the stereotype of the black man and the uncontrollable appetite, they will wail. We have been here before when Zapiro did his series on Justice being raped by the president and his gang[3]…
>
> To ask us now, as the ANC has done, to take down an image from our website is to ask us to participate in an act of censorship. As journalists worth our salt, we can't. (Haffajee 2012a)

The Editor pretty much summed up the public objections to the painting which the publication of its photograph provoked: race and culture (sexuality). And in support of the publication: freedom of expression—both of the media, and artistic, as guaranteed by Section 16 (1) of the Constitution (http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/a108-96pdf, page 19).   But ten days later, following increased social and political objections to the publication of the photograph on the newspaper's website, she 'caved in'. "The spear is down—out

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[3] The ANC, ANC Youth League and the SACP accused the *Sunday Times* editor, Mondli Makhanya of abusing press freedom (Daniels 2012:105).

of care and fear" was the *City Press* (28 May 2012) headline to the column in which she explained her new position (Haffajee 2012 b). Her decision to take the photograph off the newspaper's website provoked further online responses either praising her 'sensitivity' or accusing her of buckling to threats. Journalists were divided on the issue (http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/editors-mull-haffajee-decision-on-spear-1-1307049). And months later, presenting the University of Cape Town annual TB Davie lecture on academic and human freedoms, Haffajee admitted: "I would not take down that image today, knowing what I do now" (Etheridge 2012).

'The Spear' debacle again raises the tension between freedom of expression, and the right to dignity. In South Africa neither right is Constitutionally privileged. As a result, similar debates provoked the 1999/2000 South African Human Rights Commission's Inquiry into Racism in the Media (Steenveld 2007, 2009), and more recently, the *Sunday Times* (7 September 2008) publication of Zapiro's cartoon of the 'Rape of Lady Justice' showing President Zuma (with the iconic shower above his head) unbuckling his trousers while his alliance partners held down 'Lady Justice', egging him on: "Go for it, Boss!" (Hammett 2010: 88, 90). The President sued the cartoonist for R7 million: "R5 million for damage to his reputation and R2 million for injury to his dignity" (http://www.pepperexpress.co.za/2009/10/06/zapiro-my-life-as-a-political-cartoonist). The main iconographic elements of this cartoon all reference recent political events: the shower head to the President's claim that he took a shower after his alleged rape of an HIV-positive woman; the image of rape, to the charge of rape against him; and Lady Justice as the victim, to the 'rape' of the judicial system—especially in relation to Zuma's prosecution for corruption in relation to the arms deal (Hammett 2010). There is a similarity between Zapiro's cartoons and the artist Brett Murray's painting in that they are both satirical forms of expression which are explicitly critical commentaries on contemporary South African politics— Murray's recent artwork being seen as a revisiting of 1980s 'protest art' (http://www.citypress.co.co.za/lifestyle/white-noise-20120511/; see also Koelble and Robins 2007).

What is also significant is the timing of these 'debacles'[4]. Many have now argued that the timing was politically 'motivated': first[5] to ensure Zuma's election as President of the ANC at the ANC's national conference at Polekwane in 2007, thereby unseating his rival, the then unpopular Thabo Mbeki; then his election as President of South Africa in 2008; now his re-election as president of the ANC at its national conference in Mangaung (2012); thereby ensuring his election as President of the country for a second term in the 2014 general elections (Bruce 2012, De Waal 2012, Lekota 2012, Munusamy 20013). By taking '*The Spear'* to the streets, and once-again presenting the President as a 'victim' of the abuse of freedom of expression and his right to dignity, it is claimed his supporters attempted to stem his fading support by mobilising people around particularistic ethnic claims harking back to the '100% Zulu boy'[6] which framed the discourse during his rape trial (Lekota 2012, Munusamy 20013). Another view is that *The Spear* gave the ANC an opportunity to attack *City*

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[4] My thanks to colleague Harry Dugmore for making this point explicit in a discussion.

[5] First was cartoonist Zapiro's response to Zuma's 2007 rape trial in which his defenders described him as a "100% Zulu boy", and represented him as a victim of state power under then-president Thabo Mbeki as a means of garnering support for him at the ANC's national conference in Polekwane later that year at which he was elected as President of the ANC, thus ensuring his election as President of the country in 2008 (Lekota 2012, Munusamy 20013).

[6] See Benedict Carton's exploration of the significance of Zulu cultural identity which supports Calhoun's position re the basis of solidarity.

Press for spearheading the investigations into what has become known as Mduligate (De Waal 2012).

Aim of the paper

In this paper I consider some theoretical approaches to the concerns underlying the difficulties faced by the editor in her decision-making. Key amongst these were the tension between freedom of expression and the media, and the right to dignity, and second, the tension between 'the public interest' and 'the national interest': typical expressions of the contestation between the media and the state (Steenveld 2009) in their bid 'to represent the people'. In South Africa these questions of representation are underpinned by questions of identity, and justice. It is from this perspective that I probe the ethics of the Editor's decision-making. The paper is divided into 4 main sections. I begin by considering Michael Billig's (1991) concept of 'dilemmatic thinking' as an over-arching framework for considering the difficulties in making sense of, and responding to, particular texts. In the second section I examine two approaches to 'the Law' which could inform some aspects of the dilemma posed by the publication of the photograph of '*The Spear'*. First, I note Powell's (1995) post-modern (critical race theory) position which challenges the positivism of hegemonic approaches to legal theory, which often inform assumptions about 'the Law' as being 'non-ideological' and hence a good arbiter of 'justice'. I then consider Mamdani's (2001) argument about how colonial legal frameworks impact on contemporary understandings of political and cultural identity. His perspective thus historicises contemporary post-colonial legal frameworks, enabling them also to be seen as contingent and ideological. In the third section I turn to frameworks which speak to issues of identity, belonging and cosmopolitanism which inform approaches to 'dignity' and 'inclusion' in contemporary democracies. In the fourth (final) section I consider perspectives on journalism practice and ethics to consider the Editor's dilemma about publishing in the public interest or national interest which encapsulate the relationship between identity and justice claims. In each section I draw on published textual responses to the publication of the photograph as a means of showing the kinds of discourses that were drawn on, and which were arguably the basis for the dilemma facing the Editor-in-chief regarding the publication of the photograph.

Dilemmatic thinking

Michael Billig's concept of 'dilemmatic thinking' is a useful starting point for approaching the ethical dilemmas faced by the *City Press* editor. He argues that people use various strands of meanings gained from a range of ideologies or frameworks to make sense of issues that contradict or puzzle them about particular texts, or particular genres of texts, at particular moments. Readers thus possess contrary and sometimes even contradictory interpretative frameworks of meaning-making for talking about and making sense of the world. Because of this, readers may face 'dilemmas' in their reading of texts, making them engage in a dynamic way with such texts. Thus reading a newspaper, or viewing an art exhibition, or deciding whether an image is publishable or not, is often a negotiation with the text because of the contending frameworks that could be used for making sense of it. Thus, what people say, think, and argue will vary across time; the recourse to one repertoire rather than another, may depend upon the functions of the discourse, and the context, in which it occurs (Billig 1990: 18, qtd. Ferguson 1998: 55).

Billig thus emphasises the profoundly social context of meaning-making, and thus the complex ways in which people interact with media content. He also stresses the twin-

nature of ideology (as a 'system of meanings') as working both unconsciously and consciously through language:

> In stressing the dilemmatic aspects of ideology, we hope to oppose the implications of both cognitive and ideological theory, which ignore the social nature of thinking. In contrast to cognitive psychologists, we stress the *ideological* nature of thought; in contrast to theorists of ideology, we stress the *thoughtful* nature of ideology. (Billig et al 1988: 2) [qtd. Ferguson 1998: 54]

Writing about the representation of race and racism in the media, Ferguson suggests that they present dilemmas in both the construction of texts, and the decoding of them by readers. The task of researchers is to identify these dilemmas, and to provide a range of readings and analysis that explore their operations (1998: 54). This "involves the media researcher in dealing with perceptions in relation to 'race' as part of the lived experience of media audiences, *and* the ways in which issues related to 'race' are represented across a range of media and genre" (1998: 53). It is in this regard that I explore the dilemmas facing the editor as she had to consider the potential readings of the published photograph and the range of discourses which a diverse public was likely to draw on.

The Law
The Law as an ideological construct
American scholar John A Powell describes the tension between freedom of expression/freedom of the press as "two narratives that describe different worlds" (1995: 333), The free speech tradition, Powell writes, tells the story of "people asserting their autonomy through participation, free thought, and self-expression in the polity…wary of government constraint…such constraint [being] an evil to be avoided in society" (1995: 333). The equality tradition, on the other hand, tells a different story:

> [of] people whom communities and government conspired to exclude from any meaningful participation in the polity or public institution. It tells the story of a government that until very recently actively engaged in efforts to exclude, and now passively stands by while private actors and powerful social forces continue to shut the door to persons seeking full membership in society. This tradition also tells of a long struggle for status, not just as members of the polity, but as complete and respected human beings. Indeed the great evil to be avoided, as seen from this framework, is discrimination that undermines or destroys someone's humanity. (Powell 1995: 333)

In short, the free speech constituency could be seen as representing those who already have access to an existing system that is organised in a way that they are familiar with, and that suits them. The equality constituency represents those who are newcomers, and who do not only want to participate, but also want to have a say in the rules and conventions governing participation. Powell (1995) argues that it is not helpful to ask which of the two narratives is more valid, as this assumes that there is some other formulation that we can use to judge this. The fact is, depending on which world we live in, we will choose *that* story as being more relevant to our interests.

A recognition of the validity of the second narrative begs questions about belonging, citizenship, and 'cosmopolitan democracy', all of which raise ethical issues for journalists, despite a Constitution which may guarantee freedom of expression and the media. As noted above, Haffajee's rationale for publishing the photograph indicates her awareness of the complexities of belonging in South Africa. She writes:

> Ours is a sexually aware, satirically sussed and progressive country.
> At the same time, we are a traditional society with a president who is most well- known for his many marriages. Our identity is not as simple as the cultural chauvinists and dignity dogmatists like to make out. Ours is, by design, a live and let live world. I'm tired of the people who desire to kill ideas of which they do not approve. Besides, our morality and good practice is selective. (Haffajee 2012a)

To locate these tensions within 'the law' in post-colonial societies, I turn to Mahmood Mamdani's (2001) perspective on the legal construction of 'settler and native' (or 'citizen' and 'subject') as a political legacy of colonialism which animates the various debates about belonging, culture and citizenship which are at the heart of tension between the rights to dignity, and freedom of expression.

Colonialism, the law, and identity in post-colonial states
One of Mamdani's primary concerns is how "Europe *ruled* Africa" (2001: 651), by which he means, the ways in which European colonial *political structures or institutions* constituted the formation of the newly independent African states. The significance of these structures is that this process of state formation produced *political* identities which Mamdani argues are to be differentiated from cultural ones (2001: 652). A critical institution was 'the law' through which the state enforced the practices of institutions which created and reproduced citizen participation in it. Key amongst these was the legal distinction between 'race' and 'ethnicity' (Mamdani 2001: 654):

> Ethnicities were governed through customary laws. While civil law spoke the language of rights, customary law spoke the language of tradition, of authenticity. These were different languages with different effects, even opposite effects. The language of rights bounded law. It claimed to set limits to power. For civic power was to be exercised within the rule of law, and had to observe the sanctity of the domain of rights. The language of custom, in contrast, did not circumscribe power, for custom was *enforced*. The language of custom enabled power instead of checking it by drawing boundaries around it. In such an arrangement, no rule of law was possible. (2001: 654).

In short, writes Mamdani,

> Colonial law made a fundamental distinction between two types of persons: those indigenous and those not indigenous; in a word, between natives and non-natives…rights belonged to non-natives, not to natives. Natives had to live according to custom. Nationalism was a struggle of natives to be recognized as a transethnic identity, as a race, as 'Africans', and thus—as a race—to gain admission to the world of rights, to civil society, which was a short form for *civilized* society. (2001: 654)

In short, the non-indigenous became citizens, governed by rights; whereas the indigenous remained subjects, governed by customary law. Mamdani here speaks to the fundamental clash between the underpinning discourses framing the right to freedom of expression, and the rights to dignity and equality. Freedom of expression speaks to civic rights—rights to civic participation associated with liberal democracies; in contrast, the rights to dignity and equality speak to an acknowledgement of 'ethnicity', 'culture', and the world of 'customary' practice which seeks legitimacy through a new legal framework. While Powell speaks of these from a post-modern perspective of 'two-worlds' which are equally valid, Mamdani emphasises the *structural frameworks*—the legacies of colonial law, in particular—and power relations which constituted these 'two worlds'. He thus points to the ways in which these frameworks have shaped contemporary politics and identity formation in post-colonial states—as a single, contested world. It is on the structuring legacies of identity formation that Calhoun (2003) and Brubaker (2003) differ—a discussion I return to later.

Mamdani argues that there were three main consequences of this colonial legal framework:

> the first…[a] tendency for indigeneity to become the litmus test for rights under the postcolonial state, as under the colonial state…second…that we have built upon this foundation and turned indigeneity into a test for justice, and thus entitlement under the postcolonial state…third…to identify a colonially constructed regime of customary law with Africa's authentic tradition. (2001: 657)

Of most significance, is the importance of *the law* in the construction of political identities:

> If the law recognises you as a member of an ethnicity, and state institutions treat you as a member of that particular ethnicity, then you become an ethnic being legally. By contrast if the law recognizes you as a member of a racial group, then your legal identity is racial. You understand your relationship to the state and your relationship to other legally defined groups through the mediation of the law and of the state as a consequence of your legally inscribed identity. (2001: 663)

It is arguably how this legal discourse reifies ethnicity and race that worries Brubaker (2003: 554)—again, a point I turn to later. Critical to our discussion now is Mamdani's conceptual separation of cultural identity from political identity. While he acknowledges that they overlap, his argument is that they are constructed in law. In a democratic state the construction of citizenship is a political identity associated with political rights and should not be considered in relation to indigeneity or 'cultural' identity (2001: 664). The South African Constitution (and Bill of Rights) is the legal framework which constructs the identity of citizenship: as non-racial and non-ethnic, based on *human* rights in which "human dignity" is guaranteed under Section 10. And yet, Chapter 12 of the Constitution makes provision for a system of Customary Law, customs of communities observing Customary Law, and Traditional Leaders, thereby entrenching, as Mamdani argues, a discourse and practice of ethnic specificity which is handled outside of the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2 of the Constitution). So while Freedom of Expression (Section 16 of Bill of Rights) may be unequivocally guaranteed by the Constitution, the recognition of Customary Law opens the door for the right to 'Human dignity' (Section 10 of Bill of Rights) to be

interpreted on cultural/ethnic grounds—what Brubaker refers to as a "*practice* of politicized ethnicity" (2003: 554)—despite the caveat that the dictates of the Bill of Rights limits customary rights (see Comaroff and Comaroff 2005: 302). 'Personhood', to which the concept dignity applies, is thus not an abstract quality, but 'practically' understood in relation to gender, race, ethnicity, culture, etc. For Calhoun, this is critical: "no one lives outside particularistic solidarities" (2003; 546). Although their positions are similar, it would seem there is a degree of difference in the understanding of the ideological (conscious and unconscious) force of ethnicity in 'civic' identity. In her rationale for keeping the photograph of *The Spear* on the *City Press* website, Haffajee (the Editor-in-Chief) recognises the power of ethnic identifications: "we are a traditional society with a president who is most well-known for his many marriages… Our identity is not as simple as the cultural chauvinists and dignity dogmatists like to make out" (Haffajee 2012a). But she is equally aware of the 'practice of politicized ethnicity': "Besides, our morality and good practice is selective". She notes:

> the march away from progressive politics to patriarchal conservatism is everywhere.
>> It is there in the Traditional Courts Bill, which seeks to return rural women to servitude; it is there in a governing party MP, who seeks to strip gay people of their right to love; it is there in the draft Protection of State Information Act, which seeks to pull a securocrat's dragnet over the free flow of news and information.
>> It is there in the march of polygamy; there in the push-back on quotas for women politicians and there in the people who want art pulled down because they do not like its message. (Haffajee 2012a)

The Preamble to the Constitution "Recognise[s] the injustices of the past" and sees the adoption of the Constitution as a means to "[H]eal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights". Thus while McKaiser (2012) may be correct in suggesting that President Zuma's case would have been better mounted in terms of defamation or under the Equality Act (see also de Vos 2012), Haffajee's eventual taking down of the photograph seems to honour the spirit of the Constitution (2012b):

> *City Press* is not and has never been an object of division; neither am I. I prefer to understand *City Press* as a bridge across divides, a forum for debate… We are robust and independent, yes, but divisive and deaf, no…

Dignity: identity, recognition and belonging
In this section I consider the right to dignity in relation to a range of discourses with which it is associated, most notably, identity, recognition, belonging, cosmopolitanism, and ultimately social justice—all of which surfaced in some form in the debates about whether the photograph of *The Spear* should have been published or not. To do this, I draw on the 2003 debate between Craig Calhoun and Rogers Brubaker in which they probe the meanings and politics of 'belonging' central to contemporary discourses which frame 'cosmopolitanism' as liberal and an identity we moderns ought to have, in contrast to 'illiberal local' attachments to particular groups, or cultures (Calhoun 2003: 532). This discourse is evident, for example, in Haffajee's reference to "the march from progressive politics to patriarchal conservatism" (2012a), and in McKaiser's (2012) 'Open Letter' to her challenging her decision to take down the photograph of *The Spear*. McKaiser (2012) suggests her

position is reminiscent of the "anthropology of low expectations" of apartheid politics:

> The modern version of "Don't teach them maths because they won't get it" seems to be "Don't demand of them what you would demand of a cosmopolitan, progressive, educated white person—tolerance of artistic freedom—because 'they' won't get it!"

Here we see the 'chain of signification' of 'cosmopolitan' associated with education, 'whiteness', tolerance of artistic freedom, in contrast to 'blackness' with their opposites.

Calhoun makes three arguments that are pertinent to this essay. The first is that 'belonging' to a social group is a fundamental human trait—making us essentially *social* beings: "…it is impossible not to belong to social groups, relations, or culture" (2003: 536). But he also argues that "groups should not be presumed to be sharply bounded or internally homogenous; they should be seen as variably solidary, salient and stable" (2003: 562; 203:547). From this perspective he views culture as non-essentialist, and open to variability and change. It is constitutive of identity or a sense of belonging to a group. But although Calhoun argues that ethnic identity could be considered "a commonality of understanding, access to the world, and mode of action that facilitates the construction of social relationships and provides common rhetoric even to competition and quarrels" (2003: 560), he also suggests that it may be more helpful to think that "people *participate* to varying degrees in ethnicity, rather than that they simply are or are not members of ethnic groups" (2003: 560). He argues that, ironically, "challenges to the reproduction of cultural patterns engender efforts to defend them that may contribute to making them sharper identities" (2003: 561-2). This was evident in some public responses to what was deemed an insult not only to the president, but to the culture some citizens/subjects identified with.

> Poet and writer Mongane Wally Serote said the painting was "no different to labelling black people kaffirs". "Blacks feel humiliated and spat on by their white counterparts in situations like this"…
> "In Zulu culture you respect adults," said Professor Nhlanhla Mathonsi, head of the school of Zulu Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.
> "It is not earned – it is predetermined. (Bauer 2012)

The culture under attack was seen as both 'ethnic' and 'racial', which is not surprising given the slippages in South African usage of the terms. The Editor was mindful of this position, hence her comment about what "the race brigade will drone" (Haffajee 2012a).

The second argument Calhoun makes is that seeing cosmopolitanism and local identifications as polar opposites is an effect of not seeing them as mutually constituted by the global capitalist economic system. This failure, he argues "encourages a substitution of ethics for politics, accounts of what is good or bad in individual action for how collective struggles might change social structure or institutions" (2003: 532). He suggests that "The idea of individuals abstract enough to be able to choose all their 'identifications' is deeply misleading" (2003: 536). He thus argues against a premise of individualism evident in many understandings of cosmopolitanism which suggest that one can eschew local attachments (to culture, ethnicity or nation), for a 'global' or 'cosmopolitan' identity (2003: 532, 535). Instead, he maintains:

cosmopolitan liberals often fail to recognize the social conditions of their own discourse, presenting it as a freedom from social belonging rather than a special sort of belonging, a view from nowhere or everywhere rather than from particular social spaces. The view of cosmopolitan elites expresses privilege; they are not neutral apprehensions of the whole. (2003: 532).

In short, he proposes that cosmopolitan theories "fail to make sense of the world as it is and the next steps people might take to make both it and their lives better" (2003: 532). Instead, they "offer an abstract normative structure which, however much occasioned by real-world social change, can only have the standing of 'abstract ought', with all the potential tyranny over immanent projects of social improvement that implies" (2003: 532).

And finally, he argues that it is precisely because groups are socially marginalised that they engage in a politics of belonging and solidarity in order to mount a political challenge to the structures and institutions which marginalise them (2003: 532, 545, 560; also Hall 2000:149). The potency of discourses of ethnicity and culture were evident in how easy it was for leaders of the tripartite alliance (ANC, Communist Party, and Cosatu) to rally their members in defence of 'their president' (as in Zuma's rape trial). The posters carried by supporters at various rallies are indicative of their sense of 'group identification' or 'allegiance': "Zuma was not voted into power by newspaper picture or articles. He was voted in by the majority of South Africans" (image 7)[7]; "Hands off our president, we are hurt (image 4)[8]; "Naked or not, Zuma for second term" (image 6)[9].

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[7] Zuma artwork: Testing the Constitution [Mail&Guardian 21 May 2012]
http://mg.co.za/2012-05-20-jury-divided-dignity-vs-freedom-of-expression ay 2012 0:29 - Nickolaus Bauer

[8] Judge questions racial element in Zuma Spear case [New Age online 24 May 2012]
www.thenewage.co.za/Detail.aspx?mid=53&news_id=51664&cat_id=1007

While Brubaker is largely in agreement with Calhoun, his main concern is that groups, such as ethnic ones, are often conceived as 'real, substantial things-in-the-world' (2003: 554), rather than as a "contextually fluctuating conceptual variable" (2003: 555). This reification, he argues, makes possible "the *practice* of politicized ethnicity" (2003: 554). This view of ethnicity is evident in many of the responses to *The Spear*— hence the 'ease', noted above, with which members of the ANC leadership could draw on such discourses to rally support for Zuma. In discussing the challenges in considering the political claims made in the name of 'diversity', Brubaker writes:

Julia Molutsi ANC member demostrating outside South Gauteng High Court. Picture: Elvis Ka Nyelenzi

[9] Gallery to remove portrait from its website [*Eyewitness News* 29 May 2012]
http://ewn.co.za/2012/05/29/gallery-to-remove-The-Spear

Pro-Jacob Zuma protesters gather at Zoo Lake to march against 'The Spear'. Picture: Taurai Maduna/EWN

In any particular context, some ways of representing diversity and framing claims are going to be more legitimate than others. This creates incentives to talk about diversity in particular ways. So in the last century and a half, for example, where nationhood has carried with it a presumption of self-government, there have been strong incentives for political entrepreneurs seeking independence or autonomy to represent the diverse populations of large polyglot and multi-confessional states in specifically national terms, as multi-national. There are similar incentives today to use the language of indigeneity. And in liberal democratic polities today, where religious rights and liberties and strongly protected, there are strong incentives to represent diversity in religious terms. The general point is that how diverse populations are characterized depends on what claims are recognized as legitimate and effective in particular discursive and policy environments – and these change over time and vary across contexts.

http://www.mmg.mpg.de/special-output/interviews/interview-with-rogers-brubaker-university-of-california-los-angeles

Calhoun shares this view, arguing that solidarities should not be seen as "pre-political" (2003: 547). He also acknowledges that various solidarities, ethnicity, identity or groupness are "socially produced, shaped by material factors, culturally organized and yet also open to human action" (2003: 549). It is thus "not the 'bad other' to individual choice" (2003: 549).

He is thus not unmindful of the dangers of 'groupism', but he is concerned that Brubaker underestimates the significance of *culture* (as a system of ideas and practices) in the constitution of ethnic identities which provide "a commonality of understanding, access to the world, and a mode of action that facilitates the construction of social relationships and provides a common rhetoric even to competition and quarrels" (2003: 560). He argues:

> The privileged feel free as individuals precisely because their habituses are well attuned to the dominant socio-cultural organization. But the less privileged experience a mismatch between their embodied capacities to generate action and some of the fields in which they are forced to act—notably those of economy and state. (2003: 560).

This perspective echoes the 'two worlds' discussed by Powell above. It also speaks to the habituses of middle class people like academics and journalists, and indeed journalism as 'universal', 'cosmopolitan', modernist practice. Perhaps mindful of this perspective, the Editor noted the following in her decision to take down the photograph:

> The other lesson in all of this is that our common national dignity is still paper-thin; that our mutual understanding across cultures and races is still a work in progress and that pain is still deep. We have not yet defined a Mzansi way of maintaining a leader's dignity while exercising a robust free speech or reached an understanding that a leader embodies the nation, no matter what we may think of him or her. (Haffajee 2012b)

In sum, Calhoun (2003) points to the critical importance of ethnicity in constituting a sense of belonging, and the variable ways in which it can be deployed to defend perceived injustices. However, Mamdani's argument that the very colonial legal structures which constitute people as particular ethnic or racial subjects seems to

militate against them having such a flexible understanding of ethnic or racial understanding, hence his argument that we should "challenge the idea that we must define political identity, political rights, and political justice first and foremost in relation to indigeneity". The differences between Calhoun's and Brubaker's positions are fine. But both point to the need for contextual analysis: for Calhoun, we need "sociological analysis of why people seek and reproduce social solidary" (2003: 550); for Brubaker, we need to be cognisant that how groups are characterized "depends on what claims are recognized as legitimate and effective in particular discursive and policy environments" (http://www.mmg.mpg.de/special-output/interviews/interview-with-rogers-brubaker-university-of-california-los-angeles). The difficulty for most journalists is that they do not have the luxury of the time to conduct such sociological or political analysis. The appropriateness of their decision-making thus depends on the extent of the kind of sociological and political knowledge they have already developed. Given the complexity of the sociology and politics of the invocation of solidarities in particular political situations, it is thus not surprising that journalists and editors face 'ethical' dilemmas regarding what to publish, when.

Recognition without ethics
The importance of social solidarity that culture and ethnicity facilitate, Calhoun argues, is that it enables the marginalised to 'take the next step' in organising to fight for the redress of their social and economic circumstances (2003: 532). In other words, he explicitly links "the politics of difference" to "the politics of equality" (Fraser 2001: 21). Fraser shares this view: "Justice today requires both redistribution and recognition: neither is sufficient" (2001: 22). Proponents of redistribution see it as a moral right—the basis of fairness and equal treatment for all; whereas proponents of recognition see ethics as promoting qualitative conditions that constitute 'the good life'. But, she notes:

> It is now standard practice in moral philosophy to distinguish questions of justice from questions of the good life. Construing the first as a matter of 'the right', and the second as a matter of 'the good', most philosophers align distributive justice with Kantian *Moralitat* (morality) and recognition with Hegelian *Sittlichkeit* (ethics). (2001: 22)

The demands for justice are seen as universally binding, whereas the claims for the recognition of difference are seen as referring to particular cultures and practices. The former position is taken by deontologists, the latter by Communitarians. But as she believes that progressive politics today requires both justice and recognition, she attempts to find a philosophical way of combining both: namely seeing recognition of difference not as ethical claims vis-à-vis 'the good', but as a justice claim. She thus argues against 'the identity model of recognition' for a number of reasons: it views identity as individualised and psychological rather than social and dynamic; it posits *group* identity as the object of recognition, which often has an essentialist basis to which all members of the group have to conform; it reifies culture. In short, it "lends itself all too easily to repressive forms of communitarianism" (2001: 24)—as noted above by both Calhoun and Brubaker. Instead, she proposes a "status model of recognition" in which what is recognised is not the group, "but rather the status of group members as full partners in social interaction" (2001: 24). In other words, she locates the approach within a framework of democratic citizenship. She argues that to view recognition in this way "is to examine institutionalized patterns of cultural value for their effects on the relative standing of social actors" (2001: 24). From this

perspective, recognition is not a matter of self-realization, but of justice, because "it's unjust that some individuals and groups are denied the status of full partners in social interaction simply because of institutionalised patterns of cultural value in whose construction they have not equally participated and which disparage their distinctive characteristics…" (2001:   ). The criterion for judging whether claims for recognition are valid or not thus depends on the claimant showing that "current arrangements prevent them from participating on a par with others in social life" (2001: 32). In short, the recognition sought should enable "participatory parity". This is arguably her way of obviating the danger of "politicized ethnicity" noted by Brubaker (2003) and other critics of communitarianism (Calhoun 2003, Fourie 2010, Tomaselli 2009). On this basis it is arguable that recurring media representations of black people helps constitute institutional racism, which continues to inhibit the parity of participation of black people in many spheres of social and economic life. And that calls for changes to their reporting practice is a justice claim, rather than an ethical one. On the other hand, she also argues that by "aligning recognition with justice instead of the good life, one avoids the view that everyone has an equal right to social esteem" (2001: 28). And here she points to the distinction between esteem and respect which is owed to all on the basis of a common humanity, whereas esteem is based on our valuation of particular traits (2001: 39). In relation to *The Spear*, calls for Zuma to be "esteemed" are arguably not valid on the basis of allegations of rape against him and his involvement in corruption (See McKaiser 2012).

One could thus see Fraser's argument as a way to reframe journalism ethics—not as based *either* on liberal, deontological ethics *or* communitarian ethics—but a combination of the concerns of each, rooted in a consideration of what is 'just' for each participant in a plural democracy. From this perspective the debates about the publication of the photograph should not centre on 'African' culture and practices, but questions of how media representations facilitate or hinder social equality and the "parity of participation" in social life. In Tomaselli's words, "ethics without justice is blind, and justice without equity is empty" (2009: 7)

Journalism practice and ethics
The above discussion has attempted to highlight the significance of questions about culture, identity, groupness, and solidarity to the dilemmas underpinning the ethics of media representation and publication.   This has necessarily touched on paradigmatic questions about individualism versus collectivism, and universalism versus particularism which underpin debates about journalism practice.

The hegemonic view of journalism as a social practice is that it is 'universal' (Hanitzsch 2007). Despite the acknowledgement that there are different kinds of journalism, there is still a view of it as a 'normative' practice. This practice is based on its normative role in liberal democracies (Ronning 2002, see also Christians et al 2009). In this regard, freedom of speech, expression, and the media are seen as a *sine quo non* of democratic practice (Lichtenberg 1990, van der Westhuizen 1994: 267, Murdock 1992) in which the media are seen as operating 'in the public interest', rather than the 'national interest'—a point discussed below.

The underlying tension between these rights, and the right to dignity, which is usually[10] constituted by the discourses around identity and belonging, is that the

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[10] See discussion of Ward's (2010) grounding of dignity within a set of universal protonorms

former are often regarded as 'universal', whereas the latter are associated with a politics or ethics of recognition which is associated with 'particularity'. In this regard, questions of press freedom and the right of freedom of expression are treated within the ambit of normative (liberal) ethics, whereas issues relating to 'difference' in journalism ethics are often addressed via 'communitarian ethics' (see Christians 2004). However, within the discourse of communitarianism, 'the group' or 'the community' are often treated as homogenous, and there is no recognition of power relations or that 'the community' is socially constructed (see Kasoma 1994). The problems of communitarianism and its form of *Ubuntu* in African philosophy are well documented (Banda 2009, Fourie 2007, Fourie 2010, Tomaselli 2009), and echo the concerns of Fraser (2001), Mamdani (2001), Calhoun (2003) and Brubaker (2003) discussed above.

As noted earlier, another aspect critical to this normative conception of journalism is that it serves democracy in 'the public interest' rather than 'the national interest'—another discourse that surfaced in the debates about the publication of the photograph of *The Spear* (Mckaiser 2012, ramalainetalkpoliticalanalysis 2012). This debate has a long history in South Africa in which the 'national interest' is associated with the Government's idea of what 'the state' needs, whereas 'the public interest' is usually associated with civil society's needs (see Wasserman and de Beer 2005). In relation to debates about journalism practice, the former is associated with forms of 'development journalism' and communitarian ethics which is eschewed by liberal practitioners, whereas the latter is associated with liberal democratic practice and ethics. Haffajee's original argument for publishing the photograph was firmly rooted in the liberal right to free speech, and thus in 'the public interest' (2012a). But her reason for taking down the photograph was "out of care and fear" (2012b), arguably expressed in terms of 'the national interest'. Fellow editor, Peter Bruce of *Business Day* agreed with her that the photograph should come down "in the national interest" (2012). Others disagreed, seeing it as a blow for free speech and the independence of the media, while the *New Age*, *Citizen* and *Sowetan* were equivocal (SAPA 2012; McKaiser 2012).

The acknowledgement of capitalism and colonialism as global systems which have shaped global media relations and practices has provoked at least two noteworthy contributions to theorising the tensions and debates noted above. One is Clifford Christians' (2010) notion of an "Ethics of Universal Being" in which he grounds questions of dignity as universally associated with the ontology of being human. On this basis he notes the sanctity of human life as a 'protonorm' from which he derives the fundamental ethical principles of human dignity, truth, and non-violence (2010). The other suggests using post-colonial theory as an approach to media ethics as it too questions the politics of modernist universalism and liberal individualism which obscures structural power relations, framing quests for universal justice in ways which negate the significance of solidarity based on culture and ethnicity to these struggles (Rao and Wasserman 2007, Rao 2010,Wasserman 2010). By foregrounding particular concepts drawn from Powell (1995), Mamdani (2001), Calhoun (2003), Brubaker (2003) and Fraser (2001) whose work appears not to be part of the corpus of work on media ethics, I hope to have added their insights to the field.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper is to offer theoretical insights into the *City Press* editor's published dilemmas about her decision to publish, and then retract, the photographic image of *The Spear* from the newspaper's website. In particular, I

focused on debates about culture, identity, belonging and solidarity, as these were prominent in her decision-making which was a response to the public discourses aired in various online and offline media sites. While the theoretical perspectives may be useful in informing the political debates that take place, and in contributing to the on-going theoretical discussions about media ethics, they do not provide a 'blue-print' for action. As can be seen from the discussions above, theorists make *fine* distinctions in their arguments with each other. In contrast, journalists and the general public seem to draw on more generalised discursive repertoires which are hegemonic to their discursive communities. There appears to be a significant gap between the discourses of academics, media professionals, and the public. Editors routinely weigh up contingent factors and make judgement calls in particular contexts which are often politically loaded. The breach in the different discourses could be sutured by public engagement between editors and academics about the basis of their positions. This would arguably help both the public and the journalistic community in refining their understandings of the kinds of perspectives that need to be taken into account in making publishing decisions.

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PART FOUR

ADVERTISING AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

The Ethical Dimensions of Public Service Advertisements in the Middle East: The Case of Anti-Terrorist Campaigns

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Abstract

The anti-terror public media campaign started in Iraq around 2004 and was called 'Terrorism has no Religion' in order to combat the threats of Al-Qadea and other affiliated militant groups in the country and aiming at convincing the Iraqi public to cooperate with the US-led coalition forces. After the withdrawal of the US forces from the country in late 2010, the campaign stopped but a new one emerged whose advertisements mostly targeted the Saudi public. This new campaign that is called 'Say no to Terror' is still running and the two Saudi-owned pan Arab regional channels – Al-Arabiya and MBC- are instrumental in airing its advertisements. This article discusses the ethical dimensions of these media campaigns with special focus on the issue of overt violent scenes which they contain and the bias in depicting certain sects rather than the others.

Keywords: Public campaign; 'Say no to Terror'; 'Terrorism has no Religion'; media ethics; Arab public sphere; Arab media; public service advertisements

Introduction

Despite the importance of studying public service advertisements (PSA) in developing countries such as Arab states, no research has been conducted on them. Indeed, government-sponsored PSA in the Arab world are widely utilized for educational, health, public safety programs. Probably the most popular public campaigns are related to elections in the Arab world which has been mostly seen in Iraq, Lebanon, and Kuwait and more recently in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, and Libya especially after the events of the Arab Spring.

The Saudi government under the direct supervision of the King himself, for example, authorizes public campaigns to collect charity funds to help victims of natural disasters and war conflicts from around the world. Up to 2010, the total amount of money collected from the Saudi public reached over $338 million which included campaigns to help victims in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Palestine, Lebanon, Pakistan (Al-Yahya & Fustier, 2011, p. 14). In most cases, the public campaigns begin with a 'TV telethon to which the King and several senior princes make a personal donation' (ibid., p. 15). In Bahrain, a public campaign on aiding the victims of famine in Somalia became very popular as a related advertisement was aired on the official TV channel (Bahrain TV, 2011). Further, the Jordanian government ran a public campaign against Muslim extremists following Al-Zarqawi's hotel bombing in Amman in 2005 (Lynch, p. 39; Zayani, 2005, p. 21). Other public campaigns that are sponsored by Arab governments are related to encouraging tourism in countries like the UAE, Oman, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

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With the growing influence of pan-Arab channels, Arab viewers started to see more public service advertisements even if they are living in the diaspora. Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, MBC, and more recently Sky News Arabia have their own promotional materials that can be viewed almost everywhere especially with the presence of the channels' online streaming. In some cases, certain groups are targeted. For example, MTV Arabia, which is run by the UAE-based Arab Media Group, aired several important and sometimes controversial public advertisements and campaigns aimed at Arab youths (Jaafar, 2007). The channel which was renamed MTV Middle East in 2011 attempted to challenge some traditional values and practices in conservative countries like Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Abdullatif al-Sayegh, the former chief executive of Arab Media Group, once mentioned that 'What we are saying to young people is it's OK to have fun, it's OK to be naughty as long as you don't lose yourself' (Surk, 2007). One of the main target regions for MTV was Saudi Arabia as the channel directors met several Saudi youths before going on air. However, some programs created tensions in conservative societies especially in Saudi Arabia; for example, MTV's program 'True Life - Resist the Power, Saudi Arabia' which featured Saudi men and women living relatively liberal lives and freely expressing their views was regarded as insulting and resulted in heavy backlash and criticism directed against the channel (Karam, 2010). Further, in one of its programs, MTV Arabia aired 'Banat' (Girls) that showed Arab young girls voicing their ambitions and aspirations from different countries including Saudi Arabia (MTV Arabia, 2008c).

In relation to MTV Arabia public service campaigns, the channel sponsored safety driving advertisements due to the high number of casualties caused by car accidents in Saudi Arabia and the UAE (MTV Arabia, 2009a). Another popular campaign was about anti-cursing in the streets which was produced with humorous scenes (MTV Arabia, 2009b and 2009c). One of the most controversial public advertisements aired on this channel was a promotion for the channel itself, but it featured scenes depicting boys publicly harassing girls in the streets, and this anti-social behavior was presented as a manly, exciting, and favorable conduct (MTV Arabia, 2008a & 2008b). It is not clear why the channel chose to air these advertisements repeatedly, but it is an indication that it wanted to break the norms and traditional values to promote the channel. Dahl, Frankengerger, and Manchanda confirm that shock advertising 'attempts to surprise an audience by deliberately violating norms for societal values and personal ideals' (2003, p.269).

More recently, the Internet is playing a very crucial role in organizing the public and uniting them to discuss certain issues. For instance, an online public campaign on Facebook was organized by Arab women and it is called 'The Uprising of Women in the Arab World'. The page that was created in October 2011 has over 80,000 likes as of early December 2012 and over 3000 Twitter followers. The campaign calls for women to be 'fearless, free, and independent', and the Facebook page mentions the goal is to 'create a strong solidarity network, share our views, denounce the absurd laws of our respective countries, and share updates about the progress and changes that we are working on' (The Uprising of Women in the Arab World, 2012a and 2012b). On the campaign's official website, the organizers mention that their efforts are not directed at Arab women alone but extends to all other women from other ethnicities living in the Arab world like 'Berbers, Nubians, Kurds, Assyrians, Arameans, Syriacs, Armenians, Turks, Turkmen, [and] Circassian' (The Uprising of Women in the Arab World, 2012c). This online public campaign became so popular that even mainstream media outlets inside and outside the Arab world started covering it. Another online public campaign that recently emerged is concerned with

defending the Prophet Mohammed against the accusations that were made in the 'Innocence of Muslims' film. The Facebook page which was created on the 13th of September 2012 is called 'The Global Campaign to Support Prophet Mohammed' has over 105,000 likes as of early December 2012 (The Global Campaign to Support Prophet Mohammed, 2012).

Anti-Violence Public Campaigns:

The most important and relevant public campaigns to the focus of this study is related to combating violence and terrorism in troubled countries like Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and more recently Bahrain. It is important to point out that in the case of Bahrain, the government is combating a Shiite uprising that was inspired by the events of the Arab Spring, but the official frame used to define the protest is terrorism. For example, a TV advertisement that was aired on the official Bahraini TV shows the negative consequences of the actions of young men shown to be burning tires and creating chaos, and by the end of the public service advertisement, a statement is shown stating 'Together to extinguish the fire of Terrorism' (Bahrain TV, 2012).

In Iraq, the Future of Iraq organization which seemed to be supported by the US government worked on strengthening the ties between the different Iraqi ethnic and minority groups especially between Sunnis and Shiites due to the tensions that were created after the 2003 War that culminated in the civil war that erupted in 2006 after bombing the Shiite holy shrine in Samara city. The organization's website, which is not functioning anymore, was created around 2004, and it carried the slogan of 'Future Iraq Assembly One Nation, promising future'. The organization produced tens of video advertisements that called for unity. On its website which was accessed through 'My Way Back Machine', the organization's objectives are: '(1) To convince all our fellow Iraqis that we have the will and the capability to progress; (2) To adopt a value system that has at its very heart openness and acceptance of the other; (3) To eradicate pessimism, fear, hesitation, and isolation from our fellow Iraqis' hearts and reinforce trust, initiative, and honest competition for the sake of a future Iraq that is worthy of the sacrifices we've made to regain our right to a decent living' (Future of Iraq, 2004 August).

The videos posted by the organization were mostly well produced which indicate a high budget and professional and specialized staff who are mostly lacking in Iraq; hence, it seems that the US administration was responsible for sponsoring its media campaigns. For example, Future of Iraq aired a famous advertisement on the dangers of civil war with a message 'In order not to be a lesson for history' in which scenes of causalities of civil wars and the number of people killed and maimed are shown from different countries like Bosnia, Rwanda, and Lebanon (Future of Iraq, 2007). Another campaign with the theme of unity shows a traffic policeman trying to organize a chaotic street and angry Iraqis are dissatisfied. In the end, order was restored with cooperation and understanding as the message reads: 'My Iraq is your Iraq' and a subtitle 'If we don't cooperate, how can we progress?', with a famous Iraqi national song in the background (Future of Iraq, 2008). Other advertisements called for unity by featuring different Iraqi faces talking about food or citing famous Iraqi proverbs with subtitles such as 'No matter how different we're, Iraq unites us' or 'No matter who you're, you're Iraqi' (Future of Iraq, 2009a and 2009b). Other advertisements focus on small Iraqi kids playing; for example, one advertisement features Iraqi protesters from the three main groups - Shiite, Sunni, and Kurdish - who meet angrily to fight but they change their minds after seeing their own kids play in front of them

(Future of Iraq, 2009c), while another advertisement shows different scenes like a teacher, a builder, a traffic man, an oil refinery worker, and a mother preparing her child to go to school to be contrasted with a ticking bomb that has a timer. The message says 'Our hands build it; our hands protect it' (Future of Iraq, 2009d). Another advertisement on unity features three young kids who appear to be strangers and their names are shown as subtitle 'Hussein' a Shiite name, 'Dulair' a Kurdish name, and Bakr a Sunni name who join later and seem to become friends after playing football. The message says: 'What is easy for our kids will not be difficult for us' (Future of Iraq, 2009e). Finally, another advertisement shows an Iraqi man packing a suitcase to go to the hospital to meet his newly born baby as his wife is giving birth, while the other scene shows a terrorist preparing his booby-trapped car to explode it. The two men meet on the street, and we hear an explosion. The new father is survived and he finally meets his wife and new baby at the hospital. The message says: 'When divided, we'll be defeated; when united, we'll defeat it' (Future of Iraq, 2009f).

Future of Iraq had other campaigns such as one that encourages Iraqis to vote for the constitution wherein scenes of rain drops representing hope and bright future are meant to be associated with voting (Future of Iraq, 2009g), while a different advertisement highlighted various aspects like human rights, equality between men and women, and democracy that can be gained by voting for the constitution (Future of Iraq, 2009h). A third advertisement that called for voting for the governorates elections on the 31st of January 2009 shows US soldiers departing Iraq while Iraqi kids watch them. With music in the background, the kids start playing football while a subtitle says: 'They leave and we stay' and 'Freedom is a responsibility, so practice it with awareness' (Future of Iraq, 2009i). All the above public service advertisements are meant to increase awareness and convince the public about the importance of unity. It is not clear, however, the real impact of these advertisements that used to be aired repeatedly on different Iraqi channels.

Anti-Terrorism Campaign in Iraq:
In relation to the anti-terrorist campaign which is the focus of this study, Iraq had one campaign running starting around 2006 which was called 'Terror has no religion' (Terror has no religion, 2006). The video and print advertisements produced for this campaign were aired and published on pro-Iraqi government TV channels and newspapers. According to the campaign's website which is not functioning anymore, the mission statement reads:

> Our Mission is to expose the fallacy of the distorted and politicized Islamic teachings used by ungodly extremists to sanctify and justify terrorism.
> It has become crucial to inform the Muslim and Arab people - particularly the Iraqi people- about the deceptions terrorists employ in distorting the peaceful teachings of Islam. These terrorists, who claim to follow the Islamic Faith, are in truth only drowning in an abyss of mistaken beliefs (Terror has no religion, 2006).

It seems that the main goal of the 'Terrorism has no religion' campaign was to highlight 'extremist ideology that breeds terrorism', according to the campaign unknown sponsors; 'we use Quranic Verses in their true Islamic meaning; free of the distortion committed by the misguided malicious terrorists' (Terror has no religion,

2006). The reason behind following this strategy was to show 'the true image of Islam and combat extremist ideology' as well as to 'reveal the true and ample doctrines of Islam, and expose the contempt these terrorists hold for the spiritual essence of our religion. These terrorists and their ungodly way are the ones responsible for making Islam an easily marked target in the eyes of the world, as well as causing Muslims to be the subject of criticism before the world community (Terror has no religion, 2010).

In the first advertisement, a suicide bomber explodes himself in a busy market. The explosion is produced with elaborate details and presented with carefully produced special effects (Terror has no religion, 2007a). On the English website, the advertisement is described as follows: 'Even the word, 'War' does not justify attacking secure civilians and turning the streets into a heinous scene that is open for the slaughter of both innocent women and children. The ethics of war – any war – refute this mass elimination, and we have, in the form of the Prophet, a decent example to follow (Terror has no religion, 2006). The advertisement which seems to be filmed in Morocco offers graphic violent scenes; for example, as the suicide bomber ignites his bomb in the market, dead bodies are scattered everywhere including the little boy whose shoe is the only thing that is left and shown due to the impact of the explosion. The advertisement seems to be mostly directed against Sunni salafists who also fought the US-led Coalition forces. Another advertisement shows a mysterious and sinister looking man wearing black cloak crossing the Iraqi border to suggest that those bombing themselves are not truly Iraqis. It is described as follows: 'Be alert people of Iraq. Terrorists trespass our borders to sow the seeds of death in our land' (Terror has no religion, 2006). It The man who walks around searching for a suitable target is watched by other fellow Iraqis with suspicion indicating that the presence of such persons must be reported to authorities. The man later ignites a bomb in the market, and the lethal consequences of his murderous act are highlighted (Terror has no religion, 2007b).

Similar to the Future of Iraq main focus, another campaign concentrated on unity among Iraqis. One of the advertisements is entitled 'Know your enemy' and is described as follows: 'For every disease there's a cure. The disease spreading in Iraq plants the seeds of fear, hatred, dissension and terrorism among its people. The cure to this disease is the unity of citizens in the face of those who compromise security, values and life. Know your enemy is a call for a unified front in refusing the criminal practices that endanger Iraqis' (Terror has no religion, 2006). The advertisement starts again with kids playing football and people seemingly living in peace when suddenly a convoy of cars filled with armed men enter the neighborhood. Everyone starts fleeing as bearded men who look like Sunni insurgents start shooting randomly and beating people. Suddenly, an Iraqi man who appears to be a tribal Sheikh stands alone to confront the armed men and he is later joined by other religious clerics who come from different sects based on their costumes. Afterward, a group of ordinary Iraqis join and hold hands to show unity while someone from the crowd lifts the Iraqi flag from the ground to stress the nationalist spirit. When the armed men see the number of people gathered who were advancing toward them, they start retreating. The advertisement then shows the messages 'know your enemy' and 'terrorism has not religion' as well as 'terrorism has no country' (Terror has no religion, 2007c).

The second campaign uses football as its theme aiming at generating positive feelings and associations due to the game's popularity in Iraq and the fact that the Iraqi national football team won the AFC Asian Cup Champions in 2007. The first advertisement is described as follows: 'Terrorism feeds on the division of people,

wanting to subjugate even the most basic of daily pleasures. The fight against terrorism is all the more potent when people come together in strength and when they refuse to allow sectarianism to divide their ranks' (Terror has no religion, 2006). The advertisement starts with a subtitle 'In a dark day, terrorism wanted to defeat Iraq' shows football players from Iraq's national team playing against terrorists wearing dresses similar to the Afghan Mujahideen ones which look like Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi's outfit. In the match, the terrorists use explosive devices, machine guns, and hand grenades which are all thrown away by the football players who win the match in the end. The message reads in the end: 'Terrorism has no country' (Terror has no religion, 2007d). Another advertisement was produced using testimonies from famous Iraqi football players who claim that there were doubts about their performance during the Asia Cup tournaments, but they managed to win with perseverance and unity. The advertisement highlighted the following message: 'We came from all around Iraq united under one dream' (Terror has no religion, 2007e).

Finally, the most controversial advertisement was related to a kidnapping theme. On its English website, the advertisement is described as follows: 'Terrorists are criminals who try to garner political gain by terrorizing people. They function devoid of morals or conscience. They nurture the illusion that they are fighting for a higher cause when in reality they use sectarianism to divide and conquer the Iraqi people' (Terror has no religion, 2006). The advertisement starts in the market showing ordinary Iraqis shopping in peace when all of a sudden a speeding car filled with armed men enters the market place and the men start shooting randomly and kidnapping few men. One of the kidnapped men whose name is Tariq is taken as a hostage and is severely beaten with the butt of a machine gun. One of the masked men whose face is not apparent starts shouting repeatedly: 'Answer me!' Are you Sunni or Shiite?' As the kidnapped man struggles to answer, flashback scenes show serene and peaceful images to be later contrasted with the violence shown. In the end, the man responds: 'I am Iraqi' after which he is summarily executed, and the message reads: 'Sedition is worse than murder' (Terror has no religion, 2007f).

It is important to note that all of the violent scenes were shown on the national Iraqi TV channel and other affiliated pro-government channels without any regard to scheduling or giving a prior warning to TV viewers about the violence shown. Further, in all of the advertisement produced by 'terror has no religion' campaign, there is an emphasis on a contrast between life and death, beauty and ugliness, peace and war or destruction, innocence and dirt or contamination, and happiness and sadness. As previously indicated, all of the advertisements show either verses from the Quran or Prophet Mohammed's sayings that urge Muslims to resort to peace and reject violence. Indeed, the Islamic texts inserted are meant to function as advertising appeals to increase the favorability and credibility of the messages sent to the public.

Anti-Terrorism Campaign in Saudi Arabia:
The second anti-terrorist campaign is called 'Say No to Terror' whose unknown sponsors produced twenty videos that are posted on YouTube and repeatedly aired on the Saudi-owned pan-Arabic MBC and Al-Arabiya channels. Except for two videos, all the other ones are designed to target the Saudi society. The new campaign is clearly a continuation of the previous one 'Terror has no religion' because both have the same style in terms of their anonymous sponsors, video production, print format, texts used from the Holy Quran, and similar objectives. Further, on the Facebook page of 'Terrorism has no religion' we find some of the videos used for the new campaign 'Say no to Terror' (Terrorism has no religion, 2010). Also, one of the videos

used in the new campaign contains the same message found in the previous Iraqi campaign such as 'know you enemy' followed by messages like 'there's no life where terrorism resides'. In this new advertisement, a convoy of cars filled with armed men enters a neighborhood and terrorizes it which is very similar to one advertisement described above (Say no to Terror, 2010b). As the US Army withdrew from Iraq, it seems that the interest shifted to Saudi Arabia whose conservative society is well known to breed many salafists who adhere to a very conservative version of Islam. For example, most of the Arab Afghan fighters who went to Afghanistan in the 1980s were from Saudi Arabia and most of the 9/11 hijackers were from the same country. Hence, it seems that the need to address religious extremism in this country is of a vital interest to the USA as well as the Saudi government.

The campaign has a website; however, it is hosted in Montenegro probably to conceal its real sponsors due to the anti-American attitudes in Saudi Arabia. Further, it has a YuoTube channel with over 1,339,351 views as of late December 2012; the channel was first created in August 2010 (Say no to Terror, 2010a). Also, a Facebook page was created in August 2009, and it has over 847,000 likes though it is not clear whether people really like the page or not since the majority of posts are uploaded by the campaign organizers themselves. In addition, there is also a Twitter page with only 166 followers and 89 tweets (Say no to Terror, 2009). In its mission statement, the campaign organizers mention the following:

> When we look at the reality of our Islam today, we find that it is threatened from within by those who claim to be defending it though Islam is innocent from them. A group of deviant people divide the society aiming at misleading our brothers and sons and distorting the image of Islam and the gracious doctrine by their criminal acts…. Our message is to reveal the deviant claims of the terrorists and disclosing their crimes and urging anyone who has a living consciousness to reject their criminal acts and destructive ideology in order to protect our societies from their harmful effect (Say no to Terror, 2009).

Three are a total of thirteen campaigns, but three ones are highlighted on its website: 'The remorseful terrorist', 'the mother', and 'the returnee suicide bomber'. Basically, each campaign has at least one video and some posters that include the following: 'Awakened consciousness'; 'open your eyes'; 'The cry' where small children are used, 'the clowns', 'I'm innocent from what from your crimes', 'charity', and 'there is no life where terrorism resides'. The main target groups of these advertisements seem to be primarily directed at potential 'terrorists', their family members as well as neighbors. However, the non-systematic scheduling of airing the advertisements indicates that this is far from being followed.

Why Saudi Arabia?

As mentioned above, the Saudi government is supported by the USA in the attempts to combat extremist ideology represented in the hardline advocates of Wahaibism. This kind of conservative views is manifested in different ways such as the criticism against MTV Arabia as cited above. Also, on the 21st of December 2012, Mohammed Al-Arefi, a well-known Saudi cleric, called for boycotting MBC3, one of the few Arabic channels for children, because it contains 'unacceptable programs' that might 'negatively affect children's lives'. Al-Arefi's impact is tremendous as he has a religious program on Dubai TV that is viewed by thousands of people and has over 3,489,147 followers on Twitter as of December 2012 which is among the highest

numbers of followers in the Arab world. On the 24th of December 2012, MBC Group responded angrily by referring to a previous decree issued by Al-Arefi in which he called on fathers not to sit alone with their daughters least they should be tempted to have a sexual relation with them. In a press release, MBC said: 'Reason is not the means to discuss matters with such a person especially that such decrees are coming from someone who should be placed in a mentally ill hospital to be cured from his deviant thoughts instead of issuing fatwas' (MBC.net, 2012). This recent incident shows the kind of tension between the moderates and conservatives in Saudi Arabia.

Further, in a meeting between US diplomats and Khalid Al-Matrafi, the regional director of the Saudi-owned Al Arabiya news channel, Al-Matrafi revealed that MBC, which owns Al-Arabiya and many other entertainment channels, targets young Saudis because they are 'particularly vulnerable to the calls of extremists, and that the station now targets its moderate news broadcasts to the 14-18 year old demographic in short presentations of three minutes or less' (Wikileaks, 2009). Also, the regional director mentioned that there were concerns over Al-Jazeera channel influence in the region; hence, MBC channels aimed at presenting programming that 'counters the influence of al-Jazeera and fosters "moderate" perspectives among the country's youth' (Ibid.). In another meeting with the chief editor of the *Saudi Gazette* newspaper, Mohammed al-Shoukany, and his deputy, Abdallah al-Shehri, the two elaborated on the change in the Saudi government's media policy:

> The government is pushing this new openness as a means of countering the extremists…. It's still all about the War of Ideas here, and the American programming on MBC and Rotana is winning over ordinary Saudis in a way that 'Al Hurra' and other US propaganda never could. Saudis are now very interested in the outside world, and everybody wants to study in the US if they can. They are fascinated by US culture in a way they never were before (ibid.).

Based on the above accounts, one can conclude that the Saudi government felt the need to counter the extremist ideology in the Saudi society with a moderate version of Islam that is done by opening up to the outside world and by using the media as a basic tool. This is mostly achieved through American entertainment programs and assistance in producing public advertisements like the ones discussed in this paper. In general, the Saudi and American goals are mutual since it is in the interest of the US government to have a stable Saudi society to ensure the continuous and steady flow of oil which will ultimately help in the recovery of the world's economy.

The Ethical Dimensions of Anti-Terrorist PSA
One of the basic requirements of public service advertisement is the need for segmentation. Dervin and Foreman-Wernet (2012) stress in their discussion of public campaigns the importance of targeting audiences according to demographics, interests and life situations, as well as cultural needs and values (p. 150). The anti-terrorism campaigns that are discussed above have two main ethical issues. The first one is related to targeting the whole society without segmentation despite the fact that most of the advertisements shown on TV contain graphic images and very violent scenes of dead mutilated bodies. Some of the advertisements used in the Iraqi and Saudi campaigns which are related to the suicide bomber and the kidnapping incident were too violent for children and are shown without any prior notification. We might justify the use of violence by citing two relevant arguments.

First, introducing shocking images might raise more awareness so that viewers might pay attention which is regarded by advertising scholars as the first step in persuasion (Grazer & Keesling, 1995). Pickton and Broderick stress that 'the use of shocking (unusual, provocative, controversial, intrusive) images in advertising [is] for the purpose of attracting attention and debate' (2005, p.234). In this regard, David Bevan discusses the different aspects of utilitarian ethical principles by referring to the example of showing dead bodies on public service advertisements designed to reduce car accidents. So he rightly asks the following question: 'Do the images of dead and seriously wounded people evoking a violently traffic accident cause public offence?' (2012, p. 230) William O'Barr further refers to the Australian and British public service advertisements that show graphic and explicit images to raise awareness about the dangers of smoking (2012). Based on the utilitarian principles, one might ask whether the car accidents awareness campaigns and anti-smoking advertisements could produce less harm though the reduction of car accidents and achieve better health results, then in the end, these shocking scenes 'would be beneficial to the society' (Bevan, 2012, p. 230). In the case of the anti-terrorist campaign, it is very difficult to weigh the impact of the advertisements on the society on the long or short terms, so it remains unclear what the negative or positive impact these advertisements have in the society.

Second, one might argue that Arab viewers are accustomed to seeing violence and dead bodies on TV screens that are mostly aired without prior notification. This is mostly seen on news channels like Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya (Lynch, 2006, p. 192), so what is presented in the PSA campaigns is not unusual to Arab viewers including children. This is probably true, but why do some Western scholars criticize Al-Jazeera channel for the nature of its news while the US designed anti-terrorist advertisements contain the same violent scenes if not worse?

The second ethical issue is related to targeting the Sunni sect rather than Shiites in Iraq who were also involved in the insurgency. The reason is probably related to the fact that the majority of attacks against the US-led coalition forces were organized and conducted by Sunni fighters. This kind of bias is unacceptable since it enhances the stereotypes in the Iraqi society against the Sunni sect as a whole.

Though Patrick L. Plaisance in his work, *Media Ethics*, does not refer to ethics in public service advertisements, he does mention ethics and values in advertising and marketing which is somehow related. Both the American Advertising Federation as well as the American Marketing Association stress the importance of following ethical standards in advertising. For example, the American Association of Advertising mentions in its Standards of Practice that it does not create advertisements that contain any 'statement, suggestions or pictures offensive to public decency or minority segments of the population' (2009, p. 32). This is of crucial importance because advertisements should not enhance or encourage sedition or schism in the society unlike the case of the anti-terrorists campaigns in the Middle East. Further, the UK Code of Broadcast Advertising (BCAP Code) states in the Harm and Offence sections the following details:

> Advertisements must contain nothing that could cause physical, mental, moral or social harm to persons under the age of 18. Advertisements must not distress the audience without justifiable reason. Advertisements must not exploit the audience's fears or superstitions (UK Code of Broadcast Advertising, n.d.).

As for scheduling, the BCAP Code stresses the need to think of children when airing advertisements that contain some inappropriate scenes such as sex or violence: 'Advertisements that might frighten or distress children or are otherwise unsuitable for them… must be subject to restrictions on times of transmission to minimise the risk that children in the relevant age group will see or hear them' (ibid.). In the case of the anti-terrorist campaigns, many aspects like scheduling, children viewers, violence, and sensitivity toward ethnic minority were largely ignored which might ultimately lead to the rejection of such campaigns by the public.

Further, Dervin & Foreman-Wernet emphasize that raising awareness does not necessarily guarantees compliance (2012, p. 151) since 'people are willing to listen to that which collides with or is new to their worlds when those communicating at them change to communicating with them' (Dervin & Foreman-Wernet, 2012, p. 153). When there is one way communication, the PSA turns into propaganda, which was a practice widely followed by the US and German governments in times of crises especially during the First and Second World Wars (O'Barr, 2012). Other countries like China widely uses PSA in today's world by focusing on television in particular (Landsberger, 2009). Indeed, this was the major weakness of the anti-terrorist public service advertisement as the communication seemed to be directed monodirectional rather than multidirectional. Besides, would be insurgents are already labeled and framed as terrorists which obstructed the chance for reasonable and equal debate between the two sides. These two factors were probably the main reasons why we find tens of video parodies that mock the anti-terrorist campaign that are posted on YouTube as a reaction against what some regard as a foreign intrusion into their own beliefs.

To sum up, the anti-terrorist campaign in the Middle East are run by the US government in coordination with the Saudi and previously Iraqi governments in the hope of combating extremism in their societies. The US role is highly concealed to avoid any immediate rejection of the campaign due to the anti-American attitudes and the awareness that the Arab public will reject the idea that the US government is dictating to them what should be done, and it is very doubtful that these campaigns are successful and credible as there are many ethical issues surrounding them.

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An examination through legal regulations
in turkey from an ethical perspective

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Abstract

As a conclusion of developments in mass media, ethic codes related to communication profession has become a topic of discussion. Ethical behavior of advertisement employees that has products in media in this framework and regulations around advertisements are also ended up with attracting attention. Lots of countries are specifying their own moral standards towards advertisement. The fact that legal regulations through advertisement do not go into particulars and the need of advertisers having their own self-audit have been accepted in general. In this study, advertisement in Turkey is examined under the titles of legal regulations, regulation councils, self-audit and ethics via descriptive analysis method. By pointing out the historical improvement of advertisement, regulations belonging to advertisement, councils that behave in the context of these regulations and organizations created by advertisers are investigated. Contribution of these studies about advertisement regulations and structure of organization to advertisement ethics is discussed with examples and anticipatory applications that must be done is made evaluations of.

Key words: Advertisement in Turkey, ethical regulations, self-audit

Introduction

With the shortest statement, advertisement is establishing and/or transmitting ideas in order to orient consumer to purchasing for a product or service. Advertisement: emerges as a conclusion of a dynamic procedure in the context of advertisers, advertisement agencies, producers and mediums that advertisement is published. The main one of these doctrines that are intended to understand the procedure is abbreviations that is used to express constitution process of advertisement via a basic language. For example: AIRPA (Attention, Interest, Request, Persuasion and Action) that states the purchase process is one of these (Foster, 1997: 10). There exist two important accents in these abbreviations that are expressed to be keys to affective advertisements in general: attract attention and persuade. Getting out of the consuetudinary means getting one more step closer to acquire these two elements for advertisers. Advertisement, that is desired to come up with a change through action in target market perception in order to have increase in sale figures of a product or service, has been a topic to ethical regulations in the point of route map that is followed in order to attract attention and persuade.

When we look at historical improvements, effort of village bellmen to reach the buyer in order to sell slaves in B.C. 3000 is stated to be the date that advertisement was started in the primeval era. But advertisement in the meaning that we

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understand in our times that is the effort of planned informing in mass media aiming sale, emerged through the start of written materials reaching wide group by the invention of press.

Advertisement studies that continues its way on a thin line in the point of ethics, has come down to these days as Ottoman heritage in Turkey. Advertisement applications in Turkey that have a deep-rotted culture, is tried to be enhanced and improved continuously with strategic regulations and supervisions. Legal regulations, as they do in lots of countries, only help specifying the general framework, where the details are shaped through the initiatives of governmental councils or self-audit. In order to come up with a reliable analysis in the study, subjects of advertisement and ethics and advertisement history in Turkey will be examined briefly and through this perspective, how Turkey deals with the subject of ethics will be probed. In this way, regulations' points that must serve as a model and deficiencies will tried to be determined.

Advertisement and Ethics
The word of ethics is derived from the word "ethos" that means "character" in Greek. And the ethics concept that is derived from "ethos" reveals the conclusion of examining moral rules and values by pointing out the ideal and abstract. Ethics, in addition to being predicated on nuncupative, abstract moral rules, is trying to implement what must be understood from these abstract concepts. In this point, ethic rules are expected to be improved in the inscriptive rules that are about a clear and specified area. For example, for areas like ethics of art, ethics of politics, ethics of education etc. in addition to the fact that there exist common principles, there also exist sui generis principles for each of the areas (Elden, 2009: 205). Mentioning about ethic principles in specific expertise areas caused "business ethics" to rise. Business ethics is about what people, that performs a specific profession, must or must not do. All the business principles aimed to be as far the best as they can. For this reason, business is determined by not only technical rules but also its way of affecting other people.

With communication becoming an interdisciplinary expertise, the start of communication professionals' trainings made it obligatory to communication ethics to be specified. With communication ethics, an ethics understanding of other professions that is based on communication is also mentioned at the same time.

Studies and researches about communication ethics are accelerated with the growth and variation of mass media. In this context, subjects like media responsibility, media performance, public benefit, constitutes important titles of communication ethics. RTÜK (Radio and Television Supreme Council) undertakes important tasks in the regulations in the area of media in Turkey. Where RTÜK includes general studies about media, with the privatization of profession areas that belong to communication, regulations that belong to these professions also get privatized.
Press, so to say journalism, is a communication profession that has the oldest principles. Advertisement, that has a goal of affecting people towards purchase, came to daylight after mass media's growing affect and at the same rate, regulations about advertisement and ethic principles have been a topic to discussions.

Advertisement, with its improvement, has been criticized a lot, in addition to a mass that defends advertisement. Supporters of advertisement, expresses the fact that there is the need of advertisement before purchase of a product or service by

referencing informing side of advertisement. The point to be careful here is that whether qualified information is served or not. Again the supporting ideas claim that the most important qualification of advertisement is already pointing out something that exists. Advertisement has an important role in the process of realization of an existing fact by its target mass as a conclusion of selective perception.

The main critic that is intended to advertisement is the information is one-way where informing about a product or service is only intensified towards positive features, and users realize the negative parts about the product or service after the purchasing behavior. In this point, advertisement is accused of being deceptive. Another critic is about the fact that advertisers create needs that do not actually exist. This situation results in the conclusion of target mass, being manipulated.

Critics that follow Adorno and Horkheimer censures advertisers of that they globalized fake images of wealth, innovation and freedom of choice. According to these critics, advertising is the lever of capitalism as a profession of illusions. Advertisement is a one-sided communication between producer and consumer. It brings out innovation fetishism and dominance of experts. It exploits sexuality and children and more than advertising products, it seizes consumption as a lifestyle (Uzun, 2007). The only way for advertisers to stand in front of these critics is existence of advertisers who adopt honesty as a principle and are conscious of their public responsibilities. These critics made forces advertisers to become more responsible in the areas expressed as "ethical" and make it obligatory to act more careful in the name of applications for advertisers.

From the time that advertisement was started to be used conceptually, there have been various discussions in the context of advertisement and ethics. We may list these discussions as titles briefly (Cohan, 2001):

•	Advertisement imposes the idea that possessing things also brings happiness. Very less of advertisements highlights sense of conscience and provides opportunity of a wider perspective to the things happening all over the world.

•	Another complaint that is raised is that advertisement produced its own values and presents these as "good". In this process, it is not important if costumer needs the product or not. Advertisement presents it as a requirement – need and makes it to be felt like this.

•	Advertisement abuses our physical wishes, desires, and our body; by using body makes men and women both tend to be deceived equally.

•	Advertisement, at the point of convincing, tries to put logical thinking on the back burner. For example, like the trial of ignorance of harmful points in the consumption of acidic drinks, alcohol and cigarettes.

•	Advertisement is a way of entertainment that contains photographs, smart catchwords, special effects, movement and music. But it uses this entertainment to catch the attention and perception of its target mass and to set in motion.

•	Advertisements are obliged to tell the truth in the framework of laws. But declarations like "most liked", "the best" are welcomed as people see little exaggeration about the product is part of the rule.

The main critic about the content of advertisement is sexuality and children. Sexuality seems to be warped, decorated with patterns, away from the real meaning of the concept, and made to be consumption-indexed in advertisements. Sexuality in advertisements brings out the negative messages that are destructive in social and psychological senses, stigmatized to masses. In advertisements, love is degraded to

material where material is degraded to the level of love (Kilborune, 2005: 119-122). In addition to this, some advertisements that are contradictory with social norms and conflicts with moral values legitimates the situation that they perform. Again another negative side of the sexual-contented advertisements rests on the fact that they motivate adolescent teenagers to especially cigarettes and alcohol through sexuality.

Children are the other important discussion topic of the agenda about advertisement. Children are more likely to be into advertisement than adults and they place advertisement visuals and sounds to their lives. Ethics discussions towards children and start points of the critics are listed below (Yevgel, 2007: 283-384).

•   By giving roles to children in the adverts of products that children are not related to, making it possible to children to take part in guidance of family and their parents in the process of purchase.

•   Making it possible for children to bound reality and imaginary world upon "becoming happy by consumption". In long term, forming individuals that make a habit out of unnecessary consumption

•   The child, who is affected by the role models that he/she will be identified with in advertisements and whose character is being shaped newly, having a negative identity

•   Showing things that can physically put the child into danger and the child would not distinguish between those things and reality

•   Trial of establishing trust element to a commercial brand by using experts especially in the food advertisements that is forward children, motivating children to bad nutrition habits and obesity

•   Brands gathering personal information of the kid, who uses communication technologies densely, and his/her parents without permission and routing children to web sites which would affect growth process negatively by the advertisement web sites.

•   Thoughts about personalities of children actors/actresses who take part in advertisements affected negatively

As it is seen, there are lots of approaches that criticize the ideas that support advertisement. Most of the critics make it obligatory for advertisers to be more careful and planned via both self-regulatory systems and laws. In the profession of advertising where self-censorship is important at first, supervisions are in the second row.

Advertisement in Turkey

Newspaper and show card advertisements in America and Europe started to spread in 17th century. When it comes to 18th century, advertising became a professional job. On the other hand, in Turkey, this meeting occurs in a later date, in 19th century. Less expenditure concerns of journals and advertisement becoming a way of revenue led up to the establishment of announcement – advertisement units. Most of the announcements – advertisements that are published before the republican era, where published in a multilingual way. French, Armenian and Persian are also fall within these languages. When it comes to the start of 1900s, it became obligatory to prepare and plan advertisements because of the increase in the number of papers and in 1909, the first announcement-advertisement agency was established with the name "İlancılık Kolektif Şirketi" (*Publicity Collective Company)* (Çamdereli, Varlı, 2007:12). Advertisement, in addition to experience various increase and decrease periods, flourished with proclamation of Republic and especially after the era of

multi-party time. In the first times of the Republic, advertisements are usually published in journals by the international firms. And 1950s were the years which advertisement agencies started to operate in Turkey and Turkish firms publish their advertisements more densely.

In 1980s strategic importance of advertisement sector increased more and more. The tendencies of liberalization in national economy started to improve the power of private sector and increased competence between firms; and this situation reflected onto advertisement investments positively. In 90s, private televisions starting to their broadcast life, foreign companies coming to the country with globalization, the increase in number of foreign brands, increasing investment and competence in the area of media are the reasons that affects advertisement sector in Turkey (Elden, 2009: 156). This improvement implied professionalization. Firms, by combining their power with firms that are into international works, caught the advantage of following developments in the world and competition.

As it did in all over the world, technological improvement resulted in variation of advertisement areas in Turkey also. Mobile applications and internet are recently improving advertisement areas. In addition to the fact that legal regulations forwarded to these new advertisement areas are not enough, getting rid of the deficiencies in regulations about advertisements that take part in traditional media and preventing ethic problems as possible must be thought of as a monolith with anticipatory regulations made towards new media. And it must not be forgotten that this would take part in a study that also covers new communication technologies would be affected positively.

Advertisement Regulations in Turkey
In different societies, advertisements are supervised in various ways (self-regulation, the rules of private law, administrative control, and criminal proceedings). The basis of supervision consists of consisting appropriate competitive conditions and protection of consumer. Undoubtedly, other than these supervision ways, the best behavior pattern both from the side of publicist and advertiser firm is to provide conformity of advertisements to ethical principles. Researches held make consumers to have positive attitude towards brands that are honest and behaves according to ethical principles and make it possible to have a positive image for brands to have a positive image and a respectful position in the eyes of public (Elden, 2009: 212). In this way, convenience to ethic rules constitutes an advantageous position for both firms and target mass.

It is possible to examine advertisement regulations in Turkey under two titles, legal regulations and self-regulatory regulations. At first, information will be given about self-regulation council that is established aiming sector to regulate itself before it is investigated by councils of government and judicial bodies.

Advertisement Self-Regulatory Board
Self-regulatory mechanisms serving good and fulfilling their functions, makes state legislatures' that are constituted through laws, work alleviate. Because of this, self-regulatory mechanisms are tries to be developed all over the world. For example: In United States of America, National Advertising Division (NAD) which follows complaints related to advertisements since 1971 and National Advertising Review Board (NARB) which is the authority to object the decisions of this establishment before applying are important self-regulatory mechanisms of USA. Self-regulation in

England is divided into two. Advertising Standards Authority (ASA), this is established in 1962 and indicated to be a self-regulation corporation that is the most effective and has the biggest financial resource in the world, supervises all advertisements other than radio and television advertisements. Television advertisements are supervised by Broadcast Advertising Clearance Center (BAAC) and Independent Television Commission (ITC) where radio advertisements are supervised by Radio Authority self-regulation corporations. And in Germany, Deutscher Werberat (DWR) which is established within Zentralausschuss der Eebewirtschaft (ZAW) which is both an industry union and federation, functions as self-regulation in the topics of convenience to morality and courteous advertising where Zentrale Zur Bekampfung Unlauteren Wettbewers (ZBUW), which was established in 1985, functions as self-regulation in the areas of deceiving advertisements and unfair competing (Avşar, Elden, vd. 2011:198). These examples in addition having different structures, shows that these countries positions self-regulation as an important unit in country structures.

Reklam Özdenetim Kurulu (*Advertisement Self-regulatory board*): Advertisement Self-regulatory board, which is established against dishonest advertisements by Advertisers Institution and Publicity Institution members and advertisement channels in Turkey, demands advertisements that are found to be conflicting with International Advertisement Practice Statements, to be fixed or banned from advertisers since 1994. This service of RÖK, also is a suggestion for both advertisers and media at the same time, in order to be protected from other regulation constitutions. It does this not because of a legal obligation, but bounding to a commitment done towards public and consciousness with social responsibility by trusting advertiser's common sense (Serttaş Ertike, Yılmaz, 2011: 142). In this way, advertisers both avoided further problems and prevented critics towards advertisement profession. Advantages of emerging ethical advertisement applications are related to self-regulation which is done in the quality that is desired.

Advertisement Regulatory Board determines the convenience of all the advertisements promulgated on the advertisement channels in Turkey according to International Advertisement Application Principals. Advertisement Regulatory Board, under the presidency of the independent president, consists of 28 persons, being 7 members from advertisers, 10 from TV institutions , media, open-air, radio channels, 7 from Advertisement Agencies, 1 from customer institutions, 1 from universities and 1 from Istanbul Bar Association. Each member has two years of period of incumbency.

Advertisement Regulatory Board resolves not only the customer complaints but also the complaints of advertisers and advertisement agencies about each other, protecting and accrediting the image of Advertisement Corporation, advertisements which are put on the agenda by the president as a result of researches made without request to provide trust to the advertisement. By the request of advertisement agencies and advertisers, it carries out its mission of pre-publication consultancy. Moreover, it resolves the objection to Executive Council (internal body of ARB)'s decisions by parts, advertisements which are considered as important by Executive Council, yet not as emergent and therefore forwarded to ARB, advertisements requiring principle decisions by Executive Council, ultimately and determinately.

If required to list some of the examples belonging to ARB (Avşar, Elden, vd. 2011: 206-208):

•Advertisements must accord with such rules as regulations, memorandum, rescript published by public authorities.

•They must avoid sexually abusive practices.

•Expressions in the advertisement must be correct. For example: A product which has permission of food by Ministry of Health cannot be introduced as medicine. When a brandmark is descired as the best seller, there must be objective data, even though there is not such an obligation as the expressing the sales figures.

•To remark that one product is superior to its rival, it must be better than its rival in any circumstance without exception. Rival product cannot be used in the advertisement explicitly.

•In the advertisements, it is not allowed to refer to the rival product, which can be classified as discredit.

•Expressing an idea, audio-visual elements cannot be same as another brand mark.

Advertisement Council

Apart from Advertisement Regulatory Board and Private Civil cases, an executive supervision is required especially for deceptive advertisements. At this point, Advertisement Council is responsible for specifying the principles required to be abided in the commercial advertisements and announcements, examining the commercial principles and advertisement within the frame of these principles, and penalizing according to the result of examination.

Being one the institutions which realize supervisions regarding advertisements, Ministry of Customs and Trade makes its Customer-related researches through Advertisement Council. Advertisement Council consists of 29 members, which are: Ministry of Customs and Trade, Ministry of Justice, Radio and Television Institution of Turkey, Council of High Education, Turkish Union of Doctors, Turkey Union of Bars, Turkey Union of Chambers and Stock Markets, Journalists' Clubs, Adveristers' Clubs, Customer Organizations, Agriculture Chambers' Union of Turkey, Craftsmen' and Artisans' Confederation of Turkey, Turkish Standards Institution, Presidency of Religious Affairs, Turkish Union of Engineers and Architectures' Chambers, Confederation of Labor Unions, Union of Independent Accountant and Financial Advisors and CPAs of Turkey, Municipalities of Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir, Turkish Union of Pharmacy, Turkish Union of Dentists, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock.

Advertisement Cooing determines the commercial advertisements and announcements within the frame of conditions specified by 16th article of "Law regarding Customer Protection" (no. 4077). These conditions (www.mevzuat.adalet.gov.tr):

•Commercial advertisements and annoucements must be accord with laws, principles specified by Advertisement Council, public morality, public order, individual right, and must be just and correct.

•Advertisements, announcements and hidden advertisements cannot be deceptive, fallacious, or abusive to customer's lack of experience and knowledge, endangering her/his security of life and property, promotive of violence and crime, bad for public health, abusive for patients, senior citizens, children, and handicapped people

•Rival products and services which are intended to same purpose or which satisfy the same needs, can be advertised comparatively.

•Advertiser and participants in commercial advertisement or announcement are obliged to prove the tangible assertions.

•Advertisers and channel institutions are obliged to these article conditions.

Advertisements confirmed to be against Law of Customer Protection's (no. 4077) 16th article are penalized with stoppage, and/or correction or fine. Corporations foreseen penalty are sent notification of penalty, and profession chamber to which they are affiliated with are informed. After the penalty of warning, corporations which will be penalized for a second time are penalized with fine, and on the third time the first fine will be multiplied by two and applied.

As mentioned in the regulations of Advertisement Council, requests are done in written. Requests which do not include the name or commercial title and address of natural and legal entity are not accepted by Council. Original issues of written or published advertisements which are complained about are attached to the petition. Photographs of the ones which cannot be attached are provided by the request owner. Recordings of TV movies and radio commercials are provided by Radio and Television High Council in accordance with Law Regarding Radio and Television Institutions and Broadcasts' (no. 3984) 28th article. It is possible to apply Provincial Directorates of Industry and Commerce regarding commercial advertisements and announcements, as being reverted to the Council.

In necessary conditions, Council is allowed to establish specialization commissions which consist of maximum three persons. A report including the structure and result of each research is represented to the council by the commissions which council decided to be formed.

Apart from Advertisement Council, different public institutions (such as Capital Market Council, Council of Competition), although they are little in number, can have the authority of intervention about advertisements related to their own fields. Yet Advertisement Council and Radio and Television High Council (RTHC) serving in the structure of government in Turkey are the primary two foundations which are movers and shakers to 'adverstisement'. When Advertisement Council decides about the contents of the advertisements, RTHC mostly makes regulations of broadcast corporations. Another issue which belongs to RTHC is that RTHC only intervene with the advertisements broadcasted on radio and television, and Advertisement Council has the authority of deciding about all open air channels and announcements in addition to radio and television commercials.

In addition to the fact that Radio and Television High Council has special determination on advertisements and media corporations, it will be appropriate to share one of its general announcements to media here in terms of expressing the approach of Radio Television High Council to media. Council's "General Announcement about the stoppage of promotions and advertisements of some product which are against this legislation" (03.07.2012) can be summarized with its general outlines as such (www.rtuk.org.tr):

"Ministry of Health and Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock has found the claim that is referred to some food additions, gels, creams, masks, shampoos and lotions applied externally and various medical gadgets brand marks, and that they have losing weight, enhancing sexual performance, quitting smoking, preventing diseases, curing and healing effects, invalidate and has stated that they can only **help** the treatment of mentioned. For this reason, products alleged to be active in the issues mentioned above are stated to be adverse to the condition legislations related

to radio and television promotion and advertisement, and their promotions are requested to be restricted.

As known, according to Law regarding Radio and Television Establishment and Broadcast Services' (no. 6112) article 8/1, broadcasts cannot encourage the manners that will harm the common health. According to article 9/3 of the same Law, hidden advertisement cannot be carried out and according to the article 9/6/c, commercial communication cannot be fallicous and cannot harm the interest of the customer.

In this respect, within the frame of Law no. 6112 until now a lot of penalty has been applied to (and shared with public opinion) *media services* which broadcast the promotions and advertisements, which are adverse to the legislation conditions, related to the products named in the list which are mentioned in the writings of Ministry of Health and Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock. Yet promotions mentioned continue to be broadcasted in various broadcast corporations problematically. Related to these broadcasts, within the frame of writings and guidance off the Ministries mentioned, legal processes that is carried out related to all the advertisements and promotions indicatively, and not restricted with the products mentioned will continued to be installed."

As seen above, in addition to that it aims advertisement contents; the announcement is stated to be applied not only to the corporations which owns the advertisement but also to the media service provider corporations which broadcast them. In general terms, RTHC gives places the sanctions oriented at broadcasting corporations rather than the ones who prepare the advertisement content.

I consider that it will be good to consolidate the issue with decisions of Advertisement Council in this frame. For this reason, there are decisions which belong to two separate advertisements in summary; and the first is broadcasted on television and the latter is published as a brochure. (www.gumrukticaret.gov.tr):

"The corporation which is complained about is a soap company; advertisement is broadcasted on television and published on newspapers. Advertisements of *Activex Liquid Soap* produced by the company are broadcasted on various television channels and published on issue of Kelebek appendix of the newspaper "Hürriyet", dated 03.02.2012 as such *"Activex Anti-bacterial liquid soap with 7 effects, due to its special formula with 7 effects, kills 99% of the bacteria in 10 seconds. (...) Preventing bacteria from placing on the skin, it is proved to provide antibacterial protection until 12 hours.".* The tests in scientific researches which are represented as a mount to these proof needed assertions are realized in the laboratories, yet the images in the advertising film creates the perception that it provides bacterial protection in any circumstance (such as dirty and muddy hands) through 12 hours, and the statement "*Activex's 7 effects special formula has the permission of Ministry of Health"* is deceptive and the speed of footnotes and subtitles of the advertisement does not have accordance with the legislation conditions related and it is advert to the 16th article of Customer protection law, and the conditions of Regulations of the Application Basics related to Principles of Commercial Advertisement and Announcement.

According to this, advertiser company has been charged with executive fine in the national level (81.554.-TL) and stoppage within the eighth subsection of various 17th and 25th article of the Law no. 4077."

"The corporation mentioned in the complaint is an hotel. It is stated that the hotel used two stars altought it is not subject to any investment or management certificate or a classification process regulated by Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the adversitement made on signboard and with brochure in 2011. It is decided that this advertisement is advert to 16th article of Regulations related to Tourism Facilities' Certification and Qualification, related articles of Regulations related to Basics regarding Principles and Application of Commercial Advertisements and Announcements, Law regarding the Protection of Customer. There the advertiser hotel is penalized with stoppage of the advertisements."

Above there are decision examples of two main foundations which have voice within the frame of advertisement supervision related laws in Turkey. As it can be seen in this decision examples, while RTHC penalizes the media service provider which broadcast that advertisement in an issue experienced orientad at the content of the advertisement, Advertisement Council applies sanctions oriented at the corporation which prepares the advertisement in the direction of the content related regulations. Another important issue in the decision examples is that in the decisions of Advertisement Council, while in the first example there was a decision about the advertisement in television and newspaper, in the second there was a penalty about the advertisements published in brochures and signboards. This is the indication of the fact that regardless of the channel, advertisement published are interests of Advertisement Council within the frame of complaints.

Conclusion and Discussion

Advertisement in Turkey met with public and its development in this respect realized later than in European Countries. Especially after 1950's the establishment of agencies accelerated the development of the advertisements and today advertisement sector has become a sector which grows more in every year. According to the data of Advertisers' Club, in 2011, advertisement investments increased in a scale of 20% and became 4 billion 310 million TL. In 2012, an increase up to 15% is anticipated. Again, in Turkey, in 2011, 120.000 brandmark applications were made and this number helped Turkey reach to leadership of Europe in 2011 in this respect (www.rvd.org.tr). Advertisement sector in Turkey brings forward this development, the necessity of regulations as the most basic problem, and ethical problem. The realization of the rise with qualified practices, is possible with education of the professionals of the issue ethically, sufficiency of self-audital regulations and finally with legal supervision.

 Turkey continues to improve its self-audital mechanism from 94' until now, always in ameliorization. Self-audital mechanism is an important board to which advertisers and promoters apply who does not go against with the law. Self-Regulatory Board, which will reach a better structure thanks to internal and external change, will be renewed in parallel to the interest of advertisement experts. Advertisement Council which serves as the ethical regulation board lied to the law, plays an important role both in the regulation of advertisements which is complained about, and also in the fixation of fallacies that they meet in their own research. Moreover, Advertisement Council tried to guide the advertisement sector with its researches about some specific titles within the frame of the commissions that it established.

There are two situations here to be compensated. First, Advertisement Council cannot allocate enough time to regulations that need to be developed, as a result of the effort to answer all the local complaints in Turkey, and is suffocated within the

local problems. As a solution to this, with the commissions that will be established according to the regional features of Turkey, and that will have meeting more often, the solution of local issues, and the transfer of the issues that cannot be resolved in the commission can be provided. In this process, Advertisement Council will be positioned both as a supervisor of other commissions and as a more active determiner of advertisement related criteria.

The second important issue is that experts who work actively, find solutions in the sense of adaptation of the advertisement regulations to the new communication technologies, again with a commission that will cooperate with the advertisement board. Advancing technology necessitates the change of regulations at the same level. For this to be provided, the regulation commissions that put its center in the advertisement in only new communication technologies are needed.

To express generally, the development of the existing structure with some additions will both ease the application of existing regulations in the subject of advertisement and provide its adaptation to the agenda.

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PART FIVE

GENDER

Was it Really Present? Feminism in Journalism Coverage of Egyptian Parliamentary Election Campaign

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Abstract

The content analysis of Egyptian journalism coverage of 2010 parliamentary election campaign concluded that the coverage was biased in favor of male candidates who received more attention on male issues than female candidates, whereas female candidates received more attention on female issues than male candidates. Also male and female candidates received different coverage concerning their personal traits, frames and background, but both candidate electability and the slant of coverage were equitable to men and women candidates. Furthermore there were some differences in how male and female journalists covered men and women candidates.

Keywords: women candidate, journalism, election campaign, political communication, framing.

Introduction

In 2007 the election law in Egypt was modified through a constitutional amendment of article 62 mattering the allocation of 64 seats for women in Egyptian parliament known as *quota*. The aim was to increase seats for women to support their participation in the parliamentary work through competition among themselves, in addition to the possibility to increase the number of 64 seats when competing against male candidates in the parliamentary election.

In this respect the study looks at how Egyptian journalism portrayed the female candidates in parliamentary elections campaign compared to male candidates. Using previous literature that explored media's portrayal of female candidates in comparison to male candidates, this study relies on a content analysis of articles from major Egyptian newspapers and a news website, extends more understanding about how journalism treated female and male candidates of 2010 parliamentary election campaign in Egypt equitably in terms of the quantity and the quality of coverage.

Literature review

Much research has tested media coverage of female candidates running for election by focusing on the measurement of the following areas:

The volume of coverage: some of previous studies (e.g., Kahn 1994; Kahn & Goldenberg 1991) have found that female candidates receive less coverage than do their male counterparts. Kahn work led to more research to shed light on the biases of press coverage of both male and female candidates. Some of recent studies (Aday and Devitt 2001; Heldman et al. 2005; Piper-Aiken 1999) confirmed Kahn's findings, whereas others (e.g., Atkeson & Krebs 2008; Devitt 2002; Smith 1997) revealed no

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bias in the volume of coverage of male and female U.S Senate and gubernatorial candidates, except in open races. Smith (1997) found men received more coverage, whereas others (e.g., Bystrom et al. 2001) suggested greater coverage of women, specifically that being a woman significantly increases the media attention House members receive (Gershon 2008).

Candidates' issues: In 1999, Devitt's analysis of the coverage received by male and female candidates for governor indicated that men were more likely to receive coverage on an issue stand or record on political issues than women counterparts. Also Kahn (1993) illuminated that while women candidates really emphasized social issues and men emphasized foreign policy, economics and agriculture, most issue coverage given by the press to any candidate was about these stereotypically "masculine" issues, and when "female" issues were covered by the press, they were indeed covered more extensively when the candidate was a woman. Also others (Bystrom et al. 2001; Smith 1997) concluded that although men's and women's issue coverage was similar on crime and government finances, male candidate coverage consistently emphasized economic concerns. On the contrary, a recent study (Atkeson and Krebs 2008) illuminated that in press coverage of the USA mayoral elections, female candidates did not receive more attention on "female" issues nor did they receive less on "male" issues.

Candidates' traits: In 1994, Kahn's study of female U.S. Senate and gubernatorial candidates indicated that women candidates were advantaged through focusing on feminine traits such as warmth and honesty. However, reporters discussed male personality traits (e.g., toughness, leadership skills, and intelligence) slightly more than female traits (e.g., honesty, and compassion). Also senate races studies found that reporters portrayed men as strong and women as approachable and sensitive (quoted in Devitt 2002: 448). More recent studies, while approaching a content analysis of press coverage of the 2008 presidential nomination campaign, illuminated that mentions of negative traits were significantly elevated for Hilary Clinton versus her Democratic competitors and they tended to emphasize personality faults associated with Clinton (e.g., dishonesty and divisiveness), whereas Barak Obama's coverage tended to emphasize his inexperience (Peake & Miller 2008), and Hillary Clinton's competence could not overcome a considerable amount of personal and political baggage (Carlin and Kelly 2009: 339). The same manner was in presidential race in Chile press that portrayed female candidate in the traditional female stereotype of care and compassion, while the male candidates were framed in stereotypical masculine manners, described as competent and good leaders (Valenzuela and Correa 2009).

The slant of coverage: Media coverage was negative in some cases (Bystrom 2006a; Carlin and Winfrey 2009; Kahn 1996), but others found viability was mostly equitable (Bystrom et al. 2001; Jalazai 2006; Smith 1997), and Bystrom et al. (2004) suggests that this problem has lessened over time. In Canada, women candidates are described in more negative and aggressive terms than their male counterparts (e.g., Gidengil and Everitt 1999, 2003), but in Chile Dussaillant (2005) found that neutrality was the frame most frequently used by the Chilean press to describe the candidates of the 1999 election (quoted in Valenzuela and Correa 2009: 218). As for candidate electability, male candidates in the local races received coverage as eventual winner more than female candidates in the intergender race (Atkeson and Krebs 2008). In stark contrast other studies (e.g., Valenzuela and Correa 2009) indicated that the female presidential candidate was always described as the likely winner, whereas

most coverage of the two male candidates in the campaign depicted them as competitive candidates, but not as likely winners (pp.212-213).

Framing female candidate: Research specifically on the coverage of female and male candidates, while yielding a variety of results, has also demonstrated how the analysis of frames maybe useful in detecting patterns in news coverage (Devitt 2002: 447). Studies of press coverage of gender stereotypes (Aday & Devitt 2001; Banwart et al. 2003; Bystrom 2006a; Devitt 2002; Heldman et al., 2005; Kahn 1994; Kahn & Goldenberg 1991) found female candidates often receive less issue coverage than males, and personal topics such as appearance, clothes, size, age, personality, emotional state, children and marital status were more likely to be about female than male candidates as well as defining female candidates in terms of these roles rather than as a political candidate. These findings on personal coverage at the legislative, state executive and presidential level came in contrast to research of Atkeson and Krebs (2008) on mayoral elections who revealed that in these local races the candidates' proximity to the local media, their personal knowledge and families may lead to less bias on this dimension.

Hypotheses
H1: There are statistically significant differences in the quantity of Egyptian journalism coverage according to the gender of the candidate.
H2: There are statistically significant differences in issues covered in Egyptian journalism according to the gender of the candidate.
H3: There are statistically significant differences in personal traits covered in Egyptian journalism according to the gender of the candidate.
H4: There are statistically significant differences in frames and background covered in Egyptian journalism according to the gender of the candidate.
H5: There are statistically significant differences in candidate slant and electability covered in Egyptian journalism according to the gender of the candidate.
H6: There are statistically significant differences in volume of Egyptian journalism coverage of female and male candidate according to the gender of the editor.
H7: There are statistically significant differences in candidate electability and slant covered in Egyptian journalism according to the gender of the editor.
H8: There are statistically significant differences in candidate frames and background covered in Egyptian journalism according to the gender of the editor.

Research design and Methodology
To test the study hypotheses, content analysis of three major daily newspapers and an online news website in Egypt was conducted during the campaign. The newspapers sample was adopted according to Al-Ahram Foundation for Press and Dubai Press Club, and these newspapers are: *Al-Ahram* (The Pyramids) as one of the largest state-owned newspapers circulation and also known as national newspapers, *Al-wafd* as one of the biggest and oldest political party-owned newspapers (partisan newspapers), and *Al-Masry al-Youm* as one of the largest private person ownership newspapers (Independent Press)[2]. *Masrawy* is considered one of the largest and oldest access online news website in Egypt. A total of 1553 articles covering the 2010 Egyptian parliamentary campaign were gathered and analyzed in the period from November 8 to December 5. The analysis included all features of content (news

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[2] For more details about categories of newspapers in Egypt see: El-Tantawy, Laura (2009). In The Shadow of the Pyramids: Case study of free expression in the Egyptian media, 2004-2009. Reuters institute for the study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

stories and opinion materials) in the 3 newspapers and the online web site related to the campaign. When the article included both kinds of candidates, it was divided into two or more articles each one dealing with one kind of gender of the candidates. The study used a form for articles analysis including the following coded categories:

Categories to represent demographic data (publication, date, and sex of the candidate). Other categories were applied to describe the volume of coverage for each gender of the candidates through the following units: 1- mentioning the candidate in the headline, 2- mentioning the candidate in the lead of the topic, 3- if the article is primarily about the candidate, 4- numbers of candidates' photos that accompanied the articles, 5- numbers of sentences that have been allocated to the candidate in the article.

Next category was created for a list of issues associated with candidates and divided into male issues (i.e., economy, unemployment, infrastructure, financial and administrative corruption, care and health insurance, international issues, poverty, environment, education, social welfare, democracy and human rights, relationships with parties, agriculture, Sectarian unity between Egyptian Muslims and Christians, and constitution amendment) and female issues (i.e., childcare, marriage and divorce, wages of working women, equal rights with men, widows and orphans' help, and Women's political participation). These issues were evolved from previous studies (Arceneaux 2001; Atkeson and Krebs 2008; Banwart et al 2003; Bystorm et al 2001; Celis 2004; Childs & Krook 2005; Cowell-Meyers and Langbein 2006; Fridkin and Kenney 2008; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Schenk 2004) as well as from analyzing the content of the study sample. I considered poverty, care and health insurance, education as masculine issues, in contrast with previous studies (Banwart et al 2003; Bystrom et al 2001) which considered these issues as traditionally feminine issues because in Egypt they are some of strategic issues that underlie the development process and are related to other issues such as infrastructure, national income, and the standard of living. In addition, researchers define women's issues as those decreasing discrimination against women or countering its effects and improving the social, economic or political status of women (Cowell-Meyers and Langbein 2006: pp.5-7).

Another category was created to list candidate personal traits and divided into two categories "masculine and feminine traits". Masculine traits branched two units: "toughness traits" to include all characteristics expressing the candidate ability to: competition, aggressiveness, fighting, ambition, decisiveness, strength, displaying initiative, and elusiveness, and "competence traits" including all characteristics expressing the candidate in a manner of: leadership, experience, incisiveness, knowledgeability, intellectual acuity, and capability. The second type of feminine traits branched two units: "honesty traits" which included all characteristics related to the candidate in a manner of: integrity, trustworthiness, conscientiousness, flexibility, and dedication, while "compassion traits" included all characteristics reflecting the candidate in a manner of: emotionality, understanding, consideration, gentleness, and enthusiasm. These personal traits were evolved from previous studies (Atkeson and Krebs 2008; Bligh and Kohles 2008; Carlson 2001; Celis 2004; Fridkin Kenney 2008; Heldman 2006; Kahn1994; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Valenzuela Correa 2009). Each trait in all categories (coded as positive = +1, neutral = 0 or negative = -1).

The next category tackled framing coverage of the candidate in the horse-race. The study used previous work (Devitt 2002) which classified the campaign framing according to the gender of the candidate as the following codes: 1- determining "*issue frame*" if paragraphs described candidates by their positions or actions on public policy issues. 2- determining *"personal frame"* by the candidate's personal or professional background. 3- determining *"strategic frame"* by strategic or horse-race descriptions of the candidate—e.g., whether or not the candidate was ahead, the tactics the candidate used to get votes, and where the candidate campaigned (p.452). Another category was created to assign the "candidate background" and coded in three variables: qualifications, accomplishments or failures of the candidate.

Categories associated to the slant of the coverage were coded to evaluate if the coverage of the candidate was: positive, negative, neutral or equal focus (positive and negative). Another category mattered the classifying of the candidate electability and was coded to judge if the article considered the candidate overall competitive, likely winner, non- competitive or not obvious. These categories of slant and electability of the candidate were evolved from previous studies (Atkeson and Krebs 2008; Banwart et al 2003; Bystrom et al 2001; Valenzuela Correa 2009). The last category related to reporter's gender to determine if the article written by a female, male, both male and female, or could not determine the gender.

Findings and discussion

Based on previous research, I expected in the first hypothesis differences in the amount of coverage to find a bias favor of male candidates. χ^2 test presents some support for this hypothesis in the total volume of press coverage for male candidates than those for females χ^2 (N=1316 articles vs. N=237 articles, p < .001) = 749.672.

Table1: Quantity of Journalism Coverage

Address the Candidate Within the Topic	Sex of the Candidate		Chi-Square (χ^2)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
	Male n=1316	Female n=237		
Headline	741 (47.7%)	98 (6.3%)	18.088	.000
Lead of the Topic	1010 (65.0%)	133 (8.6%)	43.987	.000
Primarily About Candidate	1149 (74.0%)	165 (10.6%)	48.264	.000

Degree of freedom (df) = 1

Table 1 through Chi-square test also presents significant differences in addressing both types of candidates within the topics to find another support to first hypothesis, that male candidates were mentioned in headlines, leads of the topics and were allocated primarily in the topics more than female candidates.

To test the other variables associated with addressing the candidate within the topic Table 2 through *T* test indicates no differences in mean of photos for male and female candidates but there are significant differences in mean of sentences for the candidate, that male candidates received more amount of sentences than females.

Table 2: Quantity of Photos and Sentences

Address the Candidate Within the Topic	Mean		Std. Deviation		t-test for Equality of Means		
	Male N=1316	Female N=237	Male	Female	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Photos for the Candidate	.58	.50	.73	.68	1.47	1551	.141
Sentences for the Candidate	13.30	8.58	14.94	13.04	4.56	1551	.000

My findings are consistent with some studies revealing that female candidates running for either U.S. Senate or gubernatorial seats receive less coverage than do their male counterparts (Kahn 1994; Kahn & Goldenberg 1991), but are contrast to other studies showing that female candidates running for either U.S. governor or senate receive more coverage (Banwart et al 2003; Bystrom et al 2001) or equal coverage with male candidates (Atkeson and Krebs 2008; Devitt 1999, 2002; smith 1997).

Table 3: Issues Mentions in Coverage

Issues		Sex of the Candidate		Chi-Square (χ^2)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
		Male N=1316	Female N=237		
Male	Economy	86 (5.5%)	7 (.5%)	4.575	.017
Issues	Unemployment	156 (10.0%)	14 (.9%)	7.286	.003
	Infrastructure	230 (14.8%)	19 (1.2%)	13.351	.000
	Corruption	102 (6.6%)	6 (.4%)	8.454	.001
	Care & health insurance	159 (10.2%)	15 (1.0%)	6.681	.005
	International issues	19 (1.2%)	1 (.1%)	1.650	.166
	Poverty	62 (4.0%)	4 (.3%)	4.512	.018
	Environment	47 (3.0%)	6 (.4%)	.659	.278
	Education	114 (7.3%)	13 (.8%)	2.700	.060
	Social welfare	53 (3.4%)	5 (.3%)	2.054	.101
	Democracy &human rights	26 (1.7%)	6 (.4%)	.308	.361
	Relationships with parties	216 (13.9%)	26 (1.7%)	4.523	.018
	Agriculture	83 (5.3%)	6 (.4%)	5.299	.011
	Sectarian unity	35 (2.3%)	10 (.6%)	1.737	.135
	Constitution Amendment	16 (1.0%)	8 (.5%)	6.157	.021
Female	Childcare	5 (.3%)	3 (.2%)	3.075	.109
Issues	Marriage and divorce	1 (.1%)	5 (.3%)	21.583	.000
	Wages of working women	2 (.1%)	3 (.2%)	7.764	.028
	Equal rights with men	3 (.2%)	5 (.3%)	13.876	.003
	Widows and orphans' help	4 (.3%)	14 (.9%)	55.039	.000
	Women's political participation	4 (.3%)	6 (.4%)	15.578	.001

Degree of freedom (df)=1

Table 3 provides some support for the second hypothesis that male candidates received more attention on male issues than female candidates, whereas female candidates received more attention on female issues than male candidates. With regard to male issues there were some biases of nine issues that were covered for male candidates more than females: economy, unemployment, infrastructure, corruption, care and health insurance, poverty, relationships with parties, agriculture and constitution amendment. While there were no significant differences between male and female candidates with regard to the other 6 male issues: international issues, environment, education, social welfare, democracy and human rights and

sectarian unity. Table 3 indicates biases of linking all females issues – except for childcare – to female candidates more than males (marriage and divorce, wages and working women, equal rights with men, widows and orphan's help and women's political participation).

My findings are different from other studies which concluded that women did not receive more attention on female issues nor did they receive less on male issues in their mayoral races (e.g., Atkeson and Krebs 2008), but they are consistent with some studies which revealed that men were more likely to be associated with such masculine issues (e.g., Banwart et al 2003; Bystrom et al 2001; Fridkin and Kenney 2008). Although such studies considered some issues like poverty, care and health insurance, education as feminine issues, I had analyzed them as masculine issues. Therefore they found that men were more likely to be associated with such feminine issues. The frequencies of female issues covered in Egyptian press were few compared to male issues[3], yet findings suggest that women's issues when appeared in the topics were strongly affiliated to female candidates. Overall, although some of male issues were consistently associated with men and women candidates in Egyptian journalism coverage, men candidates received more stereotypical association with masculine issues.

Table 4 through *T* test shows a strong support to the third hypothesis, that the all eight personal traits included in "toughness" - the first classification of male traits- are significantly linked with male more than female candidates (competitiveness, aggressiveness, fighting, ambition, decisiveness, strength, displaying initiative, and elusiveness). While in "competence" -the second classification of male personal traits- there were no significant differences between male and female candidates with regard to five of the six personal traits (leadership, experience, incisiveness, knowledgeability and intellectual acuity), while the sixth trait "capability" only in this classification linked with male more than female candidates.

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[3] The frequencies of those issues were: childcare =8, marriage and divorce =6, wages of working women =5, equal rights with men =8, widows and orphans' help =18 and women's political participation =10.

Table 4: Traits Mentions in Coverage

Traits	Mean Male N=1316	Female N=237	Std. Deviation Male	Female	t-test for Equality of Means t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Male Personal Traits						
1-Toughness						
Competition	.19	.13	.47	.33	2.110	.035
Aggressiveness	.09	.03	.29	.17	3.253	.001
Fighting	.08	.05	.28	.21	1.967	.049
Ambition	.14	.07	.35	.26	2.828	.005
Decisiveness	.05	.01	.21	.09	2.762	.006
Strength	.10	.02	.40	.16	3.284	.001
Displaying initiative	.17	.08	.40	.29	3.433	.001
Elusiveness	.03	.00	.17	.00	2.689	.007
2-Competence						
Leadership	.02	.01	.19	.09	1.215	.225
Experience	.09	.08	.31	.27	.859	.390
Incisiveness	.05	.03	.25	.17	1.269	.205
Knowledgeability	.02	.01	.15	.09	0.822	.411
Intellectual acuity	.02	.01	.15	.09	0.944	.345
Capability	.07	.00	.42	.24	2.215	.027
Female Personal Traits						
1-Honesty						
Integrity	.00	.00	.08	.22	.884	.377
Trustworthiness	.00	.01	.03	.24	-1.11	.268
Conscientiousness	.00	.10	.03	.30	-11.81	.000
Dedication	.00	.08	.06	.28	-9.32	.000
2-Compassion						
Emotionality	.00	.02	.05	.13	-3.09	.002
Understanding	.00	.01	.03	.11	-3.34	.001
Consideration	.00	.03	.05	.16	-4.32	.000
Gentleness	.00	.03	.03	.18	-6.23	.000
Enthusiasm	.00	.06	.05	.24	-8.25	.000

Degree of freedom (df)= 1551

The first classification of female personal traits " honesty" as shown in Table 4 indicates significant linking with female more than male candidates with reference to both conscientiousness and dedication traits, but there are no differences with regard to both integrity and trustworthiness traits[4]. The second classification of female traits "compassion" gives a strong support to the third hypothesis, that its five traits are significantly linked with female more than male candidates (emotionality, understanding, consideration, gentleness and enthusiasm) as shown in Table 4.

My findings are consistent with recent study (Fridkin and Kenney 2008) analyzing 2006 U.S. senate campaign that concluded women senators were viewed as more honest and more caring than male senators. These findings come in contrast to other previous studies which revealed that the portrayal of candidate image traits did not differ significantly between the primary coverage and general election coverage for

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[4] Flexibility was excluded from "Honesty" classification because its frequency scored twice in the analysis.

either female or male candidates except on the image strategy of using an "above the trenches" posture (Banwart et al 2003: 672) or male and female candidates received more feminine image traits such as honesty and such elements of feminine style as use of personal tone and addressing voters as peers (Bystrom et al 2001). Also my findings are different from previous works investigating in televised advertising to find that men are more likely than women to stress honesty in their political advertisements (Banwart 2002 cited in Banwart et al 2003).

Table 5 through Chi-square test illuminates a strong support to the fourth hypothesis, that male candidates received strategic and issue coverage more than female candidates who received more personal coverage than male candidates.

These finding are consistent with studies at the legislative and governor level (Banwart et al 2003; Bystrom et al 2001; Devitt 2002) and with studies at the presidential level (Aday and Devitt 2001; Heldman et al 2005) that showed a consistent difference between male and female candidates in this dimension. In contrast, in the coverage of local races Atkeson and Krebs (2008) found the presence of a woman on the ballot tends to enhance the salience of female or compassion issues, alter coverage of candidates' personality traits, and increase overall coverage of nonpolicy family and appearance coverage. Also my findings come contrary to research at political advertising that showed women candidates are no more likely than men candidates to mention their children or material status in their commercials (Bystrom and Miller 1997) and women are less likely than men to show their families on their Web sites (Banwart and Kaid 2002; Bystrom 2006b; Niven and Zilber 2001; Schenk 2004).

In the study by Devitt (2002), he diminished the argument that female candidates may receive more personal coverage than do male candidates because they are new to politics and thus need to be introduced to the electorate as both an individual and a candidate (p. 454) I found this situation is applied to the new Egyptian experiment that had assigned *quota* for women candidates in parliamentary elections to provide an opportunity for the participation of large numbers of women in the race for the first time. Therefore I found men candidates were associated with strategy and issue frames more than women.

Table 5: Mentioning Frames and Background in Coverage

Candidate Focus	Sex of the Candidate		Chi-Square (χ^2)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
	Male n=1316	*Female* n=237		
Candidate Frames				
Strategic Frame	978 (63.0%)	150 (9.7%)	12.281	.000
Personal Frame	1 (.1%)	21 (1.4%)	110.978	.000
Issue Frame	415 (26.7%)	61 (3.9%)	3.175	.043
Candidate Background				
Qualifications	365 (23.5%)	66 (4.2%)	.001	.514
Accomplishments	358 (23.1%)	26 (1.7%)	28.434	.000
Failures	189 (12.2%)	24 (1.5%)	3.044	.047

Degree of freedom (df)= 1

Table 5 also illuminates a strong support to the fourth hypothesis regarding the existence of differences in background covered in Egyptian press according to the gender of the candidate, that male candidates received accomplishments and failures

coverage more than female candidates, while there were no significant differences in qualifications coverage.

The implications behind these findings may prove detrimental to female candidates as they do not have the experience or the enough participation in political and social life that result in the availability of information about their accomplishments and failures, and therefore focus more on their qualifications to the degree that led them to be equal with male candidates in the coverage.

Table 6 reveals no support to the fifth hypothesis with regard to the slant of coverage, that although there were significant differences, both male and female received more positive coverage than either neutral or negative coverage. Male and female candidates were more likely to receive positive coverage followed by neutral coverage and the negative coverage in the race.

These findings come in contrast with previous studies (Bystrom et al 2001) illuminating women and men candidates were treated almost equally, but they received mostly neutral coverage, though the negative coverage of both outweighed their positive coverage. More recent studies suggested that the slant of male candidates' news coverage became more negative, whereas female candidate coverage remained more neutral from the primary to general election. Yet, these advantages did not translate to greater discussions of female candidates' viability in these races, as viability coverage remained equitable for female and male candidates during both the primaries and general election (Banwart et al 2003: 673).

Table 6: The Slant of Coverage

Sex of the Candidate	Slant in Articles			Chi-Square (χ^2)	Asymp. Sig.
	Positive	Negative	Neutral		
Male N=1187	663 (55.9%)	181 (15.2%)	343 (28.9%)	304.101	.000
Female N=224	108 (48.2%)	30 (13.4%)	86 (38.4%)	43.321	.000

Degree of freedom (df) = 2
Note: "Equal focus" (positive and negative) responses were removed from analysis

Table 7 also reveals no support to the fifth hypothesis with regard to candidate electability coverage, that although there were significant differences, both male and female received more likely winner followed by competitive and non- competitive.

Table 7: Mentioning Candidate Electability in Coverage

Sex of the Candidate	Candidate electability			Chi-Square (χ^2)	Asymp. Sig.
	Competitive	Likely winner	Non-competitive		
Male N=956	194 (20.3%)	668 (69.9%)	94 (9.8%)	590.117	.000
Female N=135	26 (19.3%)	100 (74.1%)	9 (6.7%)	104.044	.000

Degree of freedom (df) = 2
Note: "Not obvious" responses were removed from analysis.

In my study, men and women candidates' equivalence in the slant of coverage to receive more positive coverage than neutral and negative coverage integrates with their electability as they were covered mostly likely winner followed by competitive and non- competitive. This finding is contrary to earlier work (Kahn 1996; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991) revealing that female candidates' viability coverage is more negative than that of their male counterparts, while more recent study (Bystrom et al 2001) concluded that women candidates were not discussed more frequently in terms of their viability. In fact, about one third of the coverage of female and male

candidates focused on their viability and the other two thirds of the articles covering their campaigns did not mention their potential for success (p.2009).

Furthermore, in the study of Atkeson and Krebs (2008) which used state or local press organizations covering candidates mayoral campaign they noticed while in examining their data across intergender and intragender contests for one measure of electability and experience measure that the male eventual winner in the all male race is actually favored compared to the female eventual winner in the intergender race (P.249). Findings of this previous work are different from my findings as they suggested that the content of news stories might be produced from an interaction between the content of the campaign (e.g., gender issues) and sex stereotypes (P.250). But in the Egyptian parliamentary campaign the most of races were intragender contests, and the analysis of the newspapers and *Masrawy* web site was not limited to news stories but extended to the various features of media content. Interestingly, *Al-wafd* ,the partisan newspaper, was used to specify regular coverage of the both gender candidates in order to publicize them, and the same coverage emerged at *Masrawy* web site which published profiles of candidates who were interested in publicity for themselves free of charge on the web. This positive coverage, together with propaganda matters, resulted in the appearance of men and women candidates as winner in various conditions.

Gender of reporters
Table 8 shows that male reporters wrote 1017 (86.3%) of the 1179 articles written by either a male or female reporter and (65.5%) of all 1553 articles analyzed. Although male reporters wrote significantly more articles than their female colleagues, female reporters have no bias favor of female candidates,that both male and female authors wrote about male candidates more than females. This result, though revealing no support to hypothesis 6 which predicted that there are differences in volume of coverage of female and male candidate according to the gender of the editor, illuminates that male candidates received more coverage than female from both genders of authors.

Table 9 shows a partial support to hypothesis seven with regard to male authors who wrote more positively about male candidates followed by neutral coverage and negative coverage in the race, whereas they wrote more neutrally about female candidates followed by positive coverage and negative coverage. With regard to female authors there were no significant differences in their covering slant of male and female candidates. This finding is in contrast with earlier work about gender differences in U.S. senate campaign coverage (Kahn and Goldenberg 1991) showing that male reporters appear to be more neutral in their coverage, or in presidential campaign coverage (Valenzuela and Correa 2009) that there were no significant differences in the way female and male reporters covered "Bachelet" -the presidential woman candidate in Chile.

Table 8: Editor's Gender and Quantity of Covering Candidate

Sex of the Editor	Sex of the Candidate		Chi-Square (χ^2)	Asymp. Sig. (1-sided)
	Male	Female		
Male (N= 1017)	878 (86.3%)	139 (13.7%)		
			5.038	.019
Female (N= 162)	129 (79.6%)	33 (20.4%)		
(Valid= 1179)	(Missing = 374)			

Degree of freedom (df) = 1

Note: "Both male and female" and "Could not determine the gender of the reporter" responses related to sex of the editor were removed from analysis.

Table 9: Editor's Gender and Slant of Covering Candidate

Sex of the Editor	Slant	Sex of the Candidate		Chi-Square (χ^2)	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
		Male	Female		
Male	Positive	408 (51.7%)	51 (38.1%)		
N= 923	Negative	125 (15.8%)	22 (16.4%)	10.019	.007
	Neutral	256 (32.4%)	61 (45.5%)		
Female	Positive	64 (55.2%)	21 (24.7%)		
N= 144	Negative	21 (18.1%)	2 (8.7%)	3.908	.142
	Neutral	31 (26.7%)	5 (13.9%)		
(Valid = 1067)	(Missing = 486)				

Degree of freedom (df) = 2

Note: 1- "Equal focus" (positive and negative) responses related to slant were removed from analysis. 2- "Both male and female" and "Could not determine the gender of the reporter" responses related to sex of the editor were removed from analysis.

Table 10 shows no support to hypothesis seven concerning the differences in the candidate electability coverage of male and female candidates according to the sex of the reporter. Table 11 shows a strong support to hypothesis eight that male reporters wrote significantly more strategic frames for men candidates than for women, while there were no significant differences in strategic frames used by female reporters to cover men and women candidates. Although personal frames were covered fewer than strategic and issue frames (7 articles wrote by male authors and 8 articles by female authors), both male and female authors wrote significantly more personal frames for women candidates than men and the all 8 personal frames in articles wrote by female authors were dedicated to women candidates. There were no significant differences in issue frames wrote by male reporters to cover men and women candidates, but their female colleagues covered significantly issue frames for male candidates more than female candidates.

These findings are partly consistent with former work of how newspapers covered Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid (Aday and Devitt 2001) that found compared to her male opponents, Dole received less coverage on her positions on the issues but more coverage on her personal traits and these differences were due to stories written by male reporters covering the 2000 presidential campaign.

Table 10: Editor's Gender and Electability of Covering Candidate

Sex of the Editor	Candidate Electability	Sex of the Candidate		Chi-Square (χ^2)	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
		Male	Female		
Male (N= 745)	Competitive	140 (21.2%)	17 (20.0%)		
	Likely winner	448 (67.9%)	63 (74.1%)	2.321	.313
	Non-competitive	72 (10.9%)	5 (5.9%)		
Female (N= 113)	Competitive	14 (14.9%)	5 (26.3%)		
	Likely winner	69 (73.4%)	14 (73.7%)	3.450	.178
	Non-competitive	11 (11.7.0%)	0 (00%)		
(Valid= 858)	(Missing = 695)				

Degree of freedom (df) = 2

Note: 1- "Not obvious" responses related to candidate electability were removed from analysis. 2- "Both male and female" and "Could not determine the gender of the reporter" responses related to sex of the editor were removed from analysis.

These findings of the study of Aday and Devitt (2001) are incompatible with other study analyzing presidential campaign coverage in Chile (Valenzuela and Correa 2009) which concluded that the gender of reporter did not account for any significant difference in the way the female candidate was covered, except in the case of frequency of mentions of Bachelet's sex, or other previous study which analyzed the coverage of gubernatorial campaign (Devitt 2002: 458) illuminating that female reporters employed about the same percentage of issue and personal frames for both men and women candidates within the same campaign. The study of the coverage of 2010 Egyptian parliamentary campaign reveals that male authors were interested in covering men candidates by their actions, or tactics (strategic frame) used in the horse-race to get votes more than they were interested in women candidates, while female authors were more equitable in how they framed this strategy for both gender of candidates than were male reporters. Although the frequencies of personal frames were few in the current study, when appeared, both male and female authors used these frames with women candidates more than they did with men candidates.

Table 11 also shows that there were no significant differences in both qualifications and failures background wrote by male authors to cover male and female candidates, whereas both male and female reporters wrote significantly more accomplishments background for men candidates than for women, and female authors wrote more failures background for men candidates than for women, while there were no significant differences in qualifications background used by female authors to cover male and female candidates.

Table 11: Covering Frame and Background of the Candidate and Editor's Gender

Sex of the Editor	Candidate presented	Sex of the Candidate		Chi-Square (χ^2)	Asymp. Sig. (1-sided)
		Male	Female		
	Candidate Frames				
Male (N= 1017)	Strategic	677 (88.4%)	89 (11.6%)	11.042	.001
	Personal	1 (14.3%)	6 (85.7%)	31.007	.000
	Issue	261 (87.6%)	37 (12.4%)	.560	.261
Female (N= 162)	Strategic	107 (81.1%)	25 (18.9%)	.900	.238
	Personal	0 (00%)	8 (100.0%)	32.897	.000
	issue	40 (90.9%)	4 (9.1%)	4.738	.021

	Candidate Background				
Male	Qualifications	232 (87.5%)	33 (12.5%)	.448	.289
(N= 1017)	Accomplishments	227 (93.0%)	17 (7.0%)	12.214	.000
	Failures	121 (87.7%)	17 (12.3%)	.246	.366
Female	Qualifications	27 (71.1%)	11 (28.9%)	2.252	.104
(N= 162)	Accomplishments	40 (90.9%)	4 (9.1%)	4.738	.021
	Failures	28 (93.3%)	2 (6.7%)	4.263	.027
(Valid = 1179)	(Missing =374)				

Degree of freedom (df) = 1
Note: "Both male and female" and "Could not determine the gender of the reporter"
responses related to sex of the editor were removed from analysis.

These findings of hypothesis 8 are consistent with previous results illuminating a strong support to hypothesis 4 that male candidates received accomplishments and failures coverage more than female candidates who do not have the experience or the enough participation in political and social life that result in the availability of information about their accomplishments and failures.

Conclusion
Overall, the analysis of Egyptian journalism coverage of 2010 parliamentary election campaign illuminated a bias favor of male candidates both quantitatively and qualitatively. Yes, feminist phenomenology was present in the coverage, and although feminine issues and traits appeared slightly in the coverage they attached to women candidates more than men. Also male and female candidates were framed differently beside differences in background according to their gender. However, the slant and electability of coverage were equitable to men and women candidates. Furthermore, there were some differences in how male and female journalists covered men and women candidates specially with regard to amount and slant of the coverage, framing and background of the candidate.

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The Scapegoating of Islamic Immigrant Women in the Media

Lara Mazurski[1]

Abstract

In 2010 the Sweden Democrats (SD) unveiled their campaign advertisement for the parliamentary election, they engaged a series of images positioning immigrants as scapegoats by creating a link between immigration and the domestic budget crisis. While the advert associated immigration and Islam with the economic failings of Swedish society, the SD also energized new forms of representation, a new embodiment of Swedishness and, additionally, of conceptualizations of 'the Other'. On the surface, the controversial campaign ad identified economic concerns and moral corruption with immigration, women, and Islam. Perhaps, as a result of this immediate reading, the state's leading broadcaster, TV4, banned the advertisement for inciting hate speech before it even aired on Swedish television. The act of censorship thrust the ad centre stage, with a flurry of media coverage and the Sweden Democrats (SD) proclaiming unlawful persecution. Paradoxically, or, perhaps, expectedly, censorship of the advertisement, and the ensuing public debate about censorship, dramatically increased awareness of the party and their message, in various and complex ways.

Keywords: media, gender, representation, discourses, marginalization

Introduction

When the Sverigedemokraterna (Sweden Democrats) unveiled their recent campaign advertisement for the 2010 parliamentary election, they engaged a series of images positioning Swedish immigrants as scapegoats in a contemporary domestic budget crisis. While the advert associates immigration and Islam with the economic failings of Swedish society, the party also energized new forms of representation, a new embodiment of Swedishness and, additionally, of conceptualizations of 'the Other'. Superficially, the campaign ad controversially identifies economic concerns and moral corruption with immigration, women, and Islam. Perhaps, as a result of this immediate reading, the state's leading broadcaster, TV4, banned the advertisement for inciting hate speech before it even aired on Swedish television. The act of censorship thrust the ad centre stage, with a flurry of media coverage and the Sweden Democrats (SD) proclaiming unlawful persecution. Paradoxically, or, perhaps, expectedly, censorship of the advertisement, and the ensuing public debate about censorship, dramatically increased awareness of the party and their message in complicated ways.

Through a close reading of the ad in the first section, I want to look at not only the representation of cultural, ethnic, or religious difference but also more importantly how the burqa is used in a totalizing way. I want to discuss how forms of discourse

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those that are anti-immigrant and how the myth of the Afghan woman have been condensed into one kind of body. Within the context of this advert, otherness itself is produced and reproduced through a complex combination of visual images, text, sound, and narration. Burqas are represented as visible yet invisible, feminine and fast, parasitical and overwhelming they represent the unknown threat. Burqas are not simply presented in this advert as threats but they have also become symbols of resistance. Resistance, within this context, does not refer to the traditional understanding associated with the burqa. For example, the woman under the garment itself is not presented as struggling to get out of the patriarchy that has situated her under it, the burqa. Instead, the burqa within this context is symbolic of that which Swedish society has to fight, to overcome—it is a symbol of Swedish resistance. The burqas present in this advert serve as a form of visual overlap in where economic, social, religious, and cultural battles are fought.

Taking my cue from Judith Butler's work on discursive censorship, I theorise how the ad's representations and concepts deployed are productively vulnerable to both reinterpretation and new citations. It is here that we see how censorship does not deliver its intended consequences, but rather diminishes public spaces for contestation. In turn censorship serves to counter its own effects and produce a new set of consequences that heighten the power of the speech that it sought to silence.

Sverigedemokraterna's Advert
Succinctly, the Sverigedemokraterna's 2010 election campaign ad depicts an aging white pensioner in a dramatic competition against a faceless mob of women in burqas for the Swedish government's financial resources. The advert is multifaceted and offers the viewer a number of narratives to interpret and characterize the immigrant on cultural, religious, social and economic levels. The central threat to Swedish society is represented as fast, large in number, unidentifiable, and overwhelming. On the surface, the ad tells the viewer a story about the ills of immigration and the strain of immigrants on the Swedish economy. While it has persuasively implemented a number of tactics to appeal to voters on that superficial level, such as the scapegoating of migrants it finds itself caught in a precarious place, with more significant issues that are concerned with the freedom of speech and the act of censorship.

However, a closer examination of the campaign will yield even further information. A complex combination of framing devices are used to strengthen the relationship between imagery, sound, text, and narrative to illustrate this point even further. The opening sequence begins with a quick shot of the Statsbudget (state budget) on a counter, beginning from 505.926.342.293 (krona), and quickly decreases. In the background, a narrator's voice appears and declares in Swedish, translated into English at youtube, that, "Politics is all about making priorities". A number of heavily edited images follow that focus the viewer's eyes upon a dimly lit room and two bureaucrats, one male and the other female sitting at desks processing handfuls of bank notes from cardboard boxes.
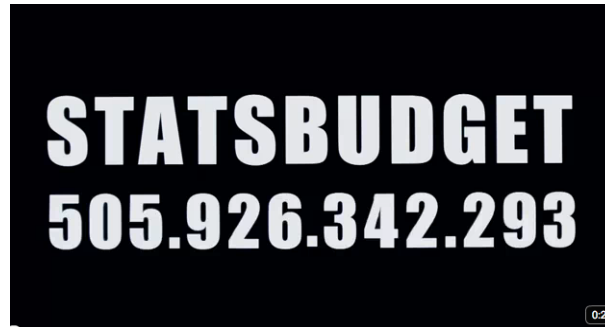
Figure 1: Initial image statsbudget counter ("State budget")
from Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

The use of the narrator's voice in the opening sequence, as an anonymous and abstract storyteller, helps reinforce the way by which the viewer interprets the message. Narration is employed strategically in order to help situate the visual images and reinforce the subtext of the campaign platform further.

Throughout the clip, the narrator's voice functions in conjunction with the actors and the focalizers through conceptual overlap. Through the use of such tactics, Sverigedemokraterna's political message is conveyed and reinforced. Further, narration serves to clarify the storyline and helps shape the rhetoric of the narrative. As a speaking subject, the narrator's voice enables the viewer to read the images in combination with the narrative form of the text. It is important to recognize that from the start the advert is framed as a factual account. Sverigedemokraterna's narrator serves a particular role, not simply as a narrator, but also as a participant in the ad. Class struggle, gender, nationalism, and xenophobia start to appear as her voice serves to reinforce the message and transform the meanings of the ad.

Figure 2: Countdown with statsbudget counter and bureaucrats
from Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

As the ad continues, stacks of cardboard boxes surround both figures that process stacks of Swedish krona (bank notes). Images of the Statsbudget counter are interspersed with images of the bureaucrats, and a finally totals at 100,000,000, which dramatically appears flashing on the screen. The multiple close-ups of the budget serve to reinforce the narrator's message. Here, the obvious link between narration and visual imagery appears, reinforcing the message for viewers. The many references to bureaucracy and technology that appear in the opening sequence—the money-counting machines, emergency lights, and sirens—serve to forebode an overburdened state budget. By framing these technologies in such a way, they serve as a visual warning system to the viewer.

Figure 3: Final statsbudget number taken from
Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

Fast-paced editing helps set the rhythm of the storyline. Despite the number of images intertwined within the thirty-second clip, the shots do not break the ad's continuity; rather, each frame serves to contribute further to the advert, as all segments contain information meaningful for the overall effect. The frames are selectively chosen to reinforce the narrative of the campaign clip, since each image relates to the narrator's text. Visual images are used to convey particular information precisely. Figures and technologies play a central role in the creation of this advertisement, as they are used to convey a message and to heighten the viewer's attention. When the ad carries on, the narrator's voice reappears, saying, "Now you have a choice". After which, an emergency siren starts to sound, and the two tables upon which money is sorted are immediately lighted while an emergency light begins to flash. The voice continues, beckoning, "What is your choice?" The use of emergency lights and sirens in the background of the advertisement serves to heighten the viewer's attention. The sirens and lights reinforce the discourse of the ad even further by positioning what Sverigedemokraterna perceive as too many progressive demands on Swedish society as "alarming".

At this stage in the clip, the viewer as the addressee of the text begins to interpret the sirens as an emergency event. Levels of narration play an integral role with a number of embedded texts starting to appear are employed in order to reinforce the multiple levels of narrations even further. The following sequence of the clip provides further information on how this unravels both explicitly and implicitly. Two hand brakes dramatically appear from the ceiling immediately in front of the desks, with white font that reads "Immigration" and "Pensioner" (Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Handles, or levers, upon which "Pensioner" or "Immigration" is written.
From Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

When the narrator voices, "Now you have a choice", as the sirens fire up, the emphasis of the ad becomes clear; the demands of pensioners and immigrants are competing for funding from the state budget, represented by two hand brakes that

drop from above. Mirroring occurs on multiple levels throughout this ad: the visual cues, the narrator's voice, the emergency sirens and lights, and embedded text. The ad then zooms in on a walker and the audience begins to see the image of an elderly white woman beginning to appear. The camera pans in on her and she moves slowly with a walking aid toward the direction of the levers (dropped earlier), each of which hang suspended by chains from the ceiling and have "pensioner" or "immigrant" written on them. A series of shots pan in on her walker, and focus the viewer's eyes emphatically upon her need for physical assistance. Here, the viewer's attention is drawn to how the walker helps support her while "racing" to the "immigrant" brake. The walker in this context represents a need for physical support, but also alludes to her need within the community as a whole. The framing of her as a pensioner-in-need presents her sympathetically to the viewer, and here, we, the viewer, read her as a symbol of Swedish society.

The image of the pensioner, within the language of Sverigedemokraterna's patriotism, does not immediately denote strength as usually presented within national discourse, but, instead, offers a more powerful reading that alludes to deserved need. Deserved need is expressed within this form of representation, for the woman is "anyone's" mother or grandmother, representative of the deserving Swedish pensioner and as an emblem of cultural identity. The use of her image within such a context offers the viewer a particular articulation of Swedishness. Her face and body, unlike any of the other characters in the ad, are recognizable; she is small, frail, and senior (Fig. 5 and 6). She is used to produce a vision of the Swedish pensioner as all-too-human and all-too-deserving. This representation is structured against another form of need as the next few seconds of the ad exhibits: the physical and economic needs of the immigrant. As viewers, we witness the positioning of the advertisement's central figures, while the bureaucrats find themselves indifferently positioned with pensioners and/or immigrants.

It is at this stage in the ad that immigration finds itself in a race against pensioners. This form of representation visually articulates not only difference but also how difference can be used to frame and reinforce social antagonisms. "Nationness", as a textual and social affiliation, finds itself represented in symbolic visual language. This advert employs many of the elements related to the cultural construction of nationness as social, textual, and, within this context, visual. Cultural identifications and discursive signifiers represent and/or function in the name of the people, or in the name of the nation. By doing so they become subjects who exist within static social and literary narratives. For example, while the elderly woman with the walker represents Swedish pensioners she also serves to present an image of Sweden's past. Her image is used to juxtapose past and present in a way for the viewer to see her as an ideal representation of Sweden's contemporary conception of their past (a white, non-descript woman). By juxtaposing such an image with the peripheral shots of the burqa-clad women overtaking the pensioner, the viewer receives the subtext that unidentifiable foreigner-mobs are taking over Swedish society. Such images are used to manipulate a past and present—and to offer the viewer metaphors that speak to the visibility of the past and the present—to aid in the reinforcement of a pre-existing narrative that positions Swedes against foreigners. This is not represented through one shot, but rather through a series of images used to present this storyline to the viewer simultaneously.

The nation becomes symbolically represented hierarchically over class (those in need of governmental assistance), and such representations offer the viewer insight into

how such subjectivies are framed. They are not offered as possibilities or glimpses that find themselves situated within a particular moment of time, but rather they are used to offer the viewer a visual articulation of how struggle is presented. When addressing such forms of representations, those that articulate difference through imagined communities—in this case migrant and/or native—what appears is the "temporality of representation". Temporality of representation refers to that which moves between social processes and cultural formations without a centred logic. This occurs, for example, when cultural movements, despite their heterogeneity, are envisioned as a homogenous, invading, other. Foreigners in this advert are portrayed as a burqa-clad mob whose needs physically and economically drain the country. Sverigedemokraterna's depiction of the burqa marks certain kinds of faces and bodies, and associates visible signs of difference (i.e. the burqa and the niqab as all-consuming garments with religion, class, and gender sewed with migration). The burqas in some way or another refer to all of these issues. The unidentifiable women under the burqas are fixed within all of these markers of difference, and are transformed into a visibly identifiable threat in the narrative. What is problematic about such forms of representation is that they have no realized interpretation of historical memory or subjectivity. The advertisement is framed within the authoritative narrative of a right-wing political party, the Sverigedemokraterna, who are vocally opposed not simply to all forms of immigration but rather to Islamic immigration (Wistrom 2010). The concepts that have been superficially represented need to be circumscribed. The following ad segment will shed more insight into how foreign subjectivities are represented as a homogenous group.

Figure 5; Detail image of pensioner with walker from Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.
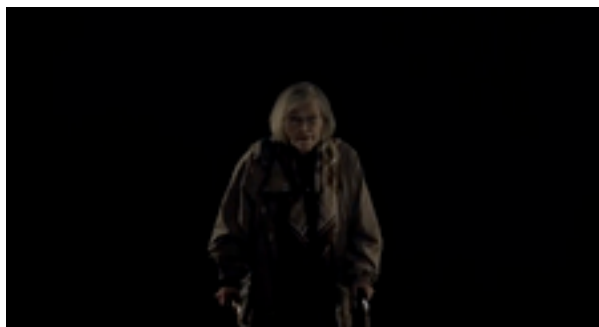

Figure 6; Wide image of pensioner with walker from Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

In the next sequence, the viewers see the pensioner turning her head to the left, and in her peripheral vision she sees a mob of burqa-clad women besieging her. The image of the pensioner finds itself now positioned against another cultural force, an invading mob of covered women. In the series of quick shots that come to follow the

camera pans itself and quickly focuses its attention on the figures, of which five are in black burqas and a sixth figure in a black niqab. Two are pushing baby carriages and appear from the darkness behind. In the subsequent clip, the camera immediately pans out and offers a detailed shot of the grille covering one of the figure's eyes (Fig. 7).

Figure 7; Detail of burqa grille from Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

Figure 8: Grip on baby carriage handle from Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

The shot pans to a hand with tightly gripped fingers wrapped round a handle of a baby carriage (Fig. 8), providing a sense of urgency and violence to the mob. Oppositional representations of nationhood are progressively defined through these figures; the burqa-clad figures with their baby carriages serve as signs—foreigners, Muslims who pose a threat—resonating with the earlier discourse that frames the "other" as a threat. The mob of women is presented as a challenge to the vulnerable Swedish pensioner, and the voter risks allowing them to overtake her quickly.

The advert is laden with images serving to sculpt an imminent image of religious Muslim women as ominous threats. The burqa-clad figures are also used to represent a body that cannot be read—a body that is from a first glimpse isolated yet physically present—serving as a challenge to the pensioner (Fig. 9). In this sequence the subtext is not so nuanced or discreet: the bodies of the burqa-clad foreigners are positioned antagonistically to the white Swedish body. The suggestion is that a challenge is happening to society and that pensioners have been betrayed and victimized by immigration and the needs of foreigners. The mob is not presented as victims, nor are their children, but rather it the Swedes are suffering on behalf of the demands of the immigrants. The mob is used to marginalize the elderly Swedish woman—and here it is that the Swedes are empathetically presented as those who suffer. The narrator's voice reappears and we hear "on the 19th of September you can choose the "immigration break" above the "pensions break". The use of particular images and bodies within this ad positions and inscribes subject positions upon the viewer as priorities to be chosen based upon that indexing of bodies.

Figure 9: Mob of Burqa Clad women all taken from
Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

In the following sequence, the mob seems to overtake the pensioner a
Sverigedemokraterna s a number of hands go up and reach for the "Pensioner" lever.
As the ad fades out, the elderly women cannot grab the "Immigration" break in time.
It is here that the triumph of immigration is enacted and/or represented. The image
then freezes and the background transforms from blackness to whiteness as
Sverigedemokraterna's logo appears (Fig. 10). At that point the narrator's voice
declares, "vote Sweden Democrats".

Figure 10: Final frame which reads "Sweden Democrats: Safety
and Tradition" from Sverigedemokraterna's television ad, September 2010.

Through framing the ad's inertia with state finances, budgetary concerns find
themselves positioned in overtly simplistic representations that present pension and
immigration funding as mutually exclusive. Such a form of representation takes
economic conditions and presents them opportunistically as a threat to established
nationalist discourses. The idea that the budget cannot take more financial pressure
enables Swedish voters to therefore view themselves as bearing a decision to either
vote for "them" (immigrants) or for "us" (native born). On the one hand, the story
told is relatively straightforward, as the dominant emphasis is placed on the need for
Swedish voters to "take care of their own". On the other hand, the dramatic grand
generalizations used to frame and represent immigrants are problematic. The
overarching image of immigrants represented as a homogenous ground, symbolized
as the ultimate "other" through the burqa, employs many of the narratives that are
embedded in the burqa as a cultural object. The coded burqa is deployed to
represent vast cultural and religious difference in a time when there is "no time", as
indicated by the drained Statsbudget counter and competition-themed narrative.
Burqas are used conveniently to provide the viewer with the vision of those who are,
from first glance, incredibly different—culturally and religiously. The object's
recognisability and the greater narratives that link the burqa as an unknown

impending threat are used to frame the garment and to give the ad further emotive power.

The figures used to present nationness, the idea of we 'the people' (the Swedes), serves as a double narrative. Positioning the pensioner against the burqa-clad mob does not reflect fact, historical or present. Instead, this juxtaposition serves to further represent symbolically the patriotic body politic for to the Sweden Democrats. The use of these bodies serves as a form of commentary on the current social moment illustrates the crisis—in terms of signification. What appears is a contested conceptual territory where nationhood is read through a nationalist lens, where the Sweden Democrats offer their own take or perspective on real or historical moments, serving as a homogenizing gesture. At this point, the discourses of authority that underlie the political party and the narratives that govern the greater grand narratives represent discourses already created by another. The commentary the Sweden Democrats offer on immigration through the burqa-clad mob speaks to another form of discourse already embedded in the burqa. The impact of this is its ability to perpetuate such discourses even further. Here, they are situated as dangerous, both physically and mentally: we do not know who they are, what they want, or have any idea of their motives. What is clear from this advert is that they appear out of nowhere and are positioned to overtake the pensioner. From this perspective, the mob reflects the party's political platform, which is both anti-immigration and anti-Islam.

The women in the burqas are not simply representatives of a particular body politic or as a threat to patriotism; instead, they serve as a point of social reference. The mob is also representative of nationalist sentiment, positioned between discourses of authority and objects of signification. Through a process of signification, the burqa-wearer becomes a subject constituted within discourse and the forms of representation that accompany it but also through the process of signification. That signification becomes a sign of how nationalist discourse in Sweden iterates and reiterates alterities positioned along the lines of cultural practices. Through the process of iteration and reiteration, symbols of marginality, as in this ad with the burqa, are used to present the other. Here, the mob becomes performative. The framing of the burqa is what makes the advert significant: the controversial representation of the mob and the story that followed were the core issues in censoring the ad. When the Swedish television broadcaster refused to televise the advert because it was deemed to contain racial hatred, the advert quickly became thrust into the international media. The act of censorship as a regulation of the domain of speakable discourse is the focus of the next section.

Excitable Speech
By reading the campaign ad alongside Judith Butler's *Excitable Speech*, I will discuss how the regulation of speech via censorship displaces possibilities of contesting speech deemed "hateful" in the public sphere, as well as theorizing how speech and representation could be democratic sites of contestation, never fixed or delineated in advance. Here, I am not suggesting all forms of discussion concerning forms of representation and textual narrative have been removed through censorship, but rather that such possibilities are always already governed by the legible speech of subjects.

Although conventional discussions of censorship usually frame the act as something exercised by forms of government (Butler 1997), the censorship enacted by Sweden's

TV4 to pre-empt airing of the ad serves as a practice that intended to regulate the content of that deemed offensive. For Butler, these measures "labor under a fear of contamination", wherein the "attempt to purify the sphere of public discourse by institutionalizing the norms that establish what ought properly to be included there operates as a preemptive censor" (Butler 1997). The immediate impact is, of course, that "such regulations introduce the censored speech into public discourse, thereby establishing it as a site of contestation, that is, as the scene of public utterance that it sought to preempt" (Butler 1997). Indeed, the reality echoed this outcome, in recirculating the *circumstances* of censorship, the media has "attempt(ed) to prevent SD [Sweden Democrats] from getting its message out have been counterproductive, handing the party the chance to portray itself as is a victim of censorship" and heightening the speech as a site of contestation (Wikstrom 2010). In terms of censoring the speech's dissemination, what became clear is that by mid-September, "after TV4 refused to air SD's campaign, the clip was viewed more than 600,000 times on YouTube" (Wikstrom 2010).

The claim of injury by language and of representation takes us to a peculiar place where we find ourselves ascribing agency to language and empowering it with the power to injure. In light of the Sweden Democrats' election advertisement, we, as viewers, find ourselves positioned as objects of its trajectory. Language, within the guise of censorship, is framed as having the ability to act upon us, on behalf of us, and to act against us. Through this perspective, we are formed and constituted within the structure of language and are unable to break free of the conditions or decisions we might have as a result of its power. Butler argues how,

> The subject's production takes place not only through the regulation of that subject's speech, but through the regulation of the social domain of speakable discourse. The question is not what it is I will be able to say, but what will constitute the domain of the sayable within which I begin to speak at all. To become a subject means to be subjected to a set of implicit and explicit norms that govern the kind of speech that will be legible as the speech of a subject. (Butler 1997)

From such a perspective, the problematizing representations and narratives found in the Sweden Democrats ad can then be seen as having the ability to interpellate us. Speech then serves as a totalizing object, that which precedes the text and exceeds the censor. As such speech, from this perspective, finds itself responsible for the production of offensive or hate speech.

What is put at risk is the ability for those 'spoken for' to respond. In general, the scope of censorship has been a highly contested area, critical accounts have attempted to focus upon the scope of such forms of speech—those deemed as having the ability to injure. But what accounts do is exclude the recipient of the speech act in favour of their own reading of the text. Any attempt to censor speech through such a lens, then makes the offensive speech inescapable. Yet, the impact of the message is not delivered through the ad itself, but rather through the way in which it is conveyed.

The deliberately delivered speech—contained in the ad through narrative accounts, texts, and forms of representation—does not originate in this message. Rather, it is a reiterated speech, language, meaning, and intent. The Sweden Democrats are not the originators of this message, as it has already been produced within discourse. The

speaking subject is citational, which means the speaker, the maker or the representative of the speech, uses such language as a token of a community conveying a particular message. If speech is then understood as perlocutionary, meaning that speech leads to effects but is not itself the effect, then injurious speech is only problematic when it produces a set of effects. The subsequent effects of the language are what counts—what results from the utterances, in a performative sense.

In light of this, the burqa is interesting in this particular ad and subsequent censorship because it's framed as a choice in both instances. In the ad, Swedes are compelled to choose between allocating resources to burqas or walkers; in censoring the ad, *that* representation of the burqa is feared as being able to contaminate public discourse, and "we" choose not to exhibit it officially. Censoring the ad positions TV4, as 'protectors of hate speech', to again speak on behalf of those represented in the ad. That fear of contamination, and the offensiveness of the advert, stems from a reading of the Sweden Democrats' "putative power to construct (unilaterally, exhaustively) the social reality of what" a Muslim, a burqa-wearer, and an unacceptable recipient of state resources *is* discursively and visually (Butler 1997). To support this claim, I look to how Butler expounds on the performative, when she adds that,

> If hate speech constitutes the kind of act that seeks to silence the one to whom it is addressed, but which might revive within the vocabulary of the silenced as its unexpected rejoinder, then the response to hate speech constitutes the 'de-officialization' of the performative, its expropriation for non-ordinary means. Within the political sphere, performativity can work in precisely such counter-hegemonic ways. That moment in which a speech act without prior authorization nevertheless assumes authorization in the course of its performance may anticipate and instate altered contexts for its future reception. (Butler 1997)

The burqa, as a link in a chain of citations in this ad, is censored because TV4 cannot imagine a counter-hegemonic speech emergent in public discourse to disidentify with the ad. From a "need" to control our imaginings of burqas, and those subjects who wear them, the regulation of the social domain of speakable discourse only further recirculates those toxic politicizations of the burqa. Because "we" cannot imagine a new critical emergence of insurrectionary discourses where the ad's unintelligible and unspeakable subjects do speak, the ad's depiction of the burqa is recited; it's abducted and inserted to fit and fill a momentary social need with a racy ghost story.

The act of restricting speech defined as injurious in turn becomes even more injurious. The very minorities depicted in this ad have no form of recourse within the act of censorship, and have no way of engaging the debate. Intervening within such forms of discourse could have re-framed the debate and repositioned the religious minorities within the context of the speech that was deemed injurious. By not allowing such forms of engagement to happen the credibility of such groups is undermined. The speech model that refers to race or religion is undermined and no longer works without producing a number of additional problematic consequences. The racist undertones of the work have been manipulated in order to make false claims about the economic condition of the country, the relations between immigrant groups, and the prevalence of Islam within the country. The social and economic conditions that underlie such issues have been brushed aside and what we

see come to power are a series of false analogies that intersect these issues. Fortunately,

> the speech act, as a rite of institution, is one whose contexts are never fully determined in advance, and that the possibility for the speech act to take on a non-ordinary meaning, to function in contexts where it has not belonged, is precisely the political promise of the performative, one that positions the performative at the center of a politics of hegemony, one that offers a unanticipated political future for deconstructive thinking. (Butler 1997)

In positioning the burqa as a performative cultural objective it's my sense Sweden's public discourse has the capacity to gesture toward more of a (Foucauldian) "politics of discomfort" (Butler 1997), where speech and representation are a democratic site of contestation, never fixed or delineated in advance. Grounded earlier in *Excitable Speech*, Butler writes,

> Those who seek to fix with certainty the link between certain speech acts and their injurious effects will surely lament the open temporality of the speech act. That no speech act *has* to perform injury as its effect means that no simple elaboration of speech acts will provide a standard by which the injuries of speech might be effectively adjudicated. Such a loosening of the link between act and injury, however, opens up the possibility for a counter-speech, a kind of talking back, that would be foreclosed by the tightening of that link. Thus the gap that separates the speech act from its future effects has its auspicious implications: it begins a theory of linguistic agency that provides an alternative to the relentless search for a legal remedy. (Butler 1997)

Petitioning for remedies through what the public deems as protectors of speech, like TV4, can only foreclose the field of intelligibility, and the ability of the burqa to speak back culturally. Advocating, and working toward, insurrectionary speech acts to rethink our need to control and manage discourse aligns more closely to a politics of discomfort.

Conclusion
In this paper I have argued that censorship does not deliver its intended consequences, but rather diminishes public spaces for contestation. Censorship has the ability to counter its own effects, and in turn produce another set of consequences that heighten the power of the speech it intended to silence. In the Sweden Democrats election advert a number of complex elements serve to work together to deliver a nuanced series of images and narratives that reinforce each other. By refusing to air the advert on public television, the broadcaster acknowledged the superficial elements of the video on a political level, and underscored the ad's representation of the burqa and immigrant as legible, viable subjectivities. Yet, the cultural specificities of the burqa and the greater grand narratives that serve to scapegoat immigrant groups have been ignored through their citation. Here, I chose to focus my attention on the details of the advert, addressing the forms of representation and the narratives that served to reinforce them, to demonstrate the strength of the ad itself. The productive elements of the image itself come to light and here the narratives that were initially seen as problematic and

deemed necessary of an immediate reaction - a silencing of the speech itself have been addressed.

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PART SIX

RESEARCH ON MEDIA ETHICS

Ombudsmen in Brazilian and Portuguese media:
empirical study on activities between 1989 and 2012

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Abstract:

Appearing in the second half of the Twentieth Century, in the context of an intense debate on media ethics, media ombudsman is one of the most complex and ambitious media accountability instruments, at the same time acting as a kind of facilitator for the relation between the public and professionals. Intrinsically problematic, due to its function founded on the basis of an interception between self-regulation and audiences' awareness of media effects, media ombudsman is not only the reflex of an ethics understanding, but also a barometer of the ethics of society regarding media performance. The purpose of this paper is to examine the Portuguese and Brazilian experiences of media ombudsmen. Although practiced in the same language, ombudsmen's jobs are shaped by social, historical, political and even economical differences. The research carried out in the scope of this proposal intends to analyze these two cases based on the results of a survey applied to Portuguese and Brazilian media ombudsmen.

Resumo

Criada na segunda metade do século XX, em contexto de debate sobre ética na mídia, auto-regulação e regulação, a atuação do ombudsman é um dos mais importantes instrumentos de prestação de contas/ responsabilidade social (accountability) das instituições de comunicação, sendo ao mesmo tempo facilitadora para as relações do público com e entre os profissionais.

Inicialmente, a atividade foi estabelecida como medida de auto-regulação para promover diálogo e transparência com o público sobre os efeitos das instituições de comunicação, sendo não só um reflexo de como a mídia e profissionais que desempenham a função percebem sua deontologia, mas também um barômetro da ética da sociedade na qual as instituições de comunicação desenvolvem sua atividade.

O estabelecimento do serviço de ombudsman também resulta de medidas de regulação. Em instituições públicas de comunicação do Brasil (EBC) e de Portugal (RTP e RDP), o serviço foi estabelecido por lei, gerando bases para a instituição de um canal entre o órgão de comunicação e o público. A criação dos provedores do ouvinte e do telespectador na rádio e na TV pública em Portugal e do ouvidor na Empresa Brasil de Comunicação foi fundada no propósito de promover o escrutínio dos órgãos de serviço público. Fazendo apelo a uma reflexão ética participada pelas próprias audiências (convidadas a interagir com o provedor/ouvidor), este mecanismo tem na sua base também o objetivo de fomentar uma melhor compreensão do funcionamento dos próprios meios e das suas práticas.

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Neste artigo, os autores procuram refletir sobre a missão dos ombudsmans nos dois países, registrando a história e o contexto da sua criação e refletindo sobre suas especificidades e os desafios inerentes a função. Embora praticadas em países de mesmo idioma e ligação história, existem relevantes diferenças de ordem social, política e econômica que fazem com que no Brasil a atividade seja mais relacionada a uma atividade de mediação e a experiência portuguesa se aproxime de ações de defensoria do público. A pesquisa foi desenvolvida a partir de questionário aplicado a ombudsmans que realizaram atividades entre 1989 e 2012.

O trabalho também utilizou pesquisa documental e a referências ilustrativas a colunas e a programas em ambos os países, problematizando o alcance e os limites da atuação dos ombudsman, também entendidos como provedor/ouvidor, e as coincidências e dissemelhanças desta função em Portugal e no Brasil, os únicos países do espaço lusófono com atividade neste domínio.

Palavras chave: Mídia; Ombudsman; Accountability; Responsabilidade Social; Prestação de Contas

Introduction

Created to mediate the relationship between the media and their public, the ombudsman's job has in its roots the purpose of creating a mechanism of self-regulation, at the same time a way of engaging readers, listeners and viewers on the public scrutiny of media practices. Taking this intent into consideration, it could be said that an ombudsman has a virtuous function both in terms of ethics and citizenship. However, since its very beginning, the ombudsmanship has also been debated as a fragile and critical job.

Straightly connoted with journalism ethics, an ombudsman became a more or less common job in quality newspapers during the second half of the 20th Century. Some previous experiences have been recognized, however, the growth of this activity occurred only after the Hutchins Commission report published in 1947. Originating from Ancient Rome, the ombudsman is inspired in the 'general-listener' job, which consisted of listening to the citizens on public issues. Reconsidered later in a political context, the ombudsman was re-created in the Swedish Parliament to 'protect' citizens. It was essentially an administrative position, according to Nemeth (2000), oriented to listen to citizens' complaints against unfair decisions assumed by the executive power. Adopted by the press, the concept gained a new meaning – ombudsman as a kind of 'readers' protector'.

Although it is impossible to indicate a consensual reference to the first news ombudsman, as a regular job, ombudsmanship started in 1967 at 'The Louisville Courier-Journal', in the USA. In the lusophone context, the ombudsman job first appeared in Brazil, then later in Portugal. The first Brazilian ombudsman was appointed in 1989 in the 'Folha de São Paulo' where this position has been a regular one. The first ombudsman would appear in Portugal only one decade later, in the 'Diário de Notícias' (1997).

Today, in addition to some quality papers, there are also ombudsman in public radio and TV both in Portugal and Brazil. They focus not only on concerns of journalism, but more widely on programming and entertainment. Constituted by specific legislation (Law 2/February 14th ,2006), the ombudsmen for Portuguese public radio

and TV broadcasters (RDP and RTP) was established in 2006 and were defended by the government under the understanding in which public service should constitute a pattern for private companies. In Brazil, there was a first experience on TV Cultura, currently suspended. In Brazil, the initiative of introducing the ombudsmanship was a part of the public broadcasting service (Agência Brasil, TV Brasil, and public radio network broadcasters) (Law 11.652/2008).

In spite of some governments' recent policies (not only Portuguese or Brazilian, but Spanish, too) in order to create this job for public broadcasters, the truth is that, at least in the press, ombudsmanship seems to gather less and less enthusiasm. Is the job in crisis? During his speech at the Annual Conference of the Organization of News Ombudsmen (ONO), in May 2012, Jacob Mollerup (president of this association) recognized that ombudsmen "are still a rare species", admitting at the same time that they "still do important work"[4]. To identify the weaknesses and the strengths of the ombudsman's function is the main purpose of this paper, focusing particularly on the Portuguese-speaking countries' experience. The principal goal is to register how the ombudsmen themselves view the position and to discuss whether the changing media landscape is weakening the ombudsman's role.

Ombudsman's Role: Function and Ambiguities
Does a different designation mean a different concept? Although always referred to here as ombudsman, this position has acquired different names in Brazil and Portugal. In Brazil, the word 'ombudsman' is generally used, but the term 'ouvidor' is also used, which means something like 'listener' (not as someone who listens to radio but as someone specifically voted to listen to the audience). In Portugal, on the other hand, the word used to refer to ombudsman is 'provedor', which, translated into English, would be something like 'trustee' or 'provider' (not in the sense of a legal administrator but as someone that provides information or comments on something).

In spite of this dissimilarity, in both countries the ombudsman refers to someone who promotes a kind of arbitration between the media and the audience. This means that, notwithstanding some differences, the ombudsman job in Brazil and in Portugal corresponds to the general mission of this position.

Speaking specifically about ombudsmen in the press, Victoria Camps (quoted by Mesquita, 1998) defines three functions for ombudsmen: 1) the duty of avoiding corporationism of journalists; 2) to facilitate the relation between the newspaper and its audience; and 3) to contribute to opinion making. In more institutional terms, the Organization of News Ombudsmen (established in 1980) justifies the pertinence of an ombudsman in a newspaper or broadcast, listing at least five general purposes: "1) to improve the quality of news reporting by monitoring accuracy, fairness, and balance; 2) to help his or her news provider to become more accessible and accountable to readers or audience members and, thus, becoming more credible; 3) to increase the awareness of its news professionals about the public's concerns; 4) to save time for publishers and senior editors, or broadcasters and news directors, by channeling complaints and other inquiries to one responsible individual; 5) to resolve some complaints that might otherwise be sent to attorneys and become costly lawsuits"[5].

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[4] The entire report is available at this link: http://newsombudsmen.org/articles/ono-presidents-report
[5] http://newsombudsmen.org/about

Considering that it is to preserve the legitimacy of journalism from journalists' own failures that an ombudsman may be useful, Bernier explained that "the role of ombudsman is neither to criticize nor to reform the basis of journalistic practices. He studies essentially the real behaviors, case to case, analyzing them and deciding about them. Generally there are no penal or financial sanctions. Simply a moral judgment that is published and constitutes so a form of sanction" (Bernier, 1995: 156-157).

Traditionally more frequent in the press than in the radio or television (a tendency that might be inverted since in 2010 the majority of ombudsmen who attended the ONO Annual Conference were from radio and TV), the ombudsman's position was created for an explicit objective: to be a vigilant of the ethics and professional proceedings of journalists. The Organization of News Ombudsmen explains that "a news ombudsman receives and investigates complaints from newspaper readers or listeners or viewers of radio and television stations about accuracy, fairness, balance and good taste in news coverage. He or she recommends appropriate remedies or responses to correct or clarify news reports".

Notwithstanding the apparent intrinsic worth defining an ombudsman's job, this activity has always been faced with some distrust. Based on some ambiguities, the ombudsman's position is at the centre of a strong debate on how media corporations deal with the demand for accountability and on how the public understands media ethical scrutiny. Two main questions can be pointed out in this discussion: 1) the reason why the ombudsman's position was created (just a kind of marketing attempt to gain the public's trust or a genuine effort to improve media quality? A commercial strategy or an authentic plan to assure transparency, citizens' engagement, and self-criticism?) 2) the real efficiency of an ombudsman's intervention (does he/she have legitimacy to question journalists and other media professionals? If there is no effective consequence of this job, is an ombudsman really useful?)

Generally speaking, the institution of media ombudsmen runs on five critical principles: independence, autonomy, power, utility, and effectiveness. These items, which feed controversial discussions, can also be presented in terms of the following questions, here taken as research questions: 1) What kind of institutional status does the ombudsman actually have? 2) What is his relationship with the media enterprise? 3) What kind of relationship does he/she maintain with the public? 4) How is the ombudsman seen by the ombudsman? 5) Is there a future for the ombudsman position? To reach an answer to these questions, almost 30 ombudsmen were inquired, as described in the next topic.

Ombudsmen's Self-perception: Empirical Approach
After their experiences as news ombudsman, some former Portuguese and Brazilian ombudsmen have published books with a kind of collection of their work in the press. Generally speaking, these books put together a selection of weekly articles written by these ombudsmen (Mesquita, 1998); (Wemans, 1999); (Aurélio, 2001); (Fidalgo, 2004); (Serrano, 2006); (Abrantes, 2008); COSTA(2006), SÁ (1998), contributing as such to extend the memory of their work. In a certain sense, these publications reflect not only an archive of ombudsmen's production but also their impressions on what an ombudsman position should be, seeing as how they have occasionally written on this topic. In the audiovisual context, ombudsmen have been publishing an annual report on their activities. Anyway, these documents don't represent any

kind of study of Portuguese History. This is actually an insufficiently portrayed and analysed field.

Despite more than two decades of 'ombudsmanship' history in Brazil and Portugal, the research on this area has been as discrete as the ombudsmen's impact itself. Although some theoretical approaches have already reflected on the ombudsman position in general, both in Portugal and Brazil, (Mata, 2002) (Fidalgo, 2002; 2009) (Oliveira, 2006; 2010) (Brittos & Brown, 2007), (Maia, 2003), in empirical terms, only a few studies are known in Brazilian and Portuguese practice. And even these studies focus more on the journalists' perceptions about ombudsmen (see for example Fidalgo, 2002) or on the function in terms of media political economy than on ombudsmen themselves. This lack of research drove us to the intention of listening to those whose role it is to 'listen' to the public's protests.

Continuing a study started last year on Portuguese media ombudsmen, the authors extended the research to Brazil, where a questionnaire previously applied to Portuguese ombudsmen was also used to better understand this experience in the Brazilian media. The purpose was to explore the status of news ombudsman in two different continents, which also means two different sides of the world.

The objectives of such a proposal were: a) to depict the history of this job in two different contexts (the European on one hand and the South-American on the other); b) to explore the way ombudsmen, acting in two distinct continents, face the role they are supposed to carry out; c) to question the viability of this function in countries with different economic situations; d) to search for similarities and dissimilarities in style/language; e) to put into perspective the standards of media accountability in two Portuguese-speaking countries. Actually, although practiced in the same language, an ombudsman's job is shaped by social, historical, political, and even economic differences. In this context, our proposal concerns the objective of comparing the way ombudsmen from each country see themselves and the representations they make about their social role.

Organized in 36 questions on five main chapters (some multiple choice or checklist, others open to a more wide and extensive comment) (1. Institutional status; 2. Relationship with the media organization; 3. Relationship with the public; 4. Ombudsman seen by ombudsmen; 5. Position's future). The questionnaire was applied in 2011 to 16 Portuguese ombudsmen (that is to say, all people who had worked as ombudsmen since 1997[6]). Only one did not answer the questionnaire. The same questionnaire was answered by 12 Brazilian ombudsmen in 2012. Being much larger geographically and also in terms of media business than Portugal, it is almost impossible to assure how many people have already worked as ombudsman in Brazil. Some occasional experiences are known of in regional media, but for this study only national quality newspapers and the public broadcasting service were considered. According to Jairo Faria Mendes (2002), in Brazil, only two enterprises should be considered as having consolidated the ombudsman job: the daily newspapers 'Folha de São Paulo', and 'O Povo' and 'Radio Povo'. The first one has had 11 ombudsmen since 1989; the second one has had 12 ombudsmen since 1993.

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[6] There were actually 17 ombudsmen between 1997 and 2011. However, one of them died in 2010.

Table 1

	Enterprise	Total ombudsmen	Ombudsmen that answered the questionnaire
Brazil	*Newspaper* Folha de São Paulo	11 (since 1989)	7
	Newspaper O Povo	12 (since 1993)	1
	Radio and TV EBC	2 (since 2009)	2
	Radio and TV Others (TV Cultura and Radiobrás)	2	2
Portugal	*Newspaper* Diário de Notícias	4 (since 1997)	3
	Newspaper Jornal de Notícias	3 (since 2001)	3
	Newspaper Público	5 (since 1998)	5
	TV RTP	2 (since 2006)	2
	Radio RDP	3 (since 2006)	3

According to this table, about 45% of Brazilian ombudsmen answered the questionnaire. In Portugal, this percentage increased to 88%.

The questionnaire was designed online (using Google tools) and all ombudsmen surveyed were personally contacted to answer it online, too. This means that the questionnaire was used as a direct application, in other words, the ombudsmen were asked to answer the online form by themselves. The same method was used in both countries.

Ombudsmen's Self-perception: Comparing Two Portuguese-Speaking Countries

Institutional Status

If it is not a controversial question, it is at least a sensitive one: Where should the ombudsman come from? From the newsroom/media company, or from outside the newsroom/media company? The majority of those who have already worked as ombudsmen in Portugal believe that it can be more efficient and more comfortable if the news ombudsman comes from other institutions. Only 4 out of 15 ombudsmen surveyed understand that it is better when an ombudsman is someone contracted within the newsroom. In their opinion, when an ombudsman comes from the enterprise, it is a given that he has a better knowledge of the enterprise, its culture and its routines. On the other hand, some proximity between the ombudsman and those who are affected by his/her job may facilitate the dialog. A very different opinion is expressed by the Brazilian ombudsmen. 8 out of 12 believe that it is preferable that the ombudsman comes from the newsroom/media company. One thinks that this is not a big question and it doesn't make any difference if the ombudsman comes from inside or outside. Arguments that support the option for someone from inside point out complicity, transparency, and a better knowledge of

the enterprise in order to justify why an indoor person would be more appropriate. "Recruited outside the company, the ombudsman takes the risk of transforming himself into a mere media critic", states a Brazilian ombudsman.

In Portugal, three ombudsmen don't have a clear opinion on this issue, and eight do understand that news ombudsmen should come from outside of the media company. Five reasons explain why it would be better to be 'an outsider' in the media organization. In their own words, ombudsmen consider that personal relationships may become a problem when negative appreciations have to be published. In the same sense, they say that when an ombudsman is not an ex-colleague he is in a better position to criticize in a more detached way. Besides that, there are better conditions of independence. Thinking in relation to comfort, some have also pointed out that it is more comfortable in terms of future relationships and what concerns the ombudsman's public image, the idea of credibility is more acceptable, than if there were no previous working relationship with the journalists. It is very interesting to notice that only three ombudsmen in Brazil think that ombudsmen should come from outside the company. The argument has to do with the engagement between the ombudsman and the journalists, which is to say that ombudsmen have better conditions of independence if they have had no previous relation with the enterprise.

Anyway, should he be, or have been, a journalist? In terms of professional background, four Portuguese ombudsmen think an ombudsman should be a journalist. The majority consider that he should have been a journalist in the past (but not anymore). This question, however, demands a particular remark to distinguish radio and TV context from the press field. As a matter of fact, ombudsmen for audiovisual media in Portugal (for the public radio and TV broadcasting) perform their action in terms of information and in terms of entertainment. For this reason, it is understandable that for TV and radio it is not that important if ombudsmen are or were journalists, since they are expected to examine the media group as a whole (concerning its different channels), both in terms of journalism and in terms of general programming . At any rate, ombudsmen for audiovisual media recognize that it is still important to have someone sensitive to media system, culture, and social effects.

In Brazil, we found a different answer again. 11 in 12 answers indicate that an ombudsman should be (or have been) a journalist. In fact, for some ombudsmen "journalism experience is fundamental to carrying out the job", because "only he who knows the activity can criticise it in a way that gets the respect of the criticised journalists". Only one ombudsman declares to be indifferent to this question. Even those who admit that a researcher can also be an ombudsman feel that he/she should at least have worked as a journalist in the past.

Currently or in the past, all tend to agree that ombudsmen should have a journalistic background and that this fact represents some advantages. Although as a Portuguese ombudsman pointed out, there is a risk of corporatism, the majority understand that the a journalistic background better guarantees that the ombudsman knows the profession specifics, knows the journalistic routines, has ethical concerns and professional maturity. Surveyed ombudsmen also agree on the mandate limit topic. Only one (a Portuguese ombudsman) thinks that mandates shouldn't have a limit. The majority indicate three years as a reasonable limit in Portugal and four years in Brazil.

Relationship between Ombudsmen and the Media Company

The relationship with the internal side of the media organization always runs into the idea of independence. As a matter of fact, ombudsmen are hired by the media they are supposed to criticize (or defend). Some academic debates tend to question whether this institutional relationship may threaten the independence and autonomy of the ombudsmen when analysing the media performance. Confronted with their own experience, the Portuguese ombudsmen said they didn't feel their independence was threatened while their mandates. Nevertheless, some of them admit that administration or the executive board of the enterprise was sometimes hostile. However, in Brazil, 4 of the 12 ombudsmen surveyed admitted that their independence was threatened.

Relationship between Ombudsman and the Public

In this field, the questionnaire focused on two main aspects: 1) the tone of the correspondence sent by the public concerning what constitutes an ombudsman's role; 2) the way ombudsmen understand the messages received from the public.

With readers, listeners and viewers, it wouldn't be inaccurate to say that the ombudsmen's relationship is ambiguous. Some of the common citizens understand that their complaints are not sufficiently efficient and have no practical effect. For this reason, some people question what ombudsmen are for. In spite of these doubts, some ombudsmen state that on a whole, readers, listeners and viewers tend to express their own satisfaction for ombudsmen's job. They seem to feel that the media has someone to listen to them and to answer their questions. In Brazil, the majority of contentment manifestations for ombudsmen's job comes from the public.

Regarding the public's complaints towards journalists, the ombudsmen think that they are globally fair, although a significant part of the received correspondence focuses on particular sensibilities and not really on essential questions. Only three Portuguese ombudsmen and two in Brazil think the messages coming from the public are too negative and unfair for journalists.

Ombudsman Seen by the Ombudsman?

When asked to express their own impressions on what ombudsmen should be, there is a curious difference between Portugal and Brazil in terms of focus. In Portugal, almost all ombudsmen refer to a mediation function. In Brazil, however, the majority points out that an ombudsman is someone who represents the readers/listeners and viewers. More than an image of a kind of *go-between*, Brazilian ombudsmen view the job as a kind of 'defender' of the public. One of them, for example, says that the ombudsman "is someone who can express what the reader is thinking about media coverage". Another one states that the ombudsman "is the reader's defender in the journalistic enterprise and the newsroom" or, in another ombudsman's words, "an independent interpreter of the readers' critics and desires". This idea of 'defence' brings Brazilian ombudsmen closer to the Spanish experience (where the ombudsman is called 'Defensor') than to the French or the Portuguese one (where the designations have more to do with the idea of 'mediation'). For this reason, in Brazil, to 'defend the readers' interests' appears as a fundamental role of the ombudsman job, "even when readers don't manifest their own interests". Concomitant to this role, ombudsmen are also expected to criticise the media practices regularly and transparently.

When questioned about the role ombudsman should play, the respondents mentioned mainly three aspects: media literacy, ethical debate, and readers' defence (this last one is formulated particularly by the Brazilian ombudsmen). Summing up the aspects pointed out in the questionnaire, the ombudsmen's role should include: 1) To promote a citizenship culture; 2) To give voice to readers/listeners/viewers (Brazilian ombudsmen use the verb 'to represent' or 'to defend' the readers/listeners/viewers) ; 3) To make a critical reading of the media corporation; 4) To promote an ethical and deontological responsibility; 5) To clarify citizens on editorial options and concrete conditions of journalistic work; 6) To listen to the public's complaints and answer them; 7) To keep the connection to the newsroom; 8) To promote media literacy; 9) To debate the media's role; 10) To scrutinise deontological practices; 11) To defend citizens' interests; 12) To work as an instance of reflection and self-criticism for journalists; 13) To evaluate the communication processes; 14) To formulate suggestions.

To reach these objectives, an ombudsman should fit a particular profile for the Portuguese respondents as: a) having professional experience; b) being a sensible person; c) having independence and the capacity to listen to others, d) being mature, e) having great knowledge of the media system in general and of the journalistic field in particular; f) having a wide civic and cultural education, as well as recognized prestige; g) having intellectual honesty and frankness. Brazilian ombudsmen tend to underline some other characteristics: a) deep knowledge of the function; b) serenity and balance, patience; c) technical capacity to judge; d) leadership; e) emotional balance; f) institutional authority.

Even with strong personal qualities, news ombudsmen deal frequently with some difficulties that might constraint their job. On one hand, some professionals refuse to be criticised (there is a traditional image of impunity). A Brazilian ombudsman refers specifically to the fact of the journalist's vanity. On the other hand, sometimes ombudsmen face some obstacles while in contact with the administration and editors. Besides, there is a public tendency to question minor matters (a third of Brazilian respondents refer that people are specially focused on individual sensibilities).

Future
All Portuguese ombudsmen weight up their actions as being globally positive and defend the continuity of this position. But there is a large risk of extinction. According to the Portuguese ombudsmen, some reasons may determine the end of ombudsmen: in a way, journalism's world has changed and journalism is treated more and more as merchandise. Globally, one of the stronger factors that contributes to this decrease is the economic crisis affecting all sectors, particularly the media. One ex-ombudsman also points out that there was a certain incapacity of ombudsmen to prove their real value as a professional and moral judgment institution, which in another respondent's words states the reason why the ombudsmen's position didn't become something relevant for the majority of readers. For the Brazilian ombudsmen, some apprehension towards the owners may also justify the reduced number of ombudsmen in that country. There are also ombudsmen who consider that Brazilian media does not admit criticism, because they consider themselves as being above society.

In what concerns the influence of new technologies, electronic technologies of communication, the development of social networks doesn't seem to contribute

unequivocally to the improvement of the ombudsmen's role. Although they might approach people to the ombudsmen, they represent an illusion of participation and are making media criticism become vague and disperse through web blogs and other online platforms. Furthermore, it could be pointed out that there is a general lack of sensibility for the value of criticism and self-criticism.

Conclusion: the Delicate Condition of Media Ombudsmen within a Society of Ethics
Although very similar in both countries, it could be said that two main aspects distinguish ombudsmen's self-perception between Portugal and Brazil. First, the main tone of the job : for Brazilian ombudsmen, they are first and foremost representatives of the public, expected to defend readers, listeners and viewers against bad media performances ; for Portuguese ombudsmen, the job seems to be more related to a mediation function. It might seem irrelevant, but there is a significant difference in meaning intrinsic to this topic. Being expectably impartial in both countries and being someone who works on behalf of the public. The truth is that there is a deeper understanding of mediation in Portugal. As far as ombudsmen express themselves, the word mediation is used more often by Portuguese ombudsmen and the word representation/defence is used more by Brazilian ombudsmen.

On the other hand, Brazilian ombudsmen seem to be more convinced of the journalistic background that ombudsmen should have. And they tend to admit longer mandates than the Portuguese ombudsmen.

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Documentary ethics in contemporary practices.
Alternative participation, alternative ethics?

Willemien Sanders[1]

Abstract

Documentary scholars have presupposed a certain documentary practice, and have ethically evaluated this practice, with a focus on the need for protection for a vulnerable and ignorant participant. But times have changed. By researching the experience of ethical challenges by both documentary filmmakers and participants, through both a quantitative and a qualitative project, a practice surfaces in which the participant is committed to and involved in the project; conflict between filmmaker and participant is recurrent, but non-decisive, as communication, trust, and commitment act as a safety-net. Hence, questions about documentary ethics need to address this contemporary practice, rather than a past one.

Keywords: Documentary, practice, ethics, qualitative research, quantitative research, participation

Documentary theorists have, since the mid-1970s, discussed the ethics of documentary film and documentary filmmaking (see, for instance, Gross, Katz, and Ruby, 1988a; Nichols, 1991; Pryluck, 1976; Rosenthal, 1988a; Winston, 2000). A development that triggered scholarly considerations of ethics was the introduction of lightweight cameras and sync sound, and thus of *direct cinema*, and *cinema vérité*, making it possible to follow people around and film them continuously and spontaneously (Pryluck, 1976). In this discourse, scholars have presupposed and ethically evaluated a certain documentary practice. This practice was grounded in both Robert Flaherty's narrative documentaries such as *Nanook of the North* (1922) and *Man of Aran* (1934), as well as in social documentaries produced by John Grierson and his colleagues, such as *Drifters* (1946) and *Housing Problems* (1935) and in more recent direct cinema projects, most notably *Titicut Follies* (1967; see, for instance, Winston, 2000). In the past few decades, technological advancement has continued to affect film production profoundly, making production facilities available for everyone and affording opportunities for self-casting on the internet. However, the discussion of documentary filmmaking ethics has not yet included this development. On the contrary: it relies on the traditional premise of an all-powerful filmmaker who controls the process and possesses access to as well as knowledge of production processes and facilities, and a lack of such understanding, access, and knowledge on the side of the participant. I propose, based on my own empirical research into contemporary filmmaking practices, an alternative documentary filmmaking practice, with a different role for the participant. In this practice, the participant is actively involved in and committed to the documentary project. Disagreement and conflict between filmmaker and participant is a recurrent but non-decisive element of the filmmaker-participant relationship. Such conflict is dispersed

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and local, as is the exchange of information and giving consent. In this practice, communication, trust, and commitment act as a safety-net for conflict.

In this paper I will first address the scholarly discourse on documentary ethics. I will then discuss the results of two empirical studies of documentary filmmaking, one quantitative and one qualitative. By combining these, I will present an alternative, contemporary documentary practice, with a different position for the participant. This practice invites alternative questions with respect to ethics.

Scholarly and professional discourse: moral issues, strategies, and circumstances
In the research discussed here, the documentary filmmaking practice under scrutiny can be described as author documentary filmmaking. It is a practice that relies on individual filmmakers who create personal films, and that thus allows for a filmmaker's personal artistic expression, for which she uses the means of production in a well-considered way. This practice is less demanding than journalism practices when it comes to objectivity and impartiality. Hence, I turned to the scholarly documentary discourse rather than to the discourse on media or journalism ethics.

The scholarly discourse on documentary ethics is mostly part of the broader theoretical documentary discourse. Sometimes ethics are addressed specifically (see, for instance, Gross, Katz, and Ruby, 1988a, 2003); more often it is addressed implicitly in a broader text (see, for instance, Winston, 2000; Nichols, 2001). In both instances, the discourse does not include ethical theories or questions about which of those theories might or should govern documentary filmmaking. A debate about deontological, teleological, or utilitarian principles and/or the role of virtues in documentary filmmaking is lacking, save in Butchart's (2006) discussion of virtue theory.

Two general 'areas' are distinguishable in the discussion of ethics: one dealing with questions of truth and reality, basically addressing the filmmaker-audience relationship; and one dealing with questions of representation and consequences, basically dealing with the filmmaker-participant relationship. The latter is the focus of this paper. With respect to this relationship, scholars discuss issues, problems, and events with a moral component, such as filming a conflict; they discuss a variety of issues they relate to ethics, such as representation. They also discuss some strategies to deal with such issues, or to prevent them. In addition, they discuss circumstances that affect the experience of such issues. I will go into these in turn below.

In the discussion of the ethics of the filmmaker-participant relationship, the notion of informed consent plays a central role: "Most answers to such accusations [of taking advantage of someone – WS] rely on some notion of consent (usually "informed") as the ethical touchstone" (Becker, 1988, p. xii). In documentary filmmaking, this concept, which originated in the field of medical ethics, raises a lot of questions. Many agree it is impossible to inform (potential) participants completely about all risks involved in participating (Becker, 1988; Gross et al., 1988; Katz and Milstein Katz, 1988; Nichols, 1991; Pryluck, 1976; Rosenthal, 1988b; Winston, 1988, 1995, 2000). And according to Winston (2000), informed consent does not match freedom of expression. Moreover, in documentary filmmaking there seem to be no uniform protocols for informed consent. Hence, it makes more sense to discuss its constituent parts: the exchange of information, consent to participate, and the voluntariness of that consent and thus of the participation.

"While one can argue about whether we can even know what really happens, inevitably in filming actuality, moments are recorded that the people being photographed might not wish to make widely public," said (Pryluck, 1976, p. 256). This quote summarizes the questions that surround consent and voluntariness. What happens if a participant decides she wants certain footage excluded from the film? Where is the line between convincing a participant, pressing her, and forcing her? The documentary discourse includes numerous issues scholars relate to ethics, including, but not limited to, consequences of participation in a documentary film, disclosure (how much is revealed), privacy, reciprocity, representation, and the rights of filmmakers to record, and use the recorded material.[1]

"If one is serious about using direct cinema to make valid statements about people, then collaboration should be welcome" (Pryluck, 1976, p. 265). Such collaboration, in which the filmmaker functions like a facilitator to the participant and her story, is one strategy scholars discussed to deal with moral issues. However, such collaboration raises questions about the filmmaker's position towards the topic of the film: can she still maker her point (Gross, 1988; Winston, 2000)?

Another strategy discussed is asking provisional consent for a rough cut before asking final consent for the final cut (Pryluck, 1976). Also, scholars suggest to invite participants to view the (edited) material and indicate what they prefer to be left out (Gilbert, 1981; Rosenthal, 1988b; Winston 1995).

Reflexivity is also a solution mentioned. Ruby (1988) advocated an "intelligently used reflexivity" as an "essential part of all ethically produced documentaries" (p. 314). Butchart (2006) approached reflexivity from the perspective of ethics and draws on the work of Badiou. He proposed to abandon philosophical ideas about (the rights of) the "other" and to focus on the same, the situated shared truth, and to show that truth through various forms of reflexivity.

In addition to moral issues and strategies to deal with them or prevent them, Winston (2000) mentioned four points for "ethical risks": whether the filmed person is a public or private person; the degree of social bias of the act being filmed; whether the place of filming is public or private; and where and for which audience the film will be screened. These four areas of risk all refer to circumstances: the personality of the participant, the content of the film, the filming circumstances (see also Gross, Katz, and Ruby, 1988a), and the screening circumstances (see also Ruby, 1988). And there are more: cultural differences between filmmaker and participant (Pryluck, 1976); filming family members (Katz and Milstein Katz, 1988); the film's aesthetics (Katz and Milstein Katz, 1988; Nichols, 1991; Ruby, 1988); time (Rosenthal, 1988b) and money (Winston, 2000); and the film's goal (Winston, 1995, 2000; Ruby, 1988; Nichols, 1991). The circumstances, or contexts, supposedly affect the experience or moral issues, as well as how these are dealt with.

Documentary scholars also, implicitly rather than explicitly, voice ideas about the documentary participant. Briefly, scholars characterized her as vulnerable with respect to the consequences of documentary representation (Pryluck, 1976; Rosenthal, 1988b), ignorant about the documentary practice (Winston, 2000), and as having nothing to gain from her participation (Gross, Katz, and Ruby, 1988b; Pryluck, 1976; Winston, 2000).

The moral issues, strategies and circumstances discussed above recur in the documentary discourse throughout the past decades. To see whether they had anything to add, I interviewed eighteen Dutch documentary filmmakers about their experiences with ethical challenges. These were exploratory, open interviews. The filmmakers mentioned very similar issues and contexts, but their accounts included many more strategies to deal with moral issues, both actively and passively, including giving in to a situation, and trivializing an issue. However, it remains unclear how such issues and strategies relate to documentary practices, as empirical research is lacking. To understand to what extent filmmakers and participants experience such issues and strategies, how they relate, and in which circumstances this happens, I conducted two empirical studies: a quantitative one of the perspective of filmmakers, and a qualitative one on the perspective of participants. Below I describe them in turn.

The perspective of filmmakers: communication and conflict[2]
Filmmakers regularly discuss their individual practices, for instance, in interviews and talks in magazines, newspapers, and at festivals. To understand how the experiences of moral issues and strategies might be related, I decided to conduct a quantitative study and include experiences from a large number filmmakers. So, to measure the extent to which filmmakers had experienced the moral issues and strategies derived from the literature and the initial interviews, and in which production and personal contexts this had happened, I designed a questionnaire. I turned the various notions that represented moral issues and strategies into statements. For example, the issue of disclosure I turned into the statement "The participant refused to have certain scenes or events filmed"; the strategy to pay a participant I turned into the statement "I gave the participant some money or a gift" (filmmakers had told me they sometimes bought gifts). I measured the extent to which filmmakers had experienced these on a 0-6 (never/not at all – all the time/completely) scale. I asked them to answer with respect to one specific participant (of their choice) in their latest project. I also included contextual variables about the project, the participant, and the filmmaker in the survey.

My sample consisted of filmmaker who had had a film screened at one or more of twelve international documentary film festivals worldwide in 2006. These included documentary festivals in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, Cape Town, South Africa, Toronto, Canada, and Yamagata, Japan. After a pilot study, I invited 659 filmmakers to complete the final version of the questionnaire; in the end, the data of 158 respondents were included in the analysis.

For the analysis I relied on an Exploratory Factor Analysis. Factor analysis is a technique which uncovers patterns (factors) in a dataset. These patterns are based on variables which correlate and which are assumed to measure various aspects of a more general phenomenon. The results of a factor analysis are groups of variables. Factor analysis can be used to test a theory or model, but it can also be used to explore a dataset, without relying on theories or models, which is what I did. In that case, it is up to the research to interpret the meaning of the various variables grouped into a pattern; to interpret the more general phenomenon.[3]

The present analysis resulted in seven patterns.[4,5] It turned out that all patterns are correlated modestly but significantly with each other, except for the second pattern, Communication for Cooperation, which only correlates a little bit with the seventh pattern, Improper Reciprocity. This means that the experience of Communication for

Cooperation is independent of the experience of other patterns. It suggests that filmmakers' experiences are split between harmonious relationships full of reciprocal communication with the participant on the one hand (pattern 2) and more disturbed relationships with the participant on the other (patterns 1 and 3-5).

This prompted me to explore the patterns further, by conducting a higher order factor analysis. Higher order patterns are more general than lower order patterns. The technique takes the patterns of the first analysis as input variables and looks at their correlation. However, it is also possible to calculate the contribution of individual variables to higher order patterns and thus to interpret higher order patterns on the basis of individual variables.[6] The resulting patterns indicated a general division between communicative cooperation on the one hand and unsolved conflict on the other, with an uncooperative participant somewhere in between.

A second higher order analysis revealed two general patterns, one reflecting communication and cooperation to solve issues, and the other reflecting unsolved issues. Table 1 gives an overview of all patterns and a short description of each. It also includes the mean scores and standard deviations, calculated by taking the mean score of all participants, which in turn is calculated by taking the mean of the 0-6 scores on their variables.

The patterns in the upper part of the table, Communication for Cooperation, Filmmaker Mastery, Communication for the Film, and Communication for Filming, have higher means scores than the patterns in the middle and on the right side. Thus, taking into account the extent to which filmmakers reported experiencing these patterns of cooperation and conflict, dominant were filmmakers' efforts to cooperate with the participant with the interests of the film in mind, while relying on their professional position and abilities to get what they needed for the film. Conflict surfaced in various patterns and can be regarded as a relevant part of the experience, as a majority of filmmakers indicated experiencing such conflict, though to limited extents (percentages for 0.0 scores ranged between 1.9% and 26.6%, with one extreme at 42.4%; so most experienced some conflict at least).

I used variables about the participant, the filmmaker, and the project to investigate the extent to which such contextual variables could predict the experience of cooperation, opposition, and conflict. To do this, I used Multiple Regression.[7] For the patterns related to communication and cooperation, the most important predicting variables were the position of the participant in the project (as a single or one of a number of central participants), the budget of the project, and the duty to make the best film possible; for the patterns related to conflict these were cultural similarity, filming and editing time, the controversy of the content of the film, the willingness to meet financiers' wishes, the willingness to compromise depending on the interests at stake, and whether or not the filmmaker had had some philosophy and/or ethics education. However, the statistical calculations indicated that the predictive strength of such variables in general was very limited: they could only predict small differences between filmmakers and their relevance was therefore limited.

Table 1. Pattern labels, pattern definitions, means scores and standard deviations.

Initial patterns	Second order patterns	Third order patterns
Communication for Cooperation / Filmmaker and participant experience trust and understanding through ongoing communication. Mean 4.23; Standard Deviation 1.19	Communication for the Film Ongoing communication between filmmaker and participant is aimed at achieving the filmmaker's goals. Mean 3.91; Standard Deviation 1.42	Communication for Filming There is a participant opposition issue and the filmmaker tries to solve it. Mean 2.65; Standard Deviation 1.08
Filmmaker Mastery The filmmaker uses all means at her/his disposal as a filmmaker to achieve things. Mean 2.36; Standard Deviation 1.29		
Participant Opposition The participant is unwilling to co-operate with the filmmaker and at times counterproductive. Mean .87; Standard Deviation .84	Opposition to Disclosure The participant does not want certain scenes or events to be filmed. Mean .84; Standard Deviation .87	
Filmmaker Opposition The filmmaker behaves uncooperative toward the participant and is not aimed at solutions. Mean .69; Standard Deviation .78	Passive Conflict Passiveness and conflict dominate the filmmaker-participant relationship. Mean .99; Standard Deviation .78	Trivialized Harm There is an issue and the filmmaker does not try to solve it. Mean .71; Standard Deviation .92
Conflict on Representation Filmmaker and participant both cause damage by differences in understanding the participant as victim. Mean 1.07; Standard Deviation .91		

The perspective of participants: joy, learning, and self-presentation
Participants do not regularly get the opportunity to share their experiences of participating in a documentary film. Although more and more often they are invited as guests to film festivals to talk about their experiences and, sometimes seek the media to discuss their contribution or representation (see, for instance, Bowler, Browne, and Herbert, 2009, and Bradford and Hull, 2011), they are not common participants of the discourse surrounding documentary film. So, to study the perspective of documentary participants, I chose a qualitative method: semi structured-interviews, with ample opportunity for the respondents to talk as they preferred.

I interviewed four Dutch documentary participants: Alex, Ben, Chris, and Debby.[8] These respondents I found after consulting a number of Dutch documentary producers about suitable projects and participants. I interviewed them twice: once before or very soon after the premiere of the documentary film they were in, and again between four and six months later. I asked them to freely recount their

experiences of participating. I analysed their interview accounts by investigating what these respondents said about their experiences, with a focus on what was most salient in their accounts, rather than on answers to my questions. I also used concepts salient in the survey results as sensitizing concepts; examples include communication (patterns at the top of Table 1) and disclosure (patterns in the middle of the table).[9]

Alex, the first participants interviewed for this study, is a shopkeeper and also keeps animals. The documentary was about one of these animals. Alex's accounts about his documentary participant experience centred on the filming activities, his wish that some more funny scenes were included in the film, and his relaxed attitude toward media participation in general, but mostly on himself. He talked more about his animals and his daily activities than about the film he participated in, which reflects Alex's preoccupation with the present and his own daily activities. He had appeared in other media before and for him, being a participant in the documentary film was one event in a series of media experiences he enjoyed with his previous and current animals. Alex spoke very few evaluative words about the project, and mostly recounted anecdotes. This suggest that his experience as documentary participant was at the back of his mind and did not play an important role in his life any longer. Alex was focused on the future. For him, being in the documentary was fun, but it was time for new things. Alex did not recount any serious trouble with the filmmaker and that might be one reason why he has left the experience behind him. Also, Alex came across as a talkative person who likes a good conversation and likes to have fun with people. In short, Alex's account of his experience as documentary participant shows that even though he would have preferred a funnier film he liked the experience and enjoyed it. However, it was one media experience among others.

Ben, the second participant, is a nurse. He participated in a film about a political party and its leader, whom Ben supports. Ben's accounts centred around his evaluation of the film, his evaluation of the experience, the filmmaker, and himself. For Ben the experience was a learning experience as he learned about filmmaking as well as about himself. Ben recounted he worked well with the filmmaker, there was a basis of trust and anything could be discussed, despite their different opinions. Ben was critical about the film; he felt a specific scene was not truthful, and he experienced a lack of balance in the film, while the filmmaker had told him it would be balanced. He meant to discuss these issues with the filmmaker later. Ben was not critical about the filmmaker. During interviews for the film, Ben controlled his contribution both by refusing consent for filming, and by including specific material and utterances. He also tried to control his contribution by trying to extend his disclosure, by asking the filmmaker to include specific material. In addition, he was involved in making arrangements for filming, and contributed content of his own: he arranged for additional participants to film. His participation had some consequences for Ben at work, but seems to have served as a catalyst for existing tensions, rather than a problem in itself. Ben's relationship with the filmmaker changed after the film was finished: rather than filmmaker and participant they became friends, and, according to Ben, they both benefited from this friendship. Ben disregarded lingering issues he planned to discuss with the filmmaker later, prioritizing their friendship over unresolved issues concerning the film.

The third participant was Chris, an academic and writer, and friend of the filmmaker of the film he was in. Chris enjoyed participating in the documentary, which for him was in a sense a friendly turn. He appreciated the film very much, like he appreciated

the filmmaker–friend who made it, and her work in general. Despite his positive evaluation of the experience, there was one scene he was in he had doubts about, but the filmmaker convinced him there was no need to record it again. After watching a rough cut, he preferred to have a specific scene as the ending, but the filmmaker decided against it. Chris aligned himself with the filmmaker, both being creative practitioners, and this alliance included accepting the filmmaker's artistic decisions. Chris also made practical arrangements for the film: he arranged permission for filming at two locations.

Debby was the last participant interviewed for this study. She is an academic too, who, at the time of the interview, had recently finished her PhD thesis, a biography. The film was about the same person as the biography. Debby was approached as consultant for the film, but later became the main participant. Debby's account of her experience as documentary participant shows that for her, the experience was not uncomplicated. She was involved in the project as researcher of and thus expert on the topic; she understands her role in the film as researcher and academic. She recounted differences of opinion with the filmmaker from the start, as well as several interruptions in her cooperation with the filmmaker and the production team, most notably when she refused to phrase specific information in a way the filmmaker encouraged her to, but which in Debby's eyes was wrong, interrupted filming, and demanded time to conceive of a proper sentence of her own, which she was given. Worried about her representation, and consequently her image as academic, this was one of several efforts to safeguard that image she recounted. After she had watched the final a film, she was positive about her representation and the film in general, yet remained critical about some of the filmmaker's choices. She received many positive responses as well.

The analyses of the four accounts provided an understanding of the various experiences, which are characterised by joy, learning, and self-representation, as well as of participants' attitude toward the project and toward the interview. In respect of the various concepts relevant to documentary filmmaking and ethics, these case studies indicated a similar result to the survey: cooperation, communication, and trust dominate the experience, and conflict, including disagreement, different points of view, and conflict proper in the form of interruptions to the cooperation between filmmaker and participant, plays an important supporting role. All respondents disagreed with the filmmaker at some point and all tried to affect the project and safeguard their interests. In addition, the participants' accounts pointed to a variety of consequences of participating in a documentary project, both positive and negative.

Filmmakers and participants: an alternative documentary practice
The empirical results from the two studies provide an insight into the documentary filmmaking practice that challenges the practice as it is interpreted and evaluated in the documentary discourse at several points. They invite an alternative understanding of the documentary practice and the role of the participant in it.

The filmmaker survey showed a practice in which filmmakers and participants cooperate and communicate, and in which a limited amount of conflict, in the form of opposition by the participant, and conflict over her representation, is not uncommon. The participant case studies showed that participants can enjoy and learn from their participation, and at the same time be critical about the results: it matters to them. They might also get involved in production tasks for filming. Based

on the empirical findings, a practice surfaces in which the participant is actively involved in and committed to the project; in which conflict in a broad sense is a recurrent but non-decisive element of the filmmaker-participant relationship; and in which conflict is dispersed and local, related to individual scenes and utterances. In this practice, communication, trust, and commitment are the basis, and conflict is experienced occasionally. Communication, trust, and commitment thus function as a safety-net for conflict.

In short, this alternative practice might be described as follows. Filmmaker and participant cooperate in a project in which both are committed to make a compelling film and both weigh their interests against the interests of the other, and of the film. Although the filmmaker is in charge of the creative process, the participant controls her contribution by controlling her disclosure, and by reconsidering her consent. Mutual and continuous exchange of information, questions, and concerns, making conflict explicit, helps create an environment of trust in which such conflict can be negotiated safely, without detrimental consequences for the project.

Conclusion

The results of the empirical research projects discussed in this thesis merit a revision of the scholarly discussion of documentary filmmaking ethics. More specifically, they merit a paradigm-shift. The role of the participant can be conceived as that of a co-creator, partial though to her contribution; she controls her contribution and is involved in production tasks. The discussion about an ethics of documentary filmmaking must first of all include a participant as partial co-creator, committed and involved in the project. It must also include communication as a vehicle to carry filmmaker and participant co-creatorship, including facilitating the exchange of information, questions, and concerns, and the building and fostering of trust; and conflict as a means to negotiate and safeguard their respective interests.

Within the documentary project, for which cooperation is the point of departure, conflict exists in instances in which the participant challenges the authority of the filmmaker and exerts influence on the content of the film by refusing or promoting specific content. In this practice, different ethical questions surface. These questions do not primarily concern the need for the filmmaker to protect the participant from harm ensuing from her representation in a documentary film, but rather the negotiation of partial co-creatorship and of the respective interests of filmmaker and participant in the process of making the mutually desired compelling film.

Discussion

The questionnaire was designed for this specific survey and will surely be eligible for development and improvement. It was in English only, which has discouraged some invitees from completing it. The data it provided came from a very heterogeneous group of filmmakers; the factor analysis explained only 43% of the variance in the data, and the predictive power of contextual variables was limited. Possibly a more homogeneous group would provide more distinct results. Also, respondents can always give socially desirable answers, even when confidentiality is provided.

Given the limited number of participant cases, this alternative practice can be understood as a specific manifestation of the practice of author documentary filmmaking, where others might exist in addition. For this study, producers came up with potential participants, and thus might have prevented more controversial projects to be investigated. I used semi-structured interviews, but as data collection

through diaries and direct observation was not feasible for this project. Such methods would probably have yielded richer data, and it remains a challenge for the future to create an opportunity to research documentary projects this way.

Notes

[1] For a complete list, see Sanders (2010).

[2] For a more extensive text on this empirical study see Sanders (2012a, 2012b).

[3] For an extensive discussion of (Exploratory) Factor Analysis see Field (2005) and Tinsley and Tinsley (1987).

[4] A number of tests, steps, and related decisions are part of a factor analysis. Details are available from the author.

[5] For details on the variables included in each factor, see Sanders 2012a, 2012b.

[6] See Evans (1999), Gray (1997), and Wolff and Preising (2005) for details on Higher Order Factor Analysis.

[7] See Brace, Kemp, and Snelgar (2003) and Field (2005).

[8] The interviews took place on the basis of confidentiality, hence these names are not their real names.

[9] In addition, I considered how these four talked about their experiences. Relying on theories about active interviewing (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995), constructionism (Silverman, 2006), and deconstruction (Martin, 1990), I considered the way these participants said, or did not say things about their experiences, in an effort to better understand their perspective as well as their experience. However for the present argument, this deconstruction is less relevant, and I will not go into it. For a more extensive discussion, see Sanders (2012b).

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Media ethics in wartime: the code for the coverage of the colombian armed conflict

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Abstract

By analysing the "code for the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict", this paper argues that journalism ethics needs to be understood not only as a matter of journalists. Ethics also depends on the context which journalists do their job. For example, in wartime, the reporting of news is influenced not only by the economic, symbolic and media constraints, but also by the strategic aims of the armed groups. Thus, ethics codes are more than documents in which journalists state how to do their job in a right way. Like the case of the Colombian armed conflict illustrates, ethics codes are documents in which journalists defend their independence, protect themselves from threats and claim for better work conditions. In this sense, ethics codes in wartime function more as political acts of communications rather than just training documents.

Key words: ethics, armed conflict, strategy, journalists, Colombia, news.

Introduction

The coverage of wars and internal conflicts by mass media is often criticized, as in the particular case of the Colombian armed conflict. Journalists are blamed because they disrespect victims and report news in a way which favours one of the parties to the conflict (Arias, Chacón, Cristancho, & Quebedo, 2003; Bonilla, 2002; García Raya & Romero Rodríguez, 2001). Journalists often reply that they do their best and blame the pressure put by sources and media rating requirements. They also accuse the manipulation by the armed groups (Giraldo, Roldán, & Flórez, 2003; MPP, 2006). In this context, one of the means that journalists have found to improve their job consist of writing ethics codes. Nevertheless, ethics in journalism are usually associated with ideas of how journalists should do their job (Sanders, 2010, p. 531). Moreover, discussions about journalism ethics are not new. Actually, Stephen Ward identifies five stages in the development of journalism ethics:

1. The invention of an ethical discourse during the seventeenth century.
2. The creation of a "public ethics" based on the idea that the press plays the role of a Fourth State.
3. The liberal theory of the press during the nineteenth century.
4. The development and criticism of this liberal doctrine resulting in a professional ethics of objective journalism.
5. A "mixed-media" ethics which lacks consensus on what principles apply across different types of media (Ward, 2009, p. 295).

In other words, since the profession began, journalists have worried about the right way to report news. Thus, ethics codes are documents which clarify principles and

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standards about what journalists should do in a specific situation in order to do "right" their job (Ward, 2009, p. 296). Nonetheless, a significant number of cases show that journalists constantly transgress their own professional codes, especially in wartime. As it has been said before, such is the case of the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict. While Colombian journalists commit to reporting truthful, accurate and balanced information in their professional and training documents (Castro, Villamizar, Restrepo, & Guerrero, 2005; CPB, 1990; El Colombiano, 2003; El Tiempo, 2003; Márquez González, 2003; MPP, 2006), the analysis of news reports has shown that news about the conflict are unbalanced and biased in a way which favours one of the parties to the conflict (Flores & Crawford, 2001; López, 2003; Serrano, 2012).

More specifically, this paper argues that "*The code for the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict*"[2] (Márquez González, 2003) is not a professional document addressed to journalists in order to tell them how to cover the conflict. The code is a political act of communication addressed to the audiences, armed groups (journalists' sources), media owners and managers. In fact, the analysis of the context in which the code was written along with its content suggests that the journalists' principles of accuracy, impartiality and neutrality are not compatible with the military strategic aims of the armed groups who also play a role of journalistic sources. Thus, this paper seeks to explain why the principles set in the code seem to be contradictory to the context in which journalists have to do their job. The paper also states that the strategy of the code is to claim editorial independence from media organizations and armed sources as well as to justify professional and ethical mistakes to various audiences.

This argument is consistent with literature advocating for a more comprehensive approach to ethics in journalism (Ward, 2005) and the definition of journalism ethics codes as documents framed by specific ideological, political and social influences (Wilkins & Brennen, 2004, p. 308). For this purpose, the next section describes briefly the context and the content of "the code for the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict". Then, the third section examines how the context of war influences the job of journalists and why the code cannot be a training document. The paper concludes by supporting the idea of the necessity of a holistic approach to journalism ethics and ethics codes as something more than professional training documents.

Ethics and journalism in Colombia:
The code for the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict
Before Colombian journalists wrote an ethics code specifically applied to the coverage of the conflict, they had written a more general code: "Code of ethics and responsibility of journalists" (CPB, 1990). The purpose of this code is to "point out to journalists a set of basic principles of behaviour based on rational principles of ethical and professional behaviour" (CPB, 1990). The code proclaims the ideal of the veracity of news, independence from sources. It is said that the main obligation for journalists is to inform in an accurate and comprehensible way. This code is taught in journalism schools and still functions as a reference for journalists concerning the main professional principles.

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[2] *Código para el cubrimiento del conflicto armado colombiano* (Márquez González, 2003), available at http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/media_standards/Codigo%20para% 20el%20cubrimiento%20del%20conflicto%20armado%20colombiano.pdf

Nevertheless, in 2003 a code for coverage of the Colombian armed conflict was written by the head of the *Centro de Solidaridad de la Federación Internacional de Periodistas*[3] and founder member of the professional association *Medios para la Paz*[4] (Márquez González, 2003). At that time, the situation for journalists in Arauca (one of the regions where the conflict has been the most intense) had become very difficult. Most of the journalists covering the conflict in Arauca had left because of threats from the armed groups. This was the reason why a code applying exclusively to the coverage of the armed conflict was published. The document is organised in three parts[5]: an outline of the issues, a list of standards that journalists commit to, and a conclusion. The first part states three considerations on which journalists base the code:

1. The right to information and the political commitment of journalists to society and to the truth from an ethical point of view.
2. Covering the armed conflict supposes that any message provided by an armed group, legal (the military) or illegal (paramilitary and guerrilla groups), may be propaganda which seeks to favour the particular interests of the group.
3. Journalists are citizens whose mission is to inform other citizens by working towards the common good. For journalists information is a social good. They condemn violence as a method of solving conflicts. They recognise that their duty is to cover war, without hiding or exaggerating its causes, consequences and context.

These three first considerations illustrate the ideal of accurate, truthful and balanced reporting. This approach to journalists' work is what Stephen Ward calls *the objectivity and social responsibility model* (Ward, 2009, pp. 298–299), which means that journalists adhere to "objectivity" as a dominant ethical idea. This ideal of objective news reporting includes the claim of independence from government and business influence and a strict distinction between news and opinion. This model corresponds to one of Ward's five ethics development stages: the development and criticism of the liberal doctrine during the 20th century resulting in a professional ethics of objective journalism (Ward, 2009, p. 295). These three considerations also show journalists' awareness of the manipulation exerted by the armed groups. Nevertheless, the code is a document written only by journalists. Audiences and actors involved in the conflict did not participate in writing it. Thus standards set in the code correspond exclusively to journalistic logic.

The second part of the code lists nine principles to which journalists commit. Five of them concern the relationship with sources (state, legal and illegal social groups):

1. "We will maintain a strictly professional relationship with our sources (...). We reject discrimination, coercion, intimidation or any privilege which could compromise our independence".
2. "We will not reveal the identity or location of sources if asked (...)".
3. "We will make a particular effort to verify information with different sources. We will compare and verify any statement provided during interviews, press

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[3] Centre of Solidarity of the International Federation of Journalists.
[4] Media for Peace.
[5] The author of this paper translates and summarizes the most important parts of the text. The original text in Spanish can be download at:
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/media_standards/Codigo%20para%20el%20cubrimiento%20del%20conflicto%20armado%20colombiano.pdf.

conferences or through press releases. (...) If we have only one source, we will explain that the report is based on only one version".

4. "We will enrich the agenda about the war by allowing any citizen to expressing their opinion and peace proposals. We think that peace is the most important outcome (...)".

5. "Under no circumstances will we assume the functions of any legal state institution or an illegal centre of intelligence or any humanitarian organization (...)".

A second group of principles involves the format of news:

1. "We will use an adequate lexicon which avoids qualifying expressions and adjectives used by the groups in conflict. We will respect the right to the presumption of innocence and refer to a person suspected of have committed a crime as a "suspect" until the issuing of a final and appealable conviction. For no reason should a journalist be an instrument of war".

2. "We are not responsible for the final news outcome because professional practice determines that journalists are only responsible of the coverage and writing of news. The titling, editing and broadcast or publication of a news report are the responsibility of media owners and managers".

The last principles involve victims of the conflict, and the journalists' role with regard to the media and the state:

1. "We will respect the privacy of citizens involved in or affected by the armed conflict provided that this silence will not compromise the public interest. In all cases we will respect the grief of the victims".

2. "We will fulfil our duties of loyalty and availability as media within the framework of journalism ethics, which requires truthful information and sets aside any economic interest, within the limits of security [for journalists]. In order to ensure our independence, we need sufficient and adequate salaries (…) and also means of transport which are not owned by parties to the conflict."

The code concludes by stating that "when an armed group thinks that they have the right to use, manipulate or intimidate a journalist, they do so because they think that reason comes from weapons. For journalists, reason comes exclusively from truth" (Márquez González, 2003).

In other words, this code allows journalists to respond to the threats they had received by blaming the manipulation of the armed groups and the use of weapons. At the same time, they state how to do their job in this context: by making a commitment no to rely on the lexicon of war of armed groups, by contrasting sources, respecting legal institutions and civilians. However these particular commitments result from a particular context which is explained in the next section.

Ethics in wartime

In order to understand what the code for the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict means in the context of the Colombian armed conflict, it is necessary to remember that news reports are not only a matter for journalists. Previous research has shown that the form and content of the news produced and broadcast are influenced by media, journalistic and war communications considerations. These variables also play a role in journalism ethics, as this paper seeks to show.

Media and journalistic variables refer to the obligation for journalists to follow the demands imposed by media organisations including political bias, formatting constraints and rating requirements – while taking care to maintain credibility and dealing with the pressure exerted by sources (Berkowitz, 2009; Carlson, 2009; McQuail, 2010, Chapter 11). Thus, when journalists state in their code that they will keep an independent relationship with sources and verify information provided by them, they are setting principles which underestimate the context in which they produce news. For instance, in Colombia, news production and broadcasting is the function of private media owned by the richest families in the country who also have relationships with the government. The current president is a member of the family who owns the most important newspaper, *El Tiempo*.

Moreover, some media owners have decided to support the state and put pressure on their employees (journalists) to favour official sources when they cover the conflict. In other words, current working conditions are in contradiction to the ethical principles claimed by journalists. In their ethical code, journalists acknowledge that good salaries and resources for covering the conflict are indispensable. However, economic constraints lead media owners to reduce human and technical resources allocated to covering conflict zones. In order to respond to the pressure exerted by the armed groups, journalists have created some professional myths. For example, they prefer to quote the position of the Church because it should be neutral. Journalists also think it is better to voice the opinion of official sources because they must take responsibility for whatever is said (Rincón & Ruíz, 2002a, 2002b). The main problem with this is that official sources, government, military and state representatives are also parties to the conflict and are therefore not impartial.

This point is related to the third group of variables involved in the production of news, war communications variables, because armed groups and official sources involved in the conflict are interested in winning the war rather than informing citizens (Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2010; Maltby & Keeble, 2007; Maltby, 2012). When they talk to journalists, their motivation is to make journalists talk about the war from their own point of view, that is to justify their violence and discredit the adversary. In the particular case of Colombia, the military requires the unconditional support of journalists (Bonilla, 2002; Rincón & Ruíz, 2002a). The government does not accept that journalists should give the same treatment to legal armed forces and guerrillas. The Colombian state has made arrangements to prevent journalists from using members of illegal groups as sources (CNTV, 1997; Giraldo et al., 2003; López, 2005). In this sense, when journalists say in their code that armed groups use them to disseminate propaganda, they are recognising that news is not only their preserve but that other social actors play a role in the reporting of news. One might therefore ask why journalists then set standards as if news reporting depended exclusively on them. Given that they are not allowed by the state to interview all the actors involved in the conflict, they are not able to respect the plurality and balance of sources. In this sense, the context of war interferes with journalists' ethical principles. However journalists mainly adopt an internal approach in their discussions and initiatives regarding ethics. Actually, as Stephen Ward argues, the "efforts to reform news media practices are polarized between two inadequate approaches, an 'internal' approach which considers journalism ethics the exclusive domain of journalists, and an 'external' model that believes reform requires the imposition of external regulations and regulators on news media" (Ward, 2005, p. 315). The problem with these kinds of approaches is that they neglect the fact that journalists'

jobs depend not only on what journalists do. What journalists do depends on the context and other social actors.

Discussion

Looking for better understanding the role of the ethics codes in the reporting of news about wars and armed conflicts, this paper examined the case of "the code for the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict". The aim was to argue that the constraints of mass media (symbolic and economical constraints) as well as the strategic aims of the armed groups cannot be compatible with balanced, neutral and accurate report of wars. Actually, by examining the context in which the code for the coverage of the Colombian armed conflict was written and the kind of principles set in it, one can ask:

- Why should journalists set in their ethics code principles they know in advance they will not be able to follow because of the constraints resulting from the context of war?
- What is the reason why journalists establish a code in which they commit to reporting truthful and balanced information when official sources are directly involved in the conflict and have the legitimacy to prevent journalists from verifying information with sources who do not agree with their point of view?

The argument of this paper is that the way in which scholars and journalists have studied news reports and journalism ethics in wartime need to be discussed in a more comprehensive way. First, news reports on war result not only from journalists' work and media organizations' constraints. In times of war, media is one of the "weapons" used by the parties to the conflict in order to communicate their legitimizing discourses (Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2010). In this sense, there is no reason for ignoring this fact when discussing journalism ethics in wartime. Second, concerning the code for the coverage of the armed conflict, Colombian journalists wrote this because of the threats they had received from armed groups and therefore the code was not created with the purpose of professional training or as a guideline for journalists.

More than a document telling journalists how to cover the armed conflict in a responsible way, the targets of the code are media owners and managers, armed groups and media audiences. In this sense, the code is a "political act of communication" (Ward, 2009) responding to a particular context (Wilkins & Brennen, 2004). With the code, Colombian journalists are telling the armed groups that their motivations and aims are not the same, that they defend different principles and that they disapprove of the coercion exerted by the armed groups. Journalists are also telling their audience that their margins for manoeuvre are limited because of the pressure of the armed groups, which could explain their "mistakes". Thus if they publish information which is inaccurate and biased it is not their fault, but that of the armed groups who manipulate them and of the media owners and managers who do not provide them with appropriate working conditions. Finally, Colombian journalists are also demanding editorial independence from media owners and managers. In this sense, this study supports Ward's proposal (Ward, 2005) regarding the need to adopt a holistic ethical approach in order to take into account the role of sources and audiences in the making of news reports by journalists. This holistic approach to journalism ethics would allow journalists to establish clearer codes for training in how to respond to the constraints of a context of war.

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