South Asia Research Microtalks

South Asia Initiative of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC)

Afghanistan **Bangladesh** **Bhutan** **India** **Maldives** **Myanmar (Burma)** **Nepal** **Pakistan** **Sri Lanka**

This e-book features all extended abstracts presented at the AEJMC South Asia Initiative Research Microtalks session on August 11, 2017, at the 100th annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Chicago, IL.

THE UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA at CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL *of* MEDIA *and* JOURNALISM

Interactive Microtalks on Media and Communication in South Asia

We constituted the AEJMC South Asia Initiative at the AEJMC 2015 conference in San Francisco to bring together people with interest and expertise in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar (Burma), Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and the South Asian diaspora worldwide.

With over one-fourth of the world's population, South Asia has emerged as an important region for politics, international security, health communication, culture, media and other relevant issues across the repertoire of our field.

In our commitment to the "Closing the Gap: Media, Research and the Profession" theme of the 2017 AEJMC conference, this e-book features 25 research papers that were selected in the peer-reviewed competition for this interactive microtalks session.

In compiling this e-book of microtalks, we asked all paper authors to perpetuate in print their research in an extended abstract. Despite their busy summer (yes, relaxing summers are a myth!), our authors were generous with their time and energy. Their response was overwhelming and, for me, convening the microtalks was an enriching experience.

With lively discussions, this interactive microtalks session features a treasure trove of research, ideas, strategies, trends and theoretical wisdom that are relevant across the repertoire of our field. We feel honored that Dean David Perlmutter, Texas Tech, and AEJMC president-elect for 2019-20 will serve as the chair, and Dr. Krishnamurthy Sriramesh, Purdue's University Faculty Scholar, will be the discussant.

We thank Ms. Jennifer H. McGill, AEJMC, and the entire AEJMC staff for their help and support with the inaugural microtalks session.

Please share with us your ideas about research activities in future conferences. Thanks for participating in this important initiative.

Deb Aikat, North Carolina at Chapel Hill <da@unc.edu>
Coordinator of AEJMC's South Asia Initiative

Five Tips for Effective Microtalks

1. Think of the microtalks session as intellectual speed-dating to foster research interactions, scholarly collaboration, and social networking. Do not worry about presentation slides. Just talk.

2. We constantly enunciate our research ideas and insights. To that end, consider the microtalks session as an important opportunity to engage the audience. Refine your elevator speech into a microtalk that highlights the most important aspect of your research, in fewer than 100 words. We already have done that in our 100-word abstracts.

3. Divide your microtalk into two parts. One, talk for one minute about yourself, your co-authors, your background and your research interest. Two, share brief details about your research in the next minute. Do NOT exceed the time limit. Remember, we can read your extended abstract for more details.

4. We will strictly enforce the two-minute time limit to provide participants with opportunities to share their scholarship to the wider audience of conference attendees.

5. As a research-focused activity designed to engage, we welcome innovative approaches. So, feel free to share a handout or bring items to display. More important, get done in two minutes.

| Afghanistan | Bangladesh | Bhutan | India | Maldives | Myanmar (Burma) | Nepal | Pakistan | Sri Lanka |

South Asia Initiative of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC)

AEJMC 2017 South Asia Meeting

3:30 p.m. to 5 p.m., Aug. 11, 2017 (Friday)
Location: Chicago Marriott Downtown Magnificent Mile

AEJMC South Asia Initiative

Research Microtalks on Media and Communication in South Asia

Moderating/Presiding: **David D. Perlmutter**, Texas Tech and AEJMC president-elect for 2019-2020

Discussant: **Krishnamurthy Sriramesh**, Purdue

Research Microtalks (2 to 3 minutes)

◉ **1. How Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) Is Reshaping the Debate on Media Freedom in Pakistan**
Rauf Arif, Texas Tech

◉ **2. The Role of Communication in Women Empowerment and Social-Economic Development in Bangladesh**
Mohammad Delwar Hosen, South Alabama, and **Mohammad Delwar Hosen**, University of Chittagong, Bangladesh.

◉ **3. Roles of Bangladeshi Online Ethnic Media in U.S.: An Assessment**
Masudul Biswas, Loyola-Maryland

◉ **4. Indian Diaspora in Malaysia: Decline and Fall?**
Sankaran Ramanathan, Mediaplus Consultancy

◉ **5. Searching for Techno-Social Parity in India: How Technology is Connecting and Inspiring the Modern Indian Woman**
Harsha Gangadharbatla, Colorado, Boulder, **Falguni Vasavada,** Mudra Institute of Communication, India, and **Arijit Basu**, California State-Bakersfield,

◉ **6. Sights, Sounds and Stories of the Indian Diaspora: A New Browning of American Journalism**
Radhika Parameswaran, Indiana-Bloomington, and **Roshni Susana Verghese**, Indiana-Bloomington

◉ **7. Role of Pakistan's English Press in Reporting Terrorism: An Analysis through Copenhagen School's Concept of Securitisation**

Musharaf Zahoor, National University of Science and Technology, Pakistan

◉ **8. Did Presidential Preferences of India Affect U.S. Media Coverage of That Country?**
Anthony Moretti, Robert Morris

◉ **9. Citizens as Journalists: Implications of Participatory News Production for the Mainstream News Media in India**
Sindhu Manjesh, American

◉ **10. Transnational Public Relations and Social Justice Activism in Afghanistan**
Arshia Anwer, Manhattan College

◉ **11. Use of Facebook in Bangladesh Public Relations: A Case Study Analysis**
Mohammad Ali, Texas at Tyler

◉ **12. Entrepreneurial Journalism in India: Toward an Understanding of how Founders' Social Identity Shapes Innovation and Financial Sustainability**
Summer Harlow, Houston, and **Monica Chadha**, Arizona State

◉ **13. Breaking News on Social Media & Its Effect on Journalistic Practices in India – Rethinking the Hierarchy of Influences**
Dhiman Chattopadhyay, Bowling Green State

◉ **14. Contrasting Social Media Use Between U.S. Millennials and Bangladeshi Young-Adults**
Didarul Islam Manik, Missouri-Columbia, and **Charles A. Lubbers**, South Dakota,

◉ **15. Modi's Media: Intermedia Effects in Indian Elections in 2014**
Mohammed Al-Azdee, Bridgeport, and **Srishti Puri**, Bridgeport

◉ **16. Media System of Bangladesh: In the Middle of Authoritarianism and Libertarianism**
Md. Khadimul Islam, Mississippi, and **Mohammad Yousuf**, Oklahoma

◉ **17. The Effect of the Exposure to American Media on the Lifestyle of Indian Immigrants**
Ibrahim Helmy Emara, Tanta University. Egypt.

◉ **18. Exploring the Symbolic Construction of Beauty: An Analysis of a Soap Advertisement in Bangladesh**
Md. Mahfuzul Haque, Mississippi

◉ **19. Blame It on Me! News Framing of Delhi Air Pollution in Indian Newspapers**
Nandini Bhalla, South Carolina, and **Daniel Haun**, South Carolina

◉ **20. Corporates and Media Ownership: A Qualitative Analysis of the Growth of Private Television Sector in Bangladesh**

Rahnuma Ahmed, Oklahoma, and **Joe Foote**, Oklahoma

◉ **21. Changing Their minds?: How Tourism Advertising Affects the International Country Image of Bangladesh**
Imran Hasnat, Oklahoma, and **Elanie Steyn**, Oklahoma

◉ **22. Who Are Those Anti-Nationals? A Content Analysis of Indian English Newspaper Articles Including the Term "Anti- Nationals"**
Shreenita Ghosh, Wisconsin-Madison

◉ **23. Beyond Borders: M.I.A.'s *Kala* and the Politics of Creative Cultural Resistance**
Meenakshi Gigi Durham, Iowa

◉ **24. Who is a bigger killer, HIV/AIDS or Stigma?: An Exploratory Study on Pakistani Media's Coverage of Sexual Health**
Lamia Zia, Texas Tech

◉ **25. Evaluating Social Media Performance of South Asian Embassies in the USA: An analysis of Twitter Activity**
Md. Nazmul Rony, Oklahoma, and **Rahnuma Ahmed**, Oklahoma

In our commitment to the 2017 AEJMC conference theme "Closing the Gap: Media, Research and the Profession," we are hosting research microtalks (2 to 3 minutes) on South Asia or the South Asian diaspora. Research microtalks were selected through a peer-reviewed competition

The AEJMC South Asia Initiative, which currently constitutes 520 members worldwide, was instituted at the AEJMC 2015 conference in San Francisco. With over one-fourth of the world's population, South Asia has emerged as an important region for media and journalism, politics, international relations, health communication, culture and other relevant areas that enrich the research repertoire in our field.

If you have questions about session, email Deb Aikat <da@unc.edu>, North Carolina, Chapel Hill

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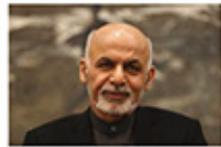
Ashraf Ghani, Afghanistan

Nawaz Sharif, Pakistan

Narendra Modi, India

Ranil Wickremesinghe
Sri Lanka

Abdullah Yameen,
Maldives

Bidya Devi Bhandari,
Nepal

Tshering Tobgay, Bhutan

Sheikh Hasina, Bangladesh

Htin Kyaw, Myanmar (Burma)

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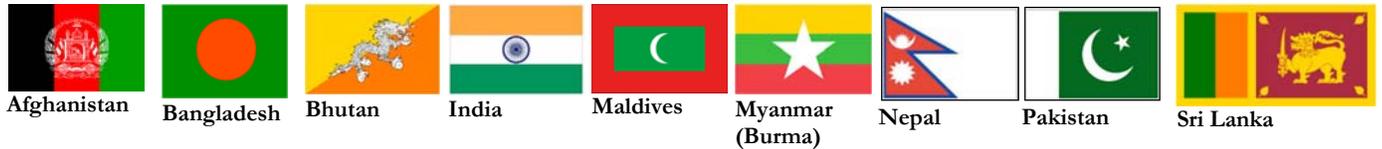
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South Asia Initiative of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC)

For your reference and reading pleasure . . .
Extended abstracts are listed in their order of appearance at the AEJMC South Asia Initiative Research Microtalks session on August 11, 2017 at the 100th annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Chicago, IL.

The papers DO NOT conform to a uniform citation styles, spelling or editing practices because we wanted to feature all papers, as submitted, by their respective authors.

AEJMC
CHICAGO • AUGUST 2017

◉ 1. How Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) Is Reshaping the Debate on Media Freedom in Pakistan
Rauf Arif, Texas Tech

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CLOSING THE GAP: MEDIA, RESEARCH AND THE PROFESSION

Microtalk Title:
How *Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority* (PEMRA) is reshaping the Debate on Media Freedom in Pakistan

By

Rauf Arif, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
College of Media & Communication
Texas Tech University
Email: rauf.arif@ttu.edu

Dr. Rauf Arif is an assistant professor of Journalism & Electronic Media at the College of Media and Communication, Texas Tech University. Born in Pakistan, Arif worked as a news reporter in Islamabad, Pakistan for over eight years, both for print and electronic media including the *CNBC Pakistan* TV. Arif received his MS in Mass Communication (2007-09) from the University of Kansas, and a Ph. D. in Mass Communication & Journalism (2009-2014) from the University of Iowa. Arif has a number of publications focusing on social media and social movements, the role of communication technologies in healthcare sector, cross-cultural image analysis, cross-cultural media practices, mediated public diplomacy, and the changing trends of Pakistani media in the post-9/11 era. His active research agenda also involves the use of social media and public diplomacy to promote friendly relations between the United States and the Muslim World.

a) **Title of Microtalk with a short summary:**

How *Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority* (PEMRA) is reshaping the Debate on Media Freedom in Pakistan.

The paper analyzed PEMRA in the context of existing media laws in Pakistan. It tells us how privatization of electronic media, particularly television news channels, is contributing toward a relatively free and aggressive media environment in Pakistan. It also highlights the presence of controversial media laws, and the historically "resistant" role of media, which is now headed toward the concept of developmental journalism. This paper contributes to bridge the gap in existing mass media scholarship that lacks in providing academic discussion on media policies and regulations in South Asian region, with special emphasis on Pakistan. This study invites mass media scholars in the SAARC region for collaborative and comparative research projects to better understand media regulations and their implications on media freedom in South Asian countries.

b) **Explanation of Research Work:**

In this 21st century, on the one hand, the role of news media is becoming more and more important due to its effectiveness and influence over the masses; media freedom remains one of the biggest challenges in many developing countries, on the other. This paper gives a brief overview on the privatization of television channels in Pakistan in the post-9/11 era. It focuses on the emergence of private television news channels in a country that led to the promulgation of new regulations to control the media.

This study is important to understand how governments in developing countries such as Pakistan try to maintain their influence over media in the wake of privatization. Furthermore, academic archives do not provide sufficient information on the emergence of private electronic media in Pakistan. This trend of privatization is changing not only journalism practices there, but also attracting more people to the profession because of professional changes in the system such as dramatic changes in journalists' salaries. Thus, the privatization of media is becoming a rising economy by creating more and more jobs in the country. At the same time, however, the government is introducing new and tougher laws and regulations to control private electronic media to maintain its hegemony in the society.

To provide a roadmap, the paper explores: a long history of government's control over media freedom in Pakistan, media climate at the time of loosening of government's control (post 9/11), factors that resulted in the privatization of electronic media, and the factors that resulted in the promulgation of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) for private television channels. The paper also looks at the organizational structure and the role of PEMRA. It focuses on the critical analysis of the most controversial amendment (known as the third amendment) in the PEMRA ordinance (Muralidharan, Dixit, & Khattak, 2008) that was introduced in November, 2007 by a military ruler, General Musharraf. In the later years, this ordinance became a law of the land after getting unanimous approval of the Pakistani parliament. Finally, the paper looks at PEMRA-related news coverage to find out how national press views PEMRA.

The grounded theory for this study is the resistant role of Pakistani media throughout its history. To begin with, the study relied on the concept of development journalism (Yin, 2008). The concept of development journalism is regarded as "an Asian model of journalism, stemming from the dissatisfaction with the Western news values that do not serve the cause of national development" (Yin, 2008, p. 35). The development press is popular in South Asia because the region is the least economically developed on the continent. According to Yin, (2008), the classic model of four theories

of the press does not explain media situation in Pakistan. Despite of its private ownership, the media in Pakistan has to struggle with the governmental pressures. And it does not fit into the model of authoritarian press (Yin, 2008). Despite of all governmental pressures and challenges to the media freedom, Pakistani media is playing the role of watch dog journalism in the society. Thus, the study explores the following research questions:

- RQ1: What were the conditions that led to the promulgation of the PEMRA in Pakistan following the September 11, 2001 attacks in the U.S.?
- RQ2: What did the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority consist of?
- RQ-3 How the Pakistani press viewed the government's use of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) to control the privately run electronic media?

c) **Research Results**

The study used a four-step approach to answer all three research questions. These steps include: describing the factors that resulted in the privatization of electronic media in Pakistan; factors that resulted in the promulgation of PEMRA; what is PEMRA? And how did Pakistani press react on the promulgation of PEMRA?

Findings of this research paper suggest that the phenomenon of privatization of television news industry is, actually, becoming a serious threat to the establishment's desire to keep on controlling and regulating the media power, on the one hand. While, on the other hand, despite of the change in rule from military to the civilian, electronic media in the country is still under pressure. Present government's promises could never pass the Freedom of Information bill from the parliament. Whereas, all the controversial amendments introduced by the military dictator, General Musharraf, could never be removed from PEMRA. The Authority continues to find new ways to curb media freedom in order to tame the newly unshackled privatized television media industry. At the same, the rise and popularity of social media such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter have posed entirely new challenges for the existing regulatory authority. The study concludes that Pakistani media regulations and media environment should be studied in the context of the regional media environment, and that's why this study invites mass media scholars from South Asian region to join hands for an extended collaborative research work to understand the phenomenon in a comprehensive way.

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Yin, J. (2008). Beyond the Four Theories of the Press: A New Model for the Asian & the World Press. *The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC)*, 4-62.

◉ **2. The Role of Communication in Women Empowerment and Social-Economic Development in Bangladesh**
Mohammad Delwar Hossain, South Alabama, and **Mohammad Delwar Hosen**, University of Chittagong, Bangladesh.
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The role of communication in women empowerment and social-economic development in Bangladesh.

Mohammad Delwar Hossain, Ph.D. (**Corresponding Author**)
Assistant Professor
Department of Communication
University of South Alabama
Email: dhossain@southalabama.edu
Phone: 618-319-9185

Delwar Hossain is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication at University of South Alabama. His research focuses on social media, new media, South Asian diaspora, political communication, international communication, journalism studies, race and media, and mass media ethics.

Mohammad Delwar Hosen
Assistant Professor
Department of Communication and Journalism
University of Chittagong
Email: delwarhosen.bd@gmail.com

Mohammad Delwar Hosen is an Assistant Professor of Communication and Journalism in the University of Chittagong, Bangladesh. Hosen's teaching interests include history of the journalism, organizational communication and culture and society. His primary research interests are in the field of communication, journalism, women empowerment and development.

The role of communication in women empowerment and social-economic development in Bangladesh.

The empowerment of women is an inevitable component for social economic development in the world. The notion of women's empowerment recognizes women's agency, their own capacity to act, and to make choices. (Batliwala, 1994) In 2015, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) recognized the importance of the issue, noting, "Empowering women to participate fully in economic life across all sectors is essential to build stronger economies, achieve internationally agreed goals for development and sustainability, and improve the quality of life for women, men, families and communities."

Unfortunately, women have long been subjugated around the world. In particular, the countries in the Global South face challenges in empowering women and keeping up with pace of social and economic development in the Global North.

Despite being part of the economically backward Global South, Bangladesh has set a milestone through creation of a model to eradicate poverty by empowering women. As a moderate Muslim country, Bangladesh is a global leader in encouraging women to take leadership roles in social and political activities. The journey of women's empowerment in Bangladesh started with the concept of "microcredit" begun in 1983 as the Grameen Bank by Bangladeshi economist Dr. Muhammad Yunus.

Microcredit is defined as providing very small loans (microloans) to poor people who usually lack collateral, steady employment or a credit history and who are unable to get loans from traditional banks and financial organizations. The concept of microfinance is related to social capital that is formed based on group communication. Social capital is centered on social interactions and relationships (Lin, 2001), and enables people to access resources from their social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). In defining social capital, scholars (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1995, 2000) emphasized on the value of human relationships, bonding among the community members, and the role of community in human interaction. Coleman (1988) viewed social capital as 'embodied in relations among persons,' (p. S118). The notion of social capital primarily refers to the accumulation of our social relationships. In this regard, this form of capital might be viewed as an extension of Marx's idea of capital where Marx (1906) refers capital as accumulation of means of production. Bourdieu (1986) also states that all types of capital can be derived from economic capital.

In the past, Bangladeshi women did not work outside the home and had no economic power in the family. However, as microloans became available, women who had formerly stayed home were able to begin developing entrepreneurial roles.

Studies (i.e. Thabethe et al., 2011; Ashburn et al., 2008) look at the effects of microcredit in socio-economic development and empowerment. However, an extensive literature review shows there has no study on the role of communication in building social capital for women's empowerment in Bangladesh. In this respect, the current project will extend the existing knowledge on the role of communication in women's empowerment in Bangladesh. This is a qualitative study and data will be collected based on in-depth interviews and participation observation.

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◉ **3. Roles of Bangladeshi Online Ethnic Media in U.S.: An Assessment**
Masudul Biswas, Loyola-Maryland

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Roles of Bangladeshi Online Ethnic Media in U.S.: An Assessment

By

Masudul Biswas, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Communication
Loyola University Maryland Email: mkbiswas@loyola.edu

Short Bio:
Dr. Biswas conducts research on a wide range of issues in the areas of media and public affairs, ethnic media, South Asian media, and diversity in journalism/communication education. He has published a number of peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters. Some of his peer-reviewed publications are appeared in *Newspaper Research Journal, Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, Journal of New Communications Research, and Teaching Journalism and Mass Communication journal.* His teaching interests include diversity and the media, web development, mobile media, data visualization, and global media. Dr. Biswas is former head of the AEJMC's Minorities and Communication Division (2015 – 2016). He has been editing Media Diversity Forum's website, a project of LSU's Manship School of Mass Communication, since 2011.

Roles of Bangladeshi Online Ethnic Media in U.S.: An Assessment

Summary. This study has conducted a content analysis on 828 stories and articles published in four Bangladeshi online ethnic media in U.S. in the context of ethnic media's functions in a multicultural society. Findings in this study suggest that Bangladeshi online news outlets dominantly play community-oriented informational, political and cultural transmission roles as ethnic media over its other roles, including surveillance and assimilation functions.

Explanation of Research Work

Since South Asian ethnic media is one of the understudied areas in U.S. and Bangladeshi immigrants are one of the new immigrant groups from South Asia, this study examines the roles of U.S.-based Bangladeshi online news outlets in the context of theoretical framework of ethnic media's functions advanced by earlier studies and literature. An analysis of functions as ethnic media will offer us a pattern how Bangladeshi ethnic media in U.S. serves its community.

Throughout this abstract, "online news outlets," "web papers," and "online ethnic media" are used to refer to Bangladeshi ethnic media or Bangla-language news sites in U.S.

The theoretical framework utilized in this study includes six functions of ethnic media -- cultural, political, informational, assimilation, surveillance, and ethnic media as community booster (Zhou & Cai, 2002; Subervi-Vélez, 2008; Shi, 2009; Viswanath & Arora, 2010; Friedland et al., 2012). This framework can allow us to assess Bangladeshi online ethnic media's coverage of political, cultural and social issues; challenges and opportunities for community members in U.S.; achievements of community members, and community events. Therefore, this study explores this broad question:

a) How do U.S.-based Bangladeshi online news outlets play these six roles – assimilatory, informational, political, surveillance, cultural transmission, and community booster – to serve their community?

Method. Since this research is assessing Bangladeshi ethnic media's functions by analyzing the trends in the content, it utilizes content analysis method.

Sample and Sample sources: To identify the roles of Bangladeshi ethnic media in U.S., this study analyzes content of four online news outlets –*NY Bangla*, *Khabor*, *Ekush,* and *News Bangla* – geared towards Bangladeshi Americans/immigrants. A total of 828 news/stories and articles (features, literary work, editorials and opinions/analysis) published in these four web papers in 2016 are analyzed. These newspapers are published in Bengali language. Since the author/researcher of this study is a native speaker of Bengali language, no translation help was required.

The rationale for selecting these news sites are: 1) they are based in metropolitan areas of New York City, Washington D.C. and Los Angeles, where majority of Bangladeshi immigrants live (Migration Policy Institute, 2014), 2) they are web-only publications, and 3) these news sites are regularly updated and archived.

Coding protocols: Content analysis process involves theory- or theoretical framework-based definitions and coding protocols for identifying and categorizing trends in the content or topics covered in a publication (Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2001; Riffe, Lacy, &

Fico, 2006). Therefore, this research has developed following coding definitions for different ethnic media functions – assimilatory, political, informational, surveillance, cultural transmission and community booster – to categorize news and other items in the sample:

> Assimilatory: Bangladeshi news sites' assimilatory role is identified when they publish a story or an article on community's involvement with local politics and participation in local cultural celebrations, immigrants' positive feelings about U.S. society, and their demonstration of patriotism.

> Political: Ethnic news outlets' political role is identified when they run items on political events and issues both in Bangladesh and U.S. Such coverage includes news and articleson U.S. politics and Bangladeshi immigrants' participation in it; news about U.S. political issues with consequences for Bangladeshi Americans and immigrants; political news from Bangladesh, and political activities among Bangladeshi Americans and immigrants.

> Informational: Bangladeshi news sites' informational role is identified when they report or run items concerning information about *non-political* issues, such as events, civic services (such as utilities, transportations), local environment, employment, economic/financial issues, and other social phenomena in U.S. Information about Bangladeshi community in U.S. and non-political events and issues in Bangladesh are also considered in the scope of Bangladeshi ethnic media's informational function.

> Cultural Transmission: The role of cultural transmission is identified when four web papers run an item on Bangladeshi/Bengali cultural events and performances, Bengali literature and histories.

> Ethnic media as Community Booster: Scope of ethnic media as a community booster includes presenting community members in a positive light, projecting success and achievements, community's contribution to society, and such.

> Surveillance: Bangladeshi news outlets in U.S. play surveillance role when they run news and analysis about external threats to the community members; e.g. the issues of legal rights (such as immigration laws), civil rights (such as welfare reform), and attacks/actions against immigrants.

> *Intercoder Reliability:* As per the Scott's Pi calculation, the intercoder reliability score is ranged from 0.92 to 1 between the two coders for different coding categories of ethnic media functions that include assimilatory, political, informational, surveillance, cultural transmission, and community booster.

Research Results

Aggregate coverage of *NYBangla.Com, Khabor.Com, Ekush.info,* and *News-Bangla.Com* in 2016 suggests that these web papers dominantly play informational, political and cultural transmission roles over assimilatory, community sentinel and community booster's roles. About 41.43% of the content published in four news outlets in 2016 are about Information about community news in U.S. and non-political issues/events happening in Bangladesh. Political news/information – both in U.S. and Bangladesh – are ranked in the second position at 29.59% for these four news outlets. Third top content category is cultural transmission-related information (14.86 percent of the total content). The content that have performed surveillance function are about 10 percent of the total content. Little over seven percent of the content are about achievements, success stories, recognition and contribution to U.S. society by Bangladeshi immigrants in U.S. or Bangladeshis elsewhere. Only little over six percent of the content are about those topics/issues that can facilitate Bangladeshi immigrants' assimilation into U.S. mainstream culture, politics and its economic system and collaboration with other

ethnic groups, such as "Hispanic Chamber of Commerce of Queens" in New York.

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◉ 4. Indian Diaspora in Malaysia: Decline and Fall?
Sankaran Ramanathan, Mediaplus Consultancy

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TITLE: Indian Diaspora in Malaysia: Decline and Fall?

AUTHOR: Prof. Dr. Sankaran Ramanathan
Principal, Mediaplus Consultancy, USA
200 Mahone St. #19
Durham, NC 27713
Mobile: 919 641 3545
E-Mail: sankaran_ramanathan@hotmail.com

Prof. Dr. Sankaran Ramanathan has worked as Assoc. Prof. at Universiti Teknologi MARA Malaysia, Head, Special Projects at Asian Media Information and Communication Center, Singapore and COO of Mediaplus Consultancy in Singapore/Malaysia. An Asian pioneer of communication education, he has taught and monitored a few thousand students in Malaysia/Singapore. Now he is Principal, Mediaplus Consultancy, USA and Professor and Member, Panel of Experts, IIC University of Technology, Cambodia. He is on the (blind) review board of *Journal of International Communication, Asian Journal of Communication, Asia-Pacific Media Educator* and *Media Asia.* He has authored/coauthored more than 170 publications, (including 10 books).

May 30, 2017

Indian Diaspora in Malaysia: Decline and Fall?

Introduction and Background

Evidence that Indian influence in the Malay Peninsula stretches back to more than a thousand years emerged as recently as March 2017, with further discovery of ruins of Hindu temples in the state of Kedah *(1)*. This northern state has been known to early Indian explorers from the Chola empire as "*Kadaram*" that in Tamil means "land of undulating hills." Further, many words commonly used in the Malay language have Tamil/Sanskrit origins (e.g. Singapore comes from "*Singa*" and *Puram*" - *City of Lions*). Additionally, the first Malay ruler of Melaka in the early 15th century was known as Parameswara until his conversion to Islam *(2)*.

The above notwithstanding, influx of Malaysians of Indian origin began in the early nineteenth century, when parts of the Malay Peninsula became part of the British Empire, under the control of the Madras Presidency in South India (Ramanathan and Nadason 2012: 132-34). Indians were brought in to help build roads and railways, for work in the rubber plantations, and also to work in the lower echelons of the British administration. Arrival of migrants from China also contributed to the development of the plural society in Malaysia *(3)*.

The central questions raised in this brief paper are: What has been the role of Malaysians of Indian origin (Malaysian Indians) in the development of contemporary Malaysia and what is their future? It is based on the writer's research and writings on this topic over the past decade, including a review of key statistics and developments.

Role of Malaysian Indians

Speaking to about 15,000 people in Malaysia in 2015, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi praised the contributions of Malaysian Indians, harking back to the *Second World War* and noting that independent India owes a debt of gratitude to them. He also noted that Malaysian Indians have contributed significantly to the political, economic and social development of independent Malaya/Malaysia since its formation in 1957 *(4)*. This is certainly true for the situation during the nascent period in the nation's development. The Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) has been a component in the ruling Alliance coalition and its successor the National Front (*Barisan Nasional* – BN) coalition that has been in political power for the past six decades.

However, the role and importance of Malaysian Indians who currently constitute just above 7% (2 million) of the 30 million population, has been declining. The decline can be encapsulated in terms of the following:

- **Percentage of the total population:** According to the official 1970 census 12.8% of the total population were of Indian origin (*Ibid.*: 134). According to the latest official census (2011), this has dwindled to less than 8%, and a 2015 estimate puts this figure at 7.2%. Many professional Malaysian Indians have migrated to neighbouring Singapore and other developed countries, hence resulting in a "brain drain."
- **Share of political power**: Before 1969, the Malaysian political system was not so much dominated by the Malays; political decisions were influenced by financial class and bureaucratic influence; this changed dramatically after the racial riots of May 1969, known as the *May Thirteenth Incident (Ibid.:* 141*)* (5).
- **Manpower contributions and employment opportunities**: In 1970, the BN government introduced the *New Economic Policy* (NEP) that sought to provide greater opportunities for the

Malays and indigenous people (collectively known as *bumiputeras) (6)*. Affirmative action policies that were subsequently put into place have affected the manpower contributions of, and employment opportunities for, Malaysian Indians.

- **Educational opportunities**: As the NEP also impinged upon reserved quotas for student places and lecturer employment (and promotions), especially in the growing number of public universities, Malaysian Indians were affected the most. Further, the growing emphasis on Bahasa Malaysia as the national language led to the decline in the number of Tamil vernacular schools.
- **Religious, cultural and social institutions**: Federal funding for temples, churches and socio-cultural institutions was also affected, with growing Islamization throughout the country.

Some Rays of Hope

Nevertheless, Malaysian Indians also enjoyed greater peace and prosperity (coupled with increasing standards of living) as the nation developed steadily over the past five decades. For example, the country's *Gross National Income* (GNI) *per capita* rose from USD2,260 in 1990 to USD7,250 in 2008 (Sankaran and Ramanathan, 2010), and it was the third-highest in ASEAN. Hence, it has been argued that since the economic pie has expanded, Malaysian Indians have also benefitted.

Another development has been the emergence of multi-millionaires and billionnaires under the capitalist economy. The leading Malaysian Indian tycoon is billionaire T. Anandakrishnan of Sri Lankan Tamil origin. Apart from his other financial ventures (including the Twin Towers), he is recognized as one of Asia's media moghuls, having founded ASTRO, the leading TV cable service provider in Malaysia. Another notable financial moghul is Tony Fernandez, founder and owner of low-cost carrier *Air Asia*. There are also many other multi-millionaires of Indian origin and a strong upper-middle class (Jayasooria and Nathan, 2016).

The Future

All is not well among Indians in the current political scenario. After the political *tsunami* of 2008, whereby the BN coalition narrowly gained victory, the MIC lost a number of seats at both federal and state levels and fared only marginally better in the subsequent (2013) general elections (Jayasooria and Nathan, 2016). Further, the split within the MIC has weakened its political strength. With the next general elections due latest by early 2018, there may be further decline in its political power and its consequent leverage within the BN. Additionally, the Malaysian economy has experienced a downturn since 2010, mainly because of falling crude oil prices.

The few billionaires and multi-millionaires aside, I conclude that the future for the Indian diaspora in Malaysia is not rosy, especially for those whose forebears came as laborers and estate workers. To paraphrase the words of K.A. Neelakanda Iyer in 1938 (quoted by Belle, 2015), Malaysian Indians may become "tragic orphans" in the land that they were born and toiled over for centuries.

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End Notes

1.   Southeast Asia was known as "*suvarna bhumi*" (land of gold) to early Indian seafarers; this included the Malay Peninsula (present-day Thailand and Malaysia) and parts of Indonesia; Hinduism is still practised in Bali.

2.   Following to a civil war in Palembang, Sumatra, Prince Parameswara fled with his core supporters to what is today Singapore and then settled in Melaka. He decared himself the ruler and Sultan of Melaka and converted to Islam in the year 1414. His conversion marked the beginning of the spread of Islam in the Malay Peninsula. Malaysia today is a majority Muslim country, with Islam as its official religion.

3.   The Malaysian plural society is the result of colonial policies that were carried out by Great Britain (Ramanathan and Nadason, 2012: 132). There are four core groups in terms of origin – Malays (62%), Chinese (28%), Indians (7.2%) and indigenous people and others (2.8%).

4.   Independence came in two stages, the first when nine states with Malay rulers and two British territories of Melaka and Penang were joined together as the Federation of Malaya, and independence was achieved on 31st August 1957; the second stage was when the Federation was expanded on 16th September 1963 to include two Borneo states, i.e. Sabah and Sarawak. Hence, there are 13 states in present-day Malaysia.

5.   The disturbances that started a few days after the 1969 general elections (known as the *May Thirteenth Incident*) were the most serious racial riots in Malaysia, with some analysts estimating that about 1,000 people died. It resulted in the suspension of parliamentary democracy but it was restored in January 1971 after a compromise was worked out among member parties of the ruling BN coalition to ensure a new deal for the majority Malays. It was a key factor prompting many professional Malaysian Indians in to return to India.

6.   The *New Economic Policy* (NEP) introduced in 1970 consisted of a series of measures designed to favor Malays and the indigenous people (collectively known as *bumiputeras* – sons of the soil) in housing, education, employment and share ownership until such time as their relative economic disadvantage was overcome. Initially meant to be implemented for 15 years, it was extended for another 15 years. Even after that, laws relevant to the implementation of this over-arching policy are still on the statute books. Meanwhile, the debate about the efficacy of affirmative action policies continues *ad nauseum*.

⦿ 5. Searching for Techno-Social Parity in India: How Technology is Connecting and Inspiring the Modern Indian Woman
Harsha Gangadharbatla, Colorado, Boulder, **Falguni Vasavada**, Mudra Institute of Communication, India, and **Arijit Basu**, California State-Bakersfield

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Searching for Techno-Social Parity in India: How Technology is Connecting and Inspiring the Modern Indian Woman

Harsha Gangadharbatla (Contact Author)
College of Media, Communication and Information
Armory Building, 1511 University Ave.
478 UCB University of Colorado, Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309-0478
Phone: 303.492.0253 gHarsha@colorado.edu

Falguni Vasavada
Associate Professor, Marketing
Chair, Online Programs
Mudra Institute of Communication, Ahmadabad, India
falguni.vasavada@gmail.com

Arijit Basu
Assistant Professor
California State University, Bakersfield, CA
abasu@csub.edu

Harsha Gangadharbatla is the Founding Chair of the Department of Advertising, Public Relations and Media Design in the College of Media, Communication and Information at the University of Colorado Boulder. His research interests lie at the intersection of technology, business, and communication. He has authored (or co-authored) over 40 publications and his work has been published in the *Journal of Advertising*, *International Journal of Advertising*, *Journal of Interactive* Advertising, and the *Creativity Research Journal* among others. He holds a BE in Electrical Engineering from NIT Allahabad (India), an MA in Advertising from Michigan State University, and a PhD in Advertising from the University of Texas at Austin.

Falguni Vasavada-Oza is Professor of Marketing at MICA. She is a double gold medalist with two decades of teaching experience. Since 2004, she is working in the Marketing Academic Area at MICA (Mudra Institute of Communications, Ahmedabad). Her Ph.D. is in the area of advertising. At MICA, she is involved in teaching, research and is Chairperson, Online Programs. She runs an online program in Advertising Management & Public Relations. She has published in International Journals and presented papers in various national and international conferences and is involved in international joint research projects in the area of advertising. She has been a visiting faculty at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale in USA and many other reputed institutes in India.

Arijit Basu (ABD) has a Master's in Management Studies from Mumbai University, as well as an MBA and an MA from Texas Tech. He currently teaches mass communications and business communication courses at California State University-Bakersfield. He has combined 4 years of domestic and international experience as a senior advertising account executive and brand planner/strategist prior to entering academics and commencing Ph.D. studies at Texas Tech University.

Searching for Techno-Social Parity in India: How Technology is Connecting and Inspiring the Modern Indian Woman

Summary

Technology is changing our lives in significant ways. One aspect of technology is its ability to connect and network people, particularly marginalized populations. The area of research that falls at the intersection of technology and culture is vastly under researched. The current study investigates how technology impacts the perceived psychological well-being of Indian women. More specifically, the study outlines the role of technological self-efficacy in influencing Indian women's self-esteem, perceived level of social support, satisfaction with life, and feelings of loneliness.

Southeast Asia, particularly the Indian subcontinent, is witnessing an extremely exciting time as far as consumer markets opening up and rapid advances in technology development are concerned. First, there is an emergence of a dynamic and tech-savvy demographic in India in terms of the majority of its population being under the age of fifty. Second, there is an increase in the number of working professional females, which is reshaping the cultural fabric of the country. And technological advancements are playing a critical role in the overall development of the region, particularly when it comes to women—their social and psychological well-being, workplace productivity, and consumption habits (United Nations Industrial Development Organization, n.d). While there is a fair amount of research to explain the adoption and usage of technology (e.g., Technology Acceptance Model, which predicts that usage is related to perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness (Davis, 1989.)), research examining the effects of adoption is sparse. Can adoption and use of technology have a positive impact in closing the gender gap for Southeast Asian women via a positive effect on their social and psychological well-being? The current study is designed to examine the effect of technology use on Southeast Asian women's perceived psychological well-being as a first step toward better understanding the role of technology and its effects on this historically disadvantaged population. More specifically, how are Indian women's self-esteem, perceived level of social support, satisfaction with life, and feelings of loneliness impacted by their ability to adopt and use various technologies.

H1: Technology self-efficacy will be positively related to self-esteem
H2: Technology self-efficacy will be positively related to perceived level of social support
H3: Technology self-efficacy will be positively related to their satisfaction with life
H4: Technology self-efficacy will be negatively related to feelings of loneliness

An online survey method was adopted to collect data and test our hypotheses and answer our research questions. The survey was sent to Indian women via email and other channels. The survey design included a total of 24 items of which 14 were scales drawn from previous studies. These scales include a social media intensity scale developed by Ellison, Steinfeld, and Lampe (2007) that measured the total number of friends, hours or minutes spent on social media per day, and five Likert scale items; A R-UCLA loneliness scale with 20 items; a perceived level of social support scale with 15-items adopted from Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, and Farley (1988), Cohen and Hoberma (1983) and Cohen, Mermelstein, Kamarck, and Hoberman (1985); a satisfaction with life scale with five scale items and (5) self-esteem scale with eight items, both of which were adopted from Ellison, Steinfeld, and Lampe (2007); and several attitude scales that measured respondents' attitudes toward advertising in general and attitude toward advertising in various media (television, radio, internet, video games, and mobile). Attitude scales were established six-item seven-point semantic differential

scale to measure respondents' feelings (bad/good, foolish/clever, unpleasant/pleasant, useful/useless, boring/interesting, and negative/positive) (Bruner, James, & Hensel, 2001, p.84).

The sample (N=120) consisted of women from 20 to 66 years of age (M=31) with the majority falling between the ages 20 and 35 (about 60%). The sample consisted of individuals with a median household income of $18,000 a year. The majority of the respondents had a 4-year college degree. Overall, respondents reported spending an average of 4-5 hours on social media everyday with at least half of our sample spending 3 hours each day on social media. Reliability assessment was conducted on each of the scales using Cronbach's Alpha with all scales exceeding the generally accepted guideline of .70 (Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black, 1998, p.118). The mean scores, variances along with the reliability indices are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean, variance, and Cronbach alpha coefficients for scales.

Scale	Mean	Variance	α
Social Media Intensity (5 items, 7-point)	5.40	.257	.89
Attitude toward social media (5 items, 7-point)	5.70	.050	.91
R-UCLA Loneliness Scale (20 items, 4-point)	3.17	1.79	.91
Satisfaction with life (5 items, 7-point)	4.93	.196	.89
Self Esteem (8 items, 7-point)	5.49	.341	.76
Perceived social support (15 items, 4-point)	2.42	.058	.89
Technology Self-Efficacy Scale (15 items)	5.24	.416	.89

The set of hypotheses (H1 – H4) predict that the level of technology self-efficacy of Indian women will be positively related to their perceived level of self-esteem, satisfaction with life and social support and negatively related to feelings of loneliness. To test these hypotheses, a series of regressions with TSE as a predictor of each of the four variables was conducted. It should be noted that these four variables make up a composite construct—empowerment. Table 2 below presents the results of four regression analyses.

Table 2. Regression Analyses

Dependent Variable	Predictor	Standardized Coefficients (β)	t	p-level	R-square
Self-esteem	TSE	.231	2.583	.011	.05
Satisfaction with Life	TSE	.281	3.176	.002	.07
Social Support	TSE	.227	2.533	.013	.05
Loneliness	TSE	-.261	-2.941	.004	.06
N=120					

All standardized coefficients are significant at or below an alpha level of 0.05. Therefore, H1 – H4 are supported. For each regression, the predictor variable—technology self-efficacy, explains about 5-7% of the variance in dependent variables. In other words, the stronger the level of technology self-efficacy was in Indian women, the stronger was their self-esteem, perceived social support and well-being or satisfaction with life, and lower feelings of loneliness.

Technology adaptation and its usage in the form of television, radio, Internet, mobile phones and the likes are increasing with every passing year as far as India is concerned. Indian women and their growing numbers in the corporate working force are making them financially independent. Narratives in Indian news media also strongly indicate that women are getting more empowered and

confident with their new multi-faceted roles in modern Indian society and entering into fields that were earlier dominated by males. The findings of the study suggest a positive relationship between technological self-efficacy and self-esteem, social support, satisfaction with life and getting rid of loneliness. The study presents numerous practical implications. Society and businesses should revel in the fact that increased levels of TSE lead to increased feeling of empowerment for women. This presents opportunities for focused content and communication via internet and social media directed at tech-savvy women who are increasingly becoming independent with ample buying power.

This is the first phase of a long-term study. Future studies should investigate as to how technology usage can be utilized to create a long-term connection with women for organizations, brands and NGOs interested in women's issues and products. Future studies can also look into what content on social media motivate women users the most, resulting in long-term implications for organizations interested in enhancing their brand visibility, consumer reach and gaining new customers with long-term loyal buying behavior firmly in mind.

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◉ **6. Sights, Sounds and Stories of the Indian Diaspora: A New Browning of American Journalism**
Radhika Parameswaran, Indiana-Bloomington, and **Roshni Susana Verghese**, Indiana-Bloomington

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Sights, Sounds and Stories of the Indian Diaspora: A New Browning of American Journalism

Dr. Radhika Parameswaran
Journalism Chair at The Media School, Indiana University in Bloomington
Email: rparames@indiana.edu Ph.: (812) 555- 8569

Bio: Radhika Parameswaran's research interests include feminist cultural studies, gender and media globalization, South Asia, and postcolonial studies. A consistent theme that runs through her work is the complexity of gender as a multidimensional social category whose meaning evolves only in relation to other social formations of race, class, caste, race, and ethnicity. Her research has been published in a variety of academic journals including *Global Media & Communication, Journal of Communication, Communication, Culture, & Critique, Journal of Communication Inquiry, Communication Theory* and includes two monographs. While at Indiana University she has won several awards including the 2015 Teresa Award for "Outstanding contributions to feminist scholarship" from the International Communication Association, and is a two-time recipient of the Gretchen Kemp Teaching Award for Outstanding Teaching.

Roshni Susana Verghese
Affiliation: The Media School, Indiana University in Bloomington
Email: rverghes@indiana.edu   Ph.: (727) 483 - 2013

Bio: Roshni Verghese is currently a doctoral candidate at Indiana University. Her research interests include globalization studies, gender studies, South Asian communities, visual communication, youth culture and popular media phenomena. She is currently working on her dissertation '*Streaming Culture, (Re)Viewing Feminity: A Feminist Audience Study of Western Television Shows in Urban India'*. Her teaching experience includes Visual Communication, Media as Social Institutions and Gender, Race and Media. Most recently, Verghese served as an Editorial Assistant of *Communication, Critique and Culture*, assisting Dr. Radhika Parameswaran in editing and publication of academic manuscripts. She was born and raised in India, where she worked as a cultural reporter in Hyderabad for nearly 5 years and has also hosted Morning Edition for the local NPR affiliate in Bloomington, Indiana.

Sights, Sounds and Stories of the Indian Diaspora: A New Browning of American Journalism

Summary:

Using the concept of cultural citizenship, this paper explores the recent growth and visibility of the Indian diaspora in American journalism. We first begin with an analysis of the South Asian Journalists Association to understand the collective mobilization of this ethno-racial professional community. Gathering publicly available data on Indian Americans in journalism, we then present a numerical portrait of this minority community's affiliations with journalism. Finally, we scrutinize the profiles of a select group of prominent diasporic Indian journalists to chart the professional terrain they occupy. In the end, we argue that Indian Americans may be a small minority, but they are poised to become a workforce whose creative and managerial labor will make a difference to journalism.

Studies of South Asian communities in the United States have often heralded the contributions of Indian migrants in various professional and socio-cultural arenas ranging from film and entertainment to I.T. and medical fields. Additionally, the combination of selectively enforced American immigration policies, global market conditions and the lure of the 'American Dream' have lead to a statistical increase in middle/ upper class, educated, skilled, high-caste Indian migrants that compound the ways in which they can impact the meaning of citizenship in America (Chakravorty, Kapur & Singh, 2017). Yet, Indian Americans as a community within a historical social institution like journalism have been largely overlooked and the socio-cultural contributions of pertinent commentators and media professionals have thus been undervalued. Our aim is to trace how the Indian diaspora exercises and builds 'cultural citizenship'[1] through their work as media professionals.

This study builds on the momentum of scholarship that has shed light on the growing archive of the Indian diaspora's media and cultural representations, however, instead of analyzing Indians as exoticized subjects of mainstream popular and public culture we zoom in on the diasporic terrain of media production and the formation of collective professional identity. Here, we are guided by three overarching questions: How does the professional community of the Indian diaspora[2] in U.S. journalism manifest in collective form? Further, what profile of this immigrant community's involvement in journalism emerges when we subject publicly available information to systematic scrutiny? And finally, what can we discover when we examine the occupational positions and contributions of some of the most prominent Indian Americans in journalism.

The first analytical section of our study explores the history, membership and function of the professional organization known as South Asian Journalists Association [SAJA]. SAJA was

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[1] As defined by scholars like Renato Rosaldo (1997), Toby Miller (2007) and Jan Pakulski (1997) who distinguish cultural citizenship from other economic and political modes, as being a process by which one gains the right to visibly occupy the public sphere and be recognized by other citizens in order to enjoy other forms of full citizenship.

[2] We took the term Indian Americans to include first-generation immigrants born in India, individuals born in America with Indian ancestry, and first-generation immigrant individuals born in countries other than India or the United States, who have Indian ancestry.

founded in 1994 at Columbia University School of Journalism and has grown from 18 members to now comprise of over 1650 members from across South Asian countries. Sree Srinivasan a former journalist, conceived SAJA to fill a professional void that he and other young South Asian students experienced at that time. The organization hosts interactional opportunities, educational events or mixers and provides student scholarships that enrich the experience of diasporic media professionals and helps them integrate into the larger community of mainstream American news media. By yoking the social and professional role of SAJA to the rich history of American professional organizations and associations, ethnoracial associations like SAJA can build collective platforms that bolster Indian American journalists' contributions to a broader sense of American nationalism.

Given the dearth of research on Indian Americans in the newsroom, the second section of our study relies on a unique database of Indian American journalists that we curated using publicly accessible information from sites like Google, LinkedIn, SAJA and a media networking company called Muckrack.com. Between August 2016 and December 2016, we compiled a detailed list of over 200 Indian American media professionals that work at mainstream, well-established outlets like *CNN, NPR, New York Times, Fox News, Huffington Post* and *The Atlantic* to name a few. The database became the basis for a systematic, numeric analysis of occupational trends and patterns that Indian American journalists exhibit. This included a comparison of traditional media (print, radio, television) with new, digital media outlets, gender contrasts and assessments of distribution by age, experience and roles within media organizations. The findings provide a comparative overview between Indian American journalists and the majority of Caucasian American journalists. More importantly, they reveal an opening up of journalism as a respected and sustainable career choice for Indian Americans, providing an alternative to traditionally touted professions within the Indian diaspora like medicine, engineering and computer technology.

The final way of evidencing the growing presence of Indian American journalists and media professionals spotlights highly experienced and well-known exemplars from within the field. The success and authority of Indian American media professionals is exemplified by the public visibility of veteran mainstream journalists and reporters like *ESPN*'s Kevin Negandhi, *NPR*'s Lakshmi Singh and Shankar Vedantam, *Fox*'s Uma Pemmaraju, *CNN*'s Fareed Zakaria or *LA Times* editor-in-chief Davan Maharaj. To contextualize the cultural implications of such popular Indian American journalists, we borrow and extend Lata Murti's notion of 'occupational citizenship', which contests that a full recognition of a minority group's citizenship is tethered to their high occupational status such as doctors (2012). The voices and imagery of the Indian diaspora that permeate the airwaves gain authority through their institutional affiliations with American news media. In doing so, they even surpass doctors, scientists and other high skilled migrant professionals by inserting themselves within the public imagination at large, thereby engraving their social commentaries and opinions directly into broader national discourses.

In conclusion, Indian Americans may be one percent of the U.S. population, but, as this paper demonstrates, the sights, sounds and stories they produce through the labor of journalism add up to far more than one percent.

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◉ 7. Role of Pakistan's English Press in Reporting Terrorism: An Analysis through Copenhagen School's Concept of Securitisation

Musharaf Zahoor, National University of Science and Technology, Pakistan

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Title: Role of Pakistan's English Press in reporting terrorism: An analysis through Copenhagen School's concept of Securitisation

Author name: Musharaf Zahoor

Affiliation: PhD candidate at Center for International Peace and Stability, National University of Science and Technology, Islamabad. Correspondent at PTV World, Islamabad
Contact: musharafzahoor2001@yahoo.com
          +92-331-5139431

Bio: Musharaf Zahoor is working as journalist in Pakistan for the last 11 years. He has worked as correspondent and editor in both electronic and print media in Pakistan. Mr. Zahoor has also worked for Times Now India and The Kooza.com, a Canada-based e-paper. He completed his Masters degree from Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad in 2004 and M. Phil from National Defence University Islamabad in 2011. He is pursuing Ph.D. from Center for International Peace and Stability, National University of Science and Technology Islamabad. He has contributed as a research assistant in a report on Peace Education in Pakistan compiled by a Washington-based think tank United States Institute of Peace. He also contributed a Chapter on 'IPI Project: A pipeline of Peace' in a Book ASEAN Looks West.

⊙ 1 ~~ Title: Role of Pakistan's English Press in reporting terrorism: An analysis through Copenhagen School's concept of Securitisation

⊙ 2 ~~ Research Objective or Purpose:
The purpose of this research is to explore the role of Pakistan's English language press in securitizaing and desecuritising the news of national importance. The research will also find out that which of the concept whether securitization or desecuritization protects the core values of Pakistan.

⊙ 3 ~~ Theoretical Framework for this Study:
According to Arthur Ponsonby (1928),'when war is declared, truth is the first casualty' (Ponsonby, 1928, p. 7) . The war is chaotic and it is difficult, laborious and indeed dangerous to find out the truth. The conflict and war also create dilemma for reporters who are expected by the conflict parties to only report the truth which justifies their actions. In many cases, the journalists themselves tend to subjectivity due to emotional attachment to their homeland and violent events taking place due to war. Therefore, the objectivity or detachment of journalists has always been under question especially when the discussion is focused on reporting from war zones or conflict regions. Martin Bell (1991) who is principal thinker of theory of attachment calls for moral journalism instead of standing back while reporting from the conflict zones (Fraser, 2006, p. 6). He further explicates the attachment theory as it is not being biased but being moralistic and humanistic. However, the modern media ethics mainly revolve around detachment and objectivity. Oswald Garrison Villard (1918) first emphasized to present both sides of the story which set the foundation of journalism of objectivity (Mindich, 1998, p. 8). Walter Lippmann even argued, "There can be no higher law in journalism than to tell the truth and shame the devil" (Whitehead, 2015, p. 50).

Both notions of detachment and attachment present the standards for reporting during war and conflict situation. Rabea Hass (2010) in his study argues that the ethical standards are mere a set of guidelines and not binding therefore cannot prevent media from being misused (Hass, 2009, p. 80). During war and conflict situation, media's role is important to inform the public about all details related to the conflict. According to Ward (2004) the primary duty of journalism is not to the state but to the public (Ward, 2004, p. 140).

In conflict situations, the agenda of security establishment dominates the state's domestic and foreign policy on the pretext to ward off existential threat and security of the state. According to Waever (2003),"Security is the result of a move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue as above normal politics" (Hass, 2009, p. 83). Waever defined the security as a 'speech act' which is performed by powerful actors to identify an existential threat (McDonald, 2008, p. 6). According to Copenhagen School of security studies, the existential threat needs to be dealt immediately and with extraordinary measures (Diskaya, 2013).

The extraordinary measures may even result in curbing basic human rights and freedoms. Media depends on government and military sources for information during war and conflicts. Likewise, government also depends on media to generate public support for their policy. In this situation, media should not just transmit government statements but also work as a watchdog to oversee if any infringement or usurpation of human rights and freedoms taking place on the pretext of security (Hass, 2009, p. 83).

This study focuses on national media coverage of war against terrorism in Pakistan. Two main security related events have been chosen to analyze the media coverage (1) Osama Bin Laden's killing in Abbottabad by U.S. marines and (2) the Dawn Leaks issue which prompted dismissal of high officials and deteriorated civil-military relations. The events have been analyzed with the prism of Copenhagen School's concept of securitization and media's role in covering these incidents. Weaver was the first to introduce the concept of securitization and called it a speech act (Kasim, 2013, p. 1). Later, Buzan et. al. (1997) from Copenhagen School of thought further expanded the concept and defined it as an emergency-ness against an existential threat (Piché, 2011, p. 935). The desecuritisation act happens when the basis of securitisation are challenged.

Pakistan is a transitional democracy where media is also passing through transition. It more relies on elite sources while reporting on matters related to security. The two events will be analysed through this concept of securitisation presented by Copenhagen School of thought.

⊙ **4 ~~ Research Design and Method**:
The content analysis of two Pakistani English dailies (1) Dawn and (2) The Nation will be conducted. Dawn is a liberal while The Nation is conservative English daily. The content analysis will be conducted for the news stories published after five days of the two incidents. Both Abbottabad and Dawn Leaks were termed as security breach. Both the incidents were related to war on terrorism and gained international attention. The content analysis will be conducted on the basis of theoretical framework of Copenhagen School's concept of securitization and desecuritisation.

⊙ **5 ~~ Research Results or Findings**:
It has been observed that The Nation for being conservative newspaper securitized both the incidents and relied on elite sources or versions. However, Dawn published desecuritized stories about the two incidents. Though Dawn also relied on elite sources but it also tried to balance the stories through covering other dimensions of the incidents.

⊙ **6 ~~ Study Significance and Conclusion:**
The research is important to know the trends of coverage of conservative and liberal newspapers while reporting stories related to terrorism. It is also imperative to know that which of the newspaper securitise or desecuritise the news.

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⦿ **8. Did Presidential Preferences of India Affect U.S. Media Coverage of That Country?**
Anthony Moretti, Robert Morris

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Did Presidential Preferences of India Affect U.S. Media Coverage of That Country?

Anthony Moretti, PhD
Associate Professor, Communications
Robert Morris University
6001 University Blvd.
Moon Township, PA 15108
412 397 6467
moretti@rmu.edu

Dr. Anthony Moretti is an Associate Professor in the School of Communications and Information Systems at Robert Morris University, where he teaches a variety of journalism courses. He also is the co-editor of Electronic News, the Electronic News Division's peer-reviewed journal. He earned his PhD from the E. W. Scripps School of Journalism at Ohio University. His research interests include the interaction of politics, sports and media; the media during the Cold War; the Olympics; and television news coverage. He has presented his research or lectured in multiple countries, including Canada, Hungary, Mexico, Russia and the United Kingdom.

Title of microtalk with a 100-word summary

"Did Presidential Preferences of India Affect U.S. Media Coverage of That Country?"

This paper examines coverage of India between 1969 and 2000 on the U.S. evening news programs broadcast by ABC, CBS and NBC. During this roughly 30-year period, there were six presidents of the United States. Four of them were Republicans; the other two were Democrats. Three of these men enjoyed good relations with their Indian counterparts; the other three did not. The data indicate that India was regularly portrayed as either an unsafe country or an unstable democracy, regardless of whether the U.S. administration had favorable or unfavorable relations with its Indian counterpart.

Explanation of Research Work

In the minds of many Americans, India is that country located somewhere in South Asia that seems just exotic enough to look at but too dangerous to actually visit or live. More importantly, for most of the second half of the twentieth century, India and the United States had an unsteady political

relationship. While U.S. leaders always kept an eye on the Soviet Union, Indian leaders never stopped watching Pakistan. India also had repeated leadership change, which blunted U.S. chances for sustained political policies. Finally, India didn't always fall in line with American expectations of how Communism ought to be contained. As a result, from 1969, the beginning year for this study, through to 2000, the last year examined, U.S. and Indian relations were much like an elevator – sometimes going up, sometimes heading down.

Informed by previous academic research on coverage of threatening nations, framing, and of portrayals of India in U.S. media, this study evaluated if network television coverage of India mirrored the attitudes of the President of the United States. When his office had positive relations with India, did media coverage also tend to be favorable? And when his office had difficulties with the Indians, did media coverage tend to be negative?

The analysis included what kinds of stories were covered, the amount of time they received, whether the story depicted India favorably or unfavorably, and what sources, if any, were used to assist in telling the story.

The Vanderbilt University television abstracts were used for this study. Concerns expressed by Althaus, Edy, and Phalen (2002) about the limitations of such abstracts were noted; however, the author believes that the type of information gleaned from the abstracts for this study alleviated some of the concerns.

A census of all stories appearing between January 1, 1969, and December 31, 2000, were coded. This time frame coincided almost exactly with the six men who served as president of the United States during these years. Thus, instead of generating a snapshot of network coverage and how it might have been influenced by each administration's policies and attitudes toward India, this study allows for the entirety of coverage to be content analyzed.

Four research questions informed the research:

1. Would there be more coverage from and about India during those periods (1969-1977 and 1989-1993) in which relations between it and the United States were poor?

2. Would coverage from and about India, regardless of the state of relations with the United States, tend to focus on bad news, sensational items, or unusual events?

3. Would so-called "bad news" stories (accidents, disasters, crime, etc.) be lengthier than their corresponding "good news" reports?

4. Would non-Indian sources be the primary people who framed the discussion of events taking place in India or involving India and the United States?

Research Results
More than 1800 stories about India appeared on the three network evening newscasts. One network tended to report stories focused on war/defense and diplomacy/foreign relations; another tended to

highlight domestic politics and domestic crime; and the third was defined by its attention to human interest stories.

Stories relating to war/defense most often appeared on the U.S. television networks, with diplomacy/foreign relations, accidents/disasters and domestic politics rounding out the four most used themes. These categories accounted for 71 percent of all stories.

There was more coverage devoted to India during those periods in which it and the United States had a strained political relationship; however, the imbalance was not as great as perhaps thought.

More importantly, regardless of the political relationship between the United States and India, coverage of India focused on bad news, sensational items, or the unusual. Stories about war, accidents and disasters, and domestic crime – reports that suggest a society in turmoil – accounted for almost 50 percent of all reports from India during the coded period.

The principal sources used in framing coverage from or about India were from that nation. Indian government, military, media, religious and private citizens discussed Indian-related affairs more than their U.S. counterparts and those from other nations.

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the coverage afforded India between 1969 and 2000 on the U.S. evening news programs disseminated by ABC, CBS, and NBC. These years were selected because they allowed for an analysis of network television coverage spanning the final six administrations that served the United States through the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Four of those administrations were led by Republicans (Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and George Bush), and the other two were led by Democrats (Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton). Some presidents (Carter, Reagan, Clinton) enjoyed good relations with the Indian government, while others (Nixon, Ford, Bush) often were frustrated in their dealings with the Indian leadership. The analysis shows that a strong majority of stories suggested India was either not safe or not stable; thus, bad news dominated, regardless of whether the U.S. administration had favorable or unfavorable relations with its Indian counterpart.

INTRODUCTION
This paper examines the coverage afforded India between 1969 and 2000 on the evening news programs disseminated by ABC, CBS, and NBC. These years were selected because they allowed for an analysis of network television coverage spanning the final six administrations that served the United States through the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Four of those administrations were led by Republicans (Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and George Bush), and the other two were led by Democrats (Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton). Some presidents (Carter, Reagan, Clinton) enjoyed good relations with the Indian government, while others (Nixon, Ford, Bush) often were frustrated in their dealings with the Indian leadership. More importantly, these years allowed for an examination of U.S. policy toward India through the end of the Cold War and the subsequent post-Cold War era. Additional details about the scope of coverage are supplied in the methodology section.

The author employed the Vanderbilt University television abstracts in this study. Each abstract provided a brief sketch of that story. The information included who reported the story, what the

story was about, and who, if anyone, delivered a sound bite. These abstracts can be accessed online through the Vanderbilt University Television Archive Web site (http://tvnews.vanderbilt.edu).

The India-U.S. Political Relationship in the Final Decades of the 20th Century
The political relationship between the United States and India has had a "rollercoaster character," dating to India's independence in 1947 (Chary, 1995, p. 3). Perhaps more importantly, for most of the second half of the twentieth century, India assumed a "secondary place" in the minds of American government officials (Cohen, 2001, p. 1), because the United States was determined to derail the expansion of communism, and India was unwilling to acquiesce to the U.S. view of the threat communism posed to the world. Graebner added that India and the United States had distinct differences of opinion about the "the meaning of the Cold War, the Korean War, [and] the presence of Communist regimes in China and Indochina" (in Chary, 1995, p. ix). He said that because the nature of their differences was not rooted in the fundamental structure of their societies, India and the United States were able to enjoy sustained periods of positive relations. Meanwhile, according to Cohen, "[o]f the major powers, only the Soviet Union developed a broad appreciation of India as a major power" (2001, p. 26).

The Americans continually were frustrated by Jawaharlal Nehru, who ruled India from its independence in 1947 until his death in 1964, because he was determined not to take sides in the Cold War world. Keay described him as the "high priest of non-alignment" (2000, p. 516). "India will follow an independent policy," Nehru said in 1946, "keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned against the other" (in Chary, 1995, p. vii). Moreover, he rejected the American view that the Kremlin sought the expansion of communism into South Asia (Chary, 1995).

Nehru welcomed economic aid from the United States, but he refused to link it to the domestic and foreign agendas of his country (Chary, 1995). In line with this idea, he sought to establish India as a country "based on justice rather than profit, rational planning rather than the blind operation of the market, and forced economic growth and industrialization as opposed to the orientation of the economy to the production of raw materials for the profit of foreign enterprises" (Chary, 1995, p. 58). He also "held a sympathetic, even romantic image of the economic and social accomplishments of the Soviet Union, although he rejected Soviet totalitarianism, and he admired the way that Moscow stood up to Western pressure" (Cohen, 2001, p. 38). Collectively, these actions and sentiments led the Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower administrations to question whether Nehru and India should be considered friend or foe. The situation improved under President John Kennedy, because of his "flexible approach and efforts to secure aid for India despite its non-aligned status" (Chary, 1995, p. 123).

Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded Nehru, and his short term as leader also was marred by inconsistent relations with the United States. India's war with Pakistan and its disagreement with the growing U.S. presence in Vietnam eroded much of the goodwill that had been built under Kennedy. Shastri collapsed and died in 1966.

Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, became the next leader of the country, and she quickly added her voice to the growing discontent with U.S. involvement in Vietnam. President Lyndon Johnson responded by cutting off almost all food aid to India. The cooling in relations continued under President Nixon, who had a "personal preference for Pakistan," India's political nemesis (Chary, 1995, p. 132).

In 1971, India and the Soviet Union signed a twenty-year pact of friendship, which led many in the United States to conclude that India had abandoned its nonalignment policy. India disagreed (Chary, 1995). Chari [*sic*] added that the U.S. decision made that same year to send one of its naval aircraft carriers into the Bay of Bengal during the Pakistan-India conflict ensured that the relationship between the Americans and the Indians had reached their lowest point in the post-World War II period (in Bertsch et al., p. 1999).

In 1974, India successfully tested a nuclear bomb, which it had developed in response to China's acquisition of nuclear technology ten years earlier (Tahir-Kheli, 1997). The choice, despite the protests that came from the United States and elsewhere, did not violate any international non-proliferation agreements (Chari, in Bertsch et al., 1999). Beginning in the 1970s and carrying through to the end of the 1980s, the "dominant strategic theme" to India's foreign policy was that force (in its myriad forms) could and should be used (Cohen, 2001, p. 58). Gandhi was at the forefront of this attitude, and going nuclear was consistent with this.

Jimmy Carter's inauguration in 1977 ushered in another shift in the India-U.S. relationship, which in part was due to a corresponding change in leadership in India. Morarji Desai was elected prime minister that same year and immediately set out to increase private sector and foreign investment opportunities. Food aid increased, and the two countries began discussing scientific and technical cooperative deals (Chary, 1995). Unfortunately, Desai's government fell after only two years. Charan Singh was another short-term leader; he remained in power less than a year before Mrs. Gandhi was reelected prime minister. Meanwhile, the hostage crisis in Iran and a ratcheting up of tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union because of the latter's invasion of Afghanistan (which India criticized privately not publicly, Chary, 1995) ensured that Carter could not devote the time and energy he had hoped to in order to make human rights a hallmark of his foreign policy.

President Reagan initially enjoyed poor relations with India because of his interest in arming Pakistan, which was supposed to act as a deterrent to Soviet expansion in South Asia, and the continual aid, estimated at $2 billion annually, that India received from the Soviet Union (Chary, 1995). Only later did he approach India with substantive economic assistance. Gandhi visited the United States in 1982; it was described as an "outstanding success" (Chary, 1995, p. 166) and led to additional economic, military, and cultural agreements. In the words of Tahir-Kheli, "Gandhi saw no reason why a more robust relationship between the world's two largest democracies could not be fashioned" (1997, p. 5).

Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by two of her bodyguards in 1984. Her older son, Rajiv, reluctantly succeeded her (Keay, 2000). He adopted a much-more Western-style approach to economics, and he enjoyed a strong relationship based on "personal chemistry" with Reagan (Tahir-Kheli, 1997, p. 43). Chary noted that "productivity, technological modernization, and competitiveness became the catchwords of Rajiv Gandhi's regime" (1995, p. 168). Substantial financial deals between India and the American government and India and American corporations followed (Tahir-Kheli, 1997). At the same time, the Reagan administration commended India for playing a "pivotal" role in the advancement of peace in South Asia (Tahir-Kheli, 1997, p. 62).

Gandhi was voted out of office in 1989 and assassinated two years later. Seven leadership changes followed in the 1990s with only one government (headed by P.V. Rao) lasting a full-term. According to Keay, it was under Rao that the pace of economic liberalization quickened. "The shoddy goods and drab austerities of the Nehru age gave way to conspicuous expenditure on consumer durables,

imported luxuries and foreign travel" (2000, p. 531). Tahir-Kheli added, "The U.S. reaction was highly positive" (1997, p. 99). Immediate benefits could be seen: Exports rose by 20 percent in 1992 and another 18 percent one year later, and foreign investment inside India increased tenfold in the early 1990s (1997, pp. 101-103). India's economy also grew by 6 percent each year between 1990 and 1998 (Cohen, 2001).

Cohen added that India's on-going dispute with Pakistan, which including both countries testing nuclear weapons, ensured that America's interests in securing worldwide nuclear non-proliferation was stymied (2001). Moreover, in 1998 India tested five nuclear bombs in the span of three days. Bertsch, Gahlaut, and Srivastava noted, "The U.S. response was harsh," including a number of sanctions (which remained in effect until late 2000) and another erosion in Indian-American relations (1999, p. xiv). The collapse of the Soviet Union, which had been an ally, the close relations between Pakistan and China, and Japan's unwillingness to become more allied with India contributed to the decision to conduct the nuclear tests (Cohen, 2001).

At about the same time the sanctions were lifted, President Clinton visited India, becoming the first U.S. president to do so in more than two decades.

This brief summation was designed to allow the reader a better understanding of U.S.-Indian political relations dating from India's independence in 1947 through the end of the Clinton administration. It might seem unusual to those people with a casual or lack of interest in India that it did not enjoy a more robust and positive relationship with the United States, recognizing that each country is a democracy. Moreover, this summary allows the reader to better understand the research questions associated with this exploration of U.S. media reporting from and about India. Those research questions are outlined in the methodology section.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Coverage of Threatening Nations
Hester (1973) suggested political leaders need to recognize and understand the events taking place around them in order to ensure their government's long-term vitality. He added that information about those nations that are believed to be real or potential threats are especially sought out, and journalists unconsciously can assist in this effort by reporting more stories about alleged threatening nations. Chang and Lee (1992) supported Hester's contention. They reported that editors considered the threat that some event posed to the United States to be of paramount importance when they chose the stories that appeared in their newspapers. Wanta, Golan, and Lee (2003) argued that the more media coverage a foreign nation received, the more survey respondents considered that nation to be vitally important to United States' interests. Perhaps more importantly, their research determined that the more negative coverage a nation received, the more respondents exhibited negative thoughts about that country. Tehranian (1990) provided another example of this threatening world effect on news coverage, by claiming that neither Japan nor the Middle East would have attracted significant amounts of Western media attention had they not been considered economic or strategic threats to the United States. Cooper-Chen (1999) found that coverage of Japan changed over a thirty-year period in a major American newsmagazine. The dissemination of information about Japan reached its zenith – and demonstrated its most negative tone – during the 1980s, a period in which Japan's post-World War II economic success was viewed harshly in the United States.

Finally, Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Salwen and Garrison (1989) are among those who argue that cultural attributes help define societies, and people with similarly-held attributes tend to understand and relate better to each other. By extension, those that are considered "not to be like me" could easily be classified as threatening.

Framing
Entman (1991) suggested that frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images that are emphasized within news narratives. Hall (in Curran, Gurevitch, and Wallacott, 1977) argued that over time the selection and repetition of certain codes become accepted as the dominant explanation for events that need definition. Gitlin (1980) defined frames as patterns of thought, analysis, delivery, choice, inclusion and omission, allowing for an organized discourse to occur. Hackett (1984) added that framing the news might not be a conscious act by journalists, arguing instead that assumptions are made about the world and information is disseminated in accordance with that world's view. Weinberger, Allen, and Dillon (1984) added that visual images can heighten the negative reaction that some audience members will have to a story. Perry argued that news that was not representative of developing countries reduced the knowledge that people had of those countries but increased their confidence in making judgments about the people in those nations. He concluded, "By focusing upon unusual and extreme events, much news is by definition non-representative . . . Perhaps news persons should make a special effort to balance coverage of unusual events in developing countries with information about what is typical" (1987, p. 421).

In short, framing allows for a single interpretation to dominate news coverage; all other themes become inferior or non-existent.

Previous Research Examining the Coverage of India and U.S.-Indian Relations
Perry, in a study of five countries that including India, reported that news consumption generally led to increased knowledge about and a more favorable attitude toward each of those nations. He concluded, "[T]he quality of news available about foreign countries often may be at least as important as its content for facilitating favorable impressions [about foreign countries and their people]" (1990, p. 358). By contrast, Weaver, Porter, and Evans noted that coverage of Asia (which in their study included India) on network television dropped sharply from 1977 through 1981, when compared to the previous five-year period.

Ramaprasad and Riffe (1987) reviewed the effect that U.S. governmental policy toward India had on the type of coverage the *New York Times* gave the country. They found no support for the hypothesis that Washington's foreign policy had an effect on the newspaper's reporting, although the number of favorably slanted and positive stories tended to be higher during Carter's presidency, which, as mentioned above, coincided with a positive relationship between the two countries. The researchers determined that overall there were more unfavorably slanted and negative stories about India, although favorably slanted and positive stories were lengthier.

Jayakar (1997) found differences in the coverage of national elections in India and Israel in 1996. More stories were devoted to the Israeli elections, and more of them appeared on the front page. India, in a variety of ways, was portrayed as a "backward and mysterious region," which, according to Jayaker, reinforced the image Americans had of the country. Meanwhile, Israel was portrayed as ready for an historic election that would enhance peace prospects with the Palestinians; this was an explicit aim of the Clinton administration.

Several studies have looked at how the Indian media do their job. Haque (1986) reviewed the content of seven major Indian daily newspapers and reported there was a high correlation in story selection among them. Shah (1988) noted that development news on All India Radio was sparsely reported, often lacked depth, and generally was placed in the middle of the newscast, suggesting that this news classification was not of relative importance. Thussu has noted that the impact of Western-style journalism practices can be seen in the Indian media in at least two ways. First, he acknowledged that the Indian media began to undergo a substantive change in the last two decades of the previous century. "[T]he serious and staid Indian press is already copying U.S.-style sensational journalism. Journalistic practices and training, already much influenced by Western journalism, is being further Americanized, with greater emphasis on entertainment-oriented news agendas" (1998, p. 143). Thussu (2002) also discussed how the Indian government had adopted Western-based styles of controlling the media and the messages they deliver during wartime, in evaluating how the Indian media covered the 1999 conflict between India and Pakistan. Thussu stated, "The U.S. approach to news management appears to be in the process of being globalized, partly because of its effectiveness and partly because of its visibility among foreign policy establishments across the globe" (p. 207).

METHODOLOGY
The American television networks rightfully take a place among the elite of the broadcast medium. Cable, satellite television, a host of other entertainment programming options and ever-present social media options are eroding the dominant audience share that the over-the-air networks once enjoyed; however, they remain important news and entertainment sources.

Justification for examining television coverage stems from the recognition that television has supplanted the newspaper as the primary information source to which Americans turn (Nielsen Media Research, 2002; Pew Research Center, 2001). Television news also trumps their cable news competitors. An analysis of more than thirty years of network news coverage of India offers an opportunity to examine what factors influenced the reporting from and about this country with most of those years coinciding with the highest annual ratings for these evening news programs.

The author made use of the Vanderbilt University television abstracts for this study. The author is aware of the constructive criticisms made by Althaus, Edy, and Phalen (2002) regarding the use of the abstracts, especially regarding the authorship of abstracts between 1968 and 1972 (p. 477); that abstracts should not be surrogates for actual tapes of the newscasts (p. 487); and that the abstracts provide an imprecise evaluation of the tone of policy statements (p. 488). However, the author believes that the type of information that was gleaned from the abstracts for this study alleviates some of the aforementioned concerns.

The author chose to code a census of all stories appearing between January 1, 1969 and December 31, 2000. As mentioned earlier, this time frame coincides almost exactly with the six men who served as president of the United States during these years. Thus, instead of generating a snapshot of network coverage and how it might have been influenced by each administration's policies and attitudes toward India, this study allows for the entirety of coverage to be content analyzed. Based on the available research and literature, the following research questions were formed:

> RQ1: Would there be more coverage from and about India during those periods (1969-1977 and 1989-1993) in which relations between it and the United States were poor? This question coincides with the

suggestion by Hester and others that in periods when a foreign government was considered a threat to or in discord with the United States the media spotlight would focus more on that country, its actions, and its people.

RQ2: Would coverage from and about India, regardless of the state of relations with the United States, tend to focus on bad news, sensational items, or unusual events?

RQ3: Would so-called "bad news" stories (accidents, disasters, crime, etc.) be lengthier than their corresponding "good news" reports?

RQ4: Would non-Indian sources be the primary people who framed the discussion of events taking place in India or involving India and the United States?

There were 27 coded categories in this study. A brief description of each is listed here.

1. Year: The year in which the story aired.
2. Network: The network (ABC, CBS, or NBC) that aired the story.
3. Approximate length of story (in seconds): This figure was derived from subtracting the end time of a story from its beginning time and converting that figure into seconds.
4. Topic: Fourteen possible categories existed here: domestic politics and government acts; diplomacy and foreign relations; economics; war/defense; domestic crime; public health and welfare; public moral problems; accidents/disasters; transportation/travel; agriculture; science/invention; education/the arts; popular amusements; and general human interest.
    (Each of the remaining categories was answered yes/no.)
5. Tone: Positive, negative, or neutral, toward India based on information provided in abstract.
6. U.S. government source used
7. U.S. military source used
8. U.S. business source used
9. U.S. media source used
10. U.S. educator/academic/think tank source used
11. U.S. religious source used
12. U.S. citizen source used
13. India government source used
14. India military source used
15. India business source used
16. India media source used
17. India educator/academic/think tank source used
18. India religious source used
19. India citizen source used
20. Other government source used
21. Other military source used
22. Other business source used

23. Other media source used
24. Other educator/academic/think tank source used
25. Other religious figure used
26. Other citizen source used
27. Source information can't be determined

RESULTS
A total of 1810 stories (see Table 1) were content analyzed in this study of network news coverage of India. Each network provided almost equal amounts of attention to India, when compared to their news competitors. NBC disseminated the most stories during the coding period (626). ABC presented 595, and CBS delivered 589. However, the networks appeared to not always value the same kinds of stories. As Table 2 notes, NBC favored reporting focused on war/defense and diplomacy/foreign relations; CBS tended to highlight domestic politics and domestic crime; and ABC saw benefit especially in general human interest stories when compared to CBS and NBC.

Table 1: Coverage of India on American Network Television; All Years

Network	No. of Stories	Pct. of Total
ABC	595	32.9
CBS	589	32.5
NBC	626	34.6
Total	**1810**	**100**

Table 2: Coverage of Each Topic By Network

	Domestic Politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign Relations	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic Crime	Public Health	Public Moral Problems
ABC	86	97	13	117	78	37	0
CBS	113	99	8	106	84	23	0
NBC	105	127	12	130	69	35	0
Total	304	323	33	353	231	95	0

Table 2 Continued

	Accidents / Disasters	Transport / Travel	Agriculture	Education / Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular Amusement	General Human Interest	Total Number
ABC	102	1	2	0	5	3	54	595
CBS	98	3	4	2	10	4	35	589
NBC	105	1	3	0	4	1	34	626
Total	305	5	9	2	19	8	123	1810

The most attention devoted to any one topic in any one year occurred in 1971, when India and Pakistan were at war (see Table 3). A total of 185 stories (NBC: 73; ABC: 57; CBS: 55) relating to that event aired on the three networks. In fact, stories relating to war/defense (354) were most often delivered to U.S. television news audiences, with diplomacy/foreign relations (323), accidents/disasters (305) and domestic politics (304) rounding out the four most used themes. These categories accounted for 71 percent (1286 of 1810) of all stories.

Table 3: Year-by-Year Coverage of All Topics, All Networks

Year	Domestic Politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign Relation	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic Crime	Public Health	Public Moral Problems
1969	6	8	0	5	1	2	0
1970	2	5	2	1	0	0	0
1971	15	61	0	185	7	23	0
1972	2	37	2	19	0	4	0
1973	0	3	1	6	2	4	0
1974	2	18	4	11	4	8	0
1975	66	5	0	3	8	0	0
1976	12	9	2	6	3	5	0
1977	45	14	1	3	10	3	0
1978	19	9	0	10	2	0	0
1979	15	2	0	8	5	0	0
1980	17	36	1	4	4	0	0
1981	1	5	1	6	3	1	0
1982	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
1983	3	5	0	1	15	2	0
1984	31	2	2	2	49	2	0
1985	4	9	2	3	15	1	0
1986	3	23	0	1	11	1	0
1987	3	6	0	0	9	4	0
1988	2	8	0	2	6	0	0
1989	16	1	6	2	1	0	0
1990	6	2	4	6	5	0	0
1991	9	3	1	1	17	4	0
1992	1	2	0	2	10	3	0
1993	3	2	0	1	11	2	0
1994	0	4	0	1	0	12	0
1995	0	6	0	0	4	0	0
1996	3	0	1	0	5	3	0
1997	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
1998	4	16	2	46	5	4	0
1999	0	5	0	12	13	5	0
2000	0	16	0	5	6	2	0
TOTAL	304	323	33	354	231	95	0

Table 3 Continued

Year	Accidents / Disasters	Transport / Travel	Agriculture	Education / Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular Amusement	General Human Interest
1969	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1970	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
1971	14	2	0	0	0	0	1
1972	4	0	1	0	0	0	1
1973	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	2	0	5	0	0	0	1
1975	7	0	1	1	1	0	1
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1977	15	1	0	0	0	0	8
1978	15	0	0	1	2	0	3
1979	13	0	0	0	2	0	4
1980	5	0	0	0	0	0	2
1981	4	0	0	0	0	1	2
1982	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
1983	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
1984	41	0	0	0	8	0	3
1985	64	0	0	0	1	0	6
1986	17	1	1	0	0	0	1
1987	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	5	0	0	0	0	0	4
1990	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
1991	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
1992	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1993	17	0	0	0	0	0	3
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	17	0	0	0	1	0	27
1997	3	0	0	0	0	6	35
1998	6	0	0	0	0	0	9
1999	9	0	0	0	0	0	3
2000	8	0	0	0	1	0	4
TOTAL	305	5	9	2	19	8	123

Research Question 1: Would there be more coverage from and about India during those periods (1969-1977 and 1989-1993) in which relations between it and the United States were poor?: There was more coverage devoted to India during those periods in which it and the United States had a strained political relationship; however, the imbalance was not as great as perhaps thought. As mentioned earlier, the years 1969 through 1976 (Nixon and Ford presidential years) and 1989 through 1992 (Bush presidential years) were identified as times in which the relationship between India and the United States could be

classified as poor. During those twelve years, a total of 748 stories appeared on the three network news programs. (See Table 4 for a year-by-year breakdown of stories.) During the twenty years (spanning the Carter and Reagan, and then the Clinton administrations), a total of 1062 stories were disseminated by the networks. The twelve "bad" years saw an average of 62.4 stories put out by the networks, while the twenty "good" years saw an average of 53.1 stories.

Table 4: Year-by-Year Breakdown of All Stories by Network

YEAR	ABC	CBS	NBC	TOTAL
1969	11	7	5	23
1970	3	5	5	13
1971	93	94	121	308
1972	19	11	40	70
1973	4	7	7	18
1974	15	18	22	55
1975	27	35	31	93
1976	10	15	14	39
1977	36	30	34	100
1978	12	29	20	61
1979	17	17	15	49
1980	22	23	24	69
1981	8	7	8	23
1982	5	0	1	6
1983	5	19	6	30
1984	40	47	53	140
1985	26	41	38	105
1986	11	20	28	59
1987	12	11	6	29
1988	11	8	9	28
1989	10	11	14	35
1990	13	8	6	27
1991	17	13	18	48
1992	8	6	5	19
1993	12	11	16	39
1994	7	5	5	17
1995	7	10	3	20
1996	33	12	12	57
1997	22	13	14	49
1998	36	29	27	92
1999	21	16	10	47
2000	22	11	9	42
TOTAL	595	589	626	1810

In addition, the author coded each abstract as positive, negative, or neutral based on its tone toward India. (Please see Table 5.) The majority of stories (963 of 1810, 53.2 percent) were classified across all networks as having a negative tone.

Table 5: "Tone" of stories relating to India

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL	TOTAL
ABC	47	315	233	595
CBS	38	321	230	589
NBC	37	327	262	626
TOTAL	122	963	725	1810

Research Question 2: *Would coverage from and about India, regardless of the state of relations with the United States, tend to focus on bad news, sensational items, or unusual events?:* Regardless of the political relationship between the United States and India, coverage of India focused on bad news, sensational items, or the unusual. The reader is once again encouraged to consult Table 3. Stories about war (353 stories), accidents and disasters (305 stories), and domestic crime (231 stories) – reports that suggest a society in turmoil – accounted for almost 50 percent (889 of 1810, 49.2 percent) of all reports from India. Not surprisingly, the tone of these stories consistently was negative (see Table 6). Only 19 such stories were categorized as having a positive tone, while 667 stories dealing with these three topics were considered to have a negative tone. One could argue that the combined effect of these continual negative portrayals provided a frame of reference of India being a land where "bad" things happened consistently and/or India was either unable or unwilling to control them.

Table 6: "Tone" of war/defense, accidents/disasters, and domestic crime

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL
War/Defense	18	231	105
Accidents	1	213	90
Domestic Crime	0	223	7

Research Question 3: *Would so-called "bad news" stories (accidents, disasters, crime, etc.) be lengthier than their corresponding "good news" reports?:* Bad news stories were longer than good news stories. (Please see Table 7.) For purposes of this research, a story was considered "short" if it lasted for fewer than 30 seconds, "medium" if it aired from 31 to 60 seconds and "long" if it aired for more than one minute. Seventy-five of the 121 positive stories (62 percent) were "short," another four (3 percent) were "medium," and 42 (35 percent) were "long." At the same time, 535 of the 963 negative stories (56 percent) were "short," another 57 (6 percent) were "medium," and the remaining 371 stories (39 percent) were "long." Table 8 considers the amount of seconds devoted to each topic. Stories dealing with war/defense, domestic crime, and public health and welfare more often appeared as "long" reports; however, other "bad" stories – principally accidents/disasters – were more often treated as "short" stories. At the same time, while there was plenty of coverage about India's diplomatic and foreign relations efforts, those stories overwhelmingly were treated with little substance or context: Almost two-thirds of them (66.5 percent) were no more than 30 seconds in length.

Table 7: Length of time devoted to good and bad news stories

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	TOTAL
Short	75 (62%)	535 (56%)	610
Medium	4 (3%)	57 (6%)	61
Long	42 (35%)	371 (39%)	413
TOTAL	121	963	1084

A story was considered "short" if it aired for 30 or fewer seconds. A story was considered "medium" if it lasted between 31 and 60 seconds. A story was considered "long" if it aired for more than one minute
All percentages rounded

Table 8: Amount of Seconds Devoted to All Topics, All Networks

	Domestic Politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign Relations	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic Crime	Public Health	Public Moral Problems
Short	188	215	21	158	152	37	0
Medium	20	24	2	23	9	4	0
Long	96	84	10	172	170	54	0
Total	304	323	33	353	231	95	0

Table 8 Continued

	Accidents / Disasters	Transport / Travel	Agriculture	Education / Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular Amusement	General Human Interest
Short	190	4	2	0	14	1	62
Medium	14	0	1	0	2	0	5
Long	101	1	6	2	3	7	56
Total	305	5	9	2	19	8	123

Research Question 4 Would non-Indian sources be the primary people who framed the discussion of events taking place in India or involving India and the United States?: The principal sources used in framing coverage from or about India were from that nation. As Table 9 demonstrates, Indian government, military, media, religious and private citizens discussed Indian-related affairs more than their U.S. counterparts and those from other nations. (U.S. and Indian educators appeared an equal number of times – 27 – and far outpaced their colleagues from other nations, who were sources on only five occasions. U.S. business representatives (30) were the only ones who discussed a story more frequently than their Indian (18) colleagues or from those elsewhere in the world (3).

Table 9: Comparison of U.S., Indian and Other Nation Sources by Category (Blank=0)

	Domestic Politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign Relations	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic Crime	Public Health	Public Moral Problems
U.S. Gov	3	48	3	62	8	5	
Indian Gov	71	50	4	77	34	17	
Other Gov	1	28	2	68	4	1	
U.S. Military				1		3	
Indian Military	1	1		10	3		
Other Military		1		8			
U.S. Business	1	2	2	1			
Indian Business	2	1	2	1	2		
Other Business		1					
U.S. Media	2			4	1		
Indian Media	9	3		4	3	1	
Other Media		1		4	6		
U.S. Educator		4	1	12	2	4	
Indian Educator	6	1		1	4	6	
Other Educator			2	1	2		
U.S. Religious							
Indian Religious	1	1			1	1	
Other Religious			5	3			
U.S. Citizen		8		12	1	3	
Indian Citizen	13	8	1	9	30		
Other Citizen	1	2		13	3	4	

Table 9 Continued

	Accidents/ Disasters	Transport/ Travel	Agriculture	Education/ Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular Amusement	General Human Interest	TOTAL
U.S. Gov	8						1	38
Indian Gov	26				1		2	282
Other Gov	5							108
U.S. Military								4
Indian Military	5							20
Other Military	3							12
U.S. Business	23							30
Indian Business	5				1		4	18
Other Business	2							3
U.S. Media								7
Indian Media	1						2	23
Other Media	2						2	15
U.S. Educator	2				1		1	27
Indian Educator	4				1		4	27
Other Educator								5
U.S. Religious							4	4

Indian Religious	1						9	13
Other Religious								8
U.S. Citizen	22			1		6	8	61
Indian Citizen	16		1				19	110
Other Citizen	2					2	3	30

DISCUSSION
Over the final 31 years of the twentieth-century, the U.S. media tended to see India as a faraway country in which bad things happened. Whether the turmoil was domestic (akin to a natural disaster or the numerous changes in political leadership) or across borders (most obviously reports about war), more than seven out of every ten reports on ABC, CBS or NBC suggested India somehow was not safe or not stable. This theme of an absence of safety and stability was perhaps most notable in 1971, a year that saw a negative geopolitical relationship between the United States and India combined with India's war with Pakistan. Consistent with highlighting bad news from India, the three over-the-air networks spent more time discussing these negative events, and they tended to also devote less time to information that noted something good about the country, its people or its culture. Moreover, the data here validate that when the White House viewed India with suspicion, more stories about the country made it into national television news discourse (although the difference might not have been as large as previous research would have expected). In short, over the final roughly thirty years of the twentieth century, American news consumers grew accustomed to reporting about India that suggested the nation somehow was a threat to the United States (largely because it refused to kowtow to Washington's geopolitical interests) or was a place where seemingly nothing good happened. These types of stories would appear consistent with previous research conducted especially by Hester (1973); Wanta, Golan and Lee (2003); and Tehranian (1990). One is left to wonder that if India were not considered of vital interest to the United States – because of its status as a democracy and eventually as it developed a more Western-style economic philosophy – if it would have been on the news media radar at all.

The story from and about India from 1969 through 2000 was not all bad, of course. There were reports about education/arts, science, popular amusements and general human interest features, but they accounted for about eight percent (152 of 1810 reports) of the narrative about the country. In short, the American television audience was exposed to only a few bright spots in an otherwise bleak picture about a country it knew little about. Jayaker (1997) was not wrong in suggesting that India was portrayed as a "backward and mysterious region," which reinforced the image Americans had of the country.

Of course, there were limitations to this project. The use of the Vanderbilt abstracts instead of viewing the complete broadcast report prevented a deeper exposure to the stories. A more thorough analysis could have altered how stories were coded for tone, for example. The author recognizes that

the often questionable use of tone in academic research is magnified in this research because the abstract provided a limited amount of information from which to glean the tenor of the actual report. Moreover, bad news tends to pass the news gatekeeper more than good news; therefore, one shouldn't be surprised that negative images from and about India dominated America's national television news broadcasts.

To conclude, Cohen's assessment of American policymakers' attitudes toward India seem consistent with American media coverage of the country and its people. American policymakers tend to see India in terms of a blur of favorable and unfavorable stereotypes generated by the images of the saintly Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa, or of the villainous Krishna Menon [who, under Nehru, was India's ambassador to the U.N. and later its defense minister] or the 'dragon lady,' Indira Gandhi, or of the ugly scenes of saffron-clad mobs tearing down the Babri Masjid, or of India's 'untouchables' mired in human filth (2001, 5).

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◉ 9. Citizens as Journalists: Implications of Participatory News Production for the Mainstream News Media in India
Sindhu Manjesh, American

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Citizens as journalists: Implications of participatory news production for the mainstream news media in India

Author Information:

Sindhu Manjesh
PhD Candidate, American University School of Communication
Washington, D.C.
manjesh.sindhu@gmail.com | (c) 240-855-8009

Bio:

Sindhu Manjesh is a communication researcher, journalist, and media educator. She studies comparative journalism, media practice, history, law, and policy. She also researches socio-cultural and political dialogues in the construction of nationalist communication narratives.

Sindhu has 15 years of professional experience as an award-winning reporter, writer, and editor in news television, print, and digital media. Her career roster includes *The Times of India*, CNBC, NDTV, and CNN-News18. She has been a commentator for BBC Radio and a consultant for The World Bank. Sindhu received the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association's award for exceptional reporting in 2004.

Sindhu has taught at The Times School of Journalism, Mount Carmel College, and served as a Teaching Assistant at American University. She has presented her research at multiple international conferences.

Sindhu has been a Fulbright Humphrey Fellow at the University of Maryland and a Chevening Scholar at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. She holds an MA in Social Anthropology, a Master's Diploma in Mass Communication, and a BA in Journalism and English Literature.

Abstract

The major structural change in contemporary journalism has been the shift in the role of the audience – from consumers of news to producers and distributors of news. In today's digitally-mediated public sphere, the spotlight – professional, institutional, and academic – is on the significant and substantial ways in which the mediation of news is being altered by technological, economic, and cultural forces, and what this means for mainstream media outlets and the professionals employed by them.

It has become incumbent upon 'old media' to adopt new practices in news production, audience engagement, and distribution to stay relevant in the digital era. This includes fundamental changes to newsgathering, editorial operations, work routines, and labor dynamics in institutional newsrooms, which are now collaborating in innovative ways with their audiences – using mobile communication technologies and social media – to produce new forms of news knowledge. What we understand by journalistic work is thus being constantly revised and updated. The peer production of news, or participatory journalism, is one of the significant experiments that legacy media is engaging with to reinvent itself. This is true of my case study, CNN-News 18.

In 2006, then CNN-IBN, now CNN-News 18, a prominent English-language, national news TV broadcaster in India launched its 'Citizen Journalist' project through which audience members were invited to submit their witness accounts. It was in the aftermath of the Bombay (Mumbai) flash-cloudbursts, which led to floods that gobbled up neighborhoods in a heartbeat. Once the information submitted by the contributors was verified by the channel's staff, CNN-News18's journalists were assigned to work with the contributors to produce broadcast news content. News reports that resulted from such viewer-generated information were first featured in short segments on regular half-hour news bulletins that constitute the substantial part of the channel's 24X7 programing. Subsequently, inspired by the audience response that it got, CNN-News 18 launched a half-hour weekly show named 'Citizen Journalist' on November 17, 2007. It was avowedly dedicated to user-generated-news content driving the news agenda. 'Citizen Journalist' subsequently featured prominently on the channel's Website and engaged with social media, specifically Facebook and Twitter. 'Citizen Journalist' will be recorded in Indian TV news history as a pioneer in establishing the use of user-generated content (UGC) in mainstream media. It therefore has a unique and important place in India's evolving private sector news broadcasting narrative.

Using the case of CNN-News 18's 'Citizen Journalist' show, my dissertation examines how citizen journalism is altering the conventional roles, routines, and expectations of professional journalists in India. This examination employs a mixed-methods framework – newsroom ethnography, in-depth interviews, and content analysis – to gather, analyze and present evidence. It then discusses the implications of this evidence for the practice of journalism in India. Finally, it places the findings in a broader context: What does this study's analysis of the production process and producer-consumer dynamics that inform citizen journalism mean for traditional understandings – conceptual and practical – of journalism and journalistic work globally? In doing so, this study draws upon three traditions of knowledge: sociology of news (Michael Schudson), peer production (Yochai Benkler), and deliberative democratic discourse (Jurgen Habermas).

My research finds that there are fundamental tensions between participatory ideals and professional expectations of journalism in India, tensions that are prevalent in Western newsrooms as well.

Indeed, the debate surrounding amateurism and professionalism punctuates both scholarship and the practice of contemporary journalism. Further, my study finds that the boundaries between journalism and activism are blurred in India, bringing into question Western normative assumptions about journalism and its role in society. Finally, my research identifies the incoherence and inadequacies of legal and policy norms in addressing the rights, protections, liabilities, and responsibilities of citizen journalists. There is a pressing need for comparative research about the critical emergent question regarding legislative, regulatory, and institutional frameworks that govern citizen-based journalism in Western and non-Western democracies.

India has traditionally wielded influence in the Global South. Its example could have significant implications for other emerging economies and democracies globally. My study presents a unique, original, and important non-Western perspective to contemporary scholarship and professional understandings of the evolving paradigms in news production, distribution, and consumption.

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◉ 10. Transnational Public Relations and Social Justice Activism in Afghanistan
Arshia Anwer, Manhattan College

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Microtalk Title: Transnational Public Relations and Social Justice Activism in Afghanistan

Author's Name: Arshia Anwer

Affiliation: Manhattan College

Contact Information:
Dr. Arshia Anwer
3825 Corlear Ave.
Leo Building, Room #207D
Riverdale, NY 10463
Phone: (718) 862-3845
Email: aanwer01@manhattan.edu

Author Bio: Arshia Anwer is an Assistant Professor of Communication at Manhattan College with research interests in the areas of philosophy of communication, intercultural communication, religious communication, and integrated marketing communication. She holds a Ph.D. in Rhetoric, and an M.A in Integrated Marketing Communication from Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, USA, and an M.A. in Psychology from Osmania University in Hyderabad, India. She has worked in the marketing and education field in a variety of marketing communication, editing and teaching roles. Having lived and worked in two countries - India and the United States - with widely differing professional and societal perspectives, she has developed excellent intercultural, interpersonal and professional communication skills with the ability to recognize the communicative needs and values of people from diverse backgrounds.

Microtalk Title: Transnational Public Relations and Social Justice Activism in Afghanistan

Summary: This microtalk offers a theoretical basis for a transnational approach to public relations, based on a Heath's (2009) rhetorical approach to public relations, Bernays' (2004) theory of societal networks, and Spivak's (1994) work on the subaltern. Grounded in this theoretical foundation, transnational public relations communication is shown to be based upon establishing audience-centered and dialogic communication, using rhetorical communicative practices, and engagement of social leaders of influence in message dissemination. A case of the activist public relations practices of a nongovernmental organization's work in Afghanistan is studied and evaluated as an exemplary model for engaging in transnational public relations praxis.

Explanation and Research Work:

This microtalk asks the question: what does transnational public relations mean, especially when practiced in spaces inhabited by citizens in postcolonial nations or one that engages the subaltern? In navigating issues of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1980) within postcolonial cultures, an audience-centric approach becomes especially necessary as communicative actors need to understand each other across ideas of culture, nationality and religion. Respect for the Other while communicating with the subaltern (Spivak, 1999) is an essential part of providing a space for communication to occur. Communicative actors need to engage in dialogue in order to form an authentic relationship with each other.

Transnational public relations in postcolonial spaces should also recognize leaders of influence (Bernays, 2004) who hold power and authority within a society. Identifying networks within societies is crucial in order to communicate with influentials, to make the message heard in the places that matter. Heath's (2009) rhetorical model of public relations is based on the strategies of co-created meaning, collaborative decision-making, and identification, which are also important in the establishment of transnational public relations practices.

Combining all these coordinates, this microtalk is an attempt to describe public relations praxis across transnational and postcolonial spaces. This talk is based on a larger work that attempted to build a theoretical foundation for transnational public relations practices based on the study and application of good rhetorical practices, attention toward the cultural aspects of communicating transnationally, application of postcolonial theory, and public relations cultivation practices.

This talk focuses on a nongovernmental organization - Women's Islamic Initiative in Spirituality and Equality (WISE) - that engages activist public relations practices. The philosophy of the organization and an *imam* training program conducted in Afghanistan is analyzed and discussed in order to exemplify a praxis model of transnational public relations in a postcolonial nation. The *imam* training public relations campaign and the strategies used by the organization to publicize its message are analyzed by studying the text of various reports and public relations material sourced from WISE.

In order to disseminate their message, WISE works through a framework for change that is built on the four principles of communication, collaboration, interpretation and action (WISE Conceptual Framework for Change, 2010). Dialogue and knowledge-sharing are important elements of *communicating* for social change in WISE's framework, and their global conventions also offer an opportunity to share knowledge of best practices with interested parties and partners. In *collaborating* with international organizations, WISE aims to achieve legitimacy of its mission and work, while collaboration with local organizations affords it a clearer understanding of the use of local strategies for conducting its work. The third principle valued by WISE, *interpretation*, refers to religious interpretation and reinterpretation of Islamic texts that support gender equality of women. The

fourth principle of the framework for change adopted by WISE is *action*, which refers to their projects' aims, which are to seek to apply "goal-oriented, context-based adaptability and action" (WISE Conceptual Framework for Change, 2010, p. 7).

In 2009, WISE collaborated with the Noor Educational and Capacity Development Organization (NECDO), an Afghani non-governmental development organization dedicated to helping women and children in need (WISE Muslim Women, n.d.) in order to start a grassroots public relations campaign for women's rights in Afghanistan. Jamila Afghani, NECDO's director, fashioned a project to train *imams* on women's rights in order to provide a place for them in the Afghan public sphere.

The *imam* training program was implemented in two phases: the first, a six-month pilot project focused on training and mobilizing *imams* from twenty mosques in Kabul. *Imams* learned about issues of education, marriage, inheritance, ownership and property, political and social participation of women, and how these issues were influenced by a patriarchal societal structure in Afghanistan. They were educated on accurate, related Quranic and *hadith* interpretations, Afghan national laws, various instruments on women's rights, international human rights material focused on gender, and strategies for initiating change (WISE Muslim Women, n.d.).

As a result of the training program, twenty participating *imams* delivered more than 300 sermons to approximately 117,600 congregants during the six month period. About 14,400 of the congregants who heard the sermons were women. WISE's report states that media coverage helped with spreading the message to an estimated 9.5 million people in the country (WISE Muslim Women, n.d.). Project leaders also developed, printed and distributed 10,000 booklets in the local language, Dari, based on the 'Women's Rights in Islam' sermons. (2009-2010 WISE Activities Report, 2010).

Phase two of the project took place in June 2010, extending the project in the twenty participating mosques in Kabul and ten new mosques in Jalalabad. University students monitored *imams'* Friday sermons to determine that the project's objectives were met. According to the university student project monitors, the overwhelming majority (97%) out of a random sample of 240 people interviewed after the sermons agreed with the core message of the project, i.e., that Islamic rights for men and women were equal (WISE Muslim Women, n.d.).

Phase two of the project also worked toward general skill-building of the participating *imams* in the areas of communication, conflict resolution, media engagement, and networking. Through these trainings, WISE determined that the *imams* could become even better advocates of women's rights in Afghanistan (2009-2010 WISE Activities Report, 2010).

In phase two, an additional 15,000 copies of booklets on women's rights were printed in the local language, Dari, and distributed. WISE reports that the booklets allowed women to refer to written evidence of the sermons they had heard and empowered them to use their voice in affecting change for their own rights in education, marriage, inheritance, ownership and property, and political and social participation (WISE Muslim Women, n.d).

In conclusion, the work of WISE in general, its adoption of the four principles of communication, interpretation, collaboration and action, as well as its specific work in the *Imam* Training Program was shown to engage in transnational public relations praxis and incorporated strategies of audience-centric communication, dialogic communication, a rhetorical approach to public relations and the use of societal leaders of influence.

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⊙ 11. Use of Facebook in Bangladesh Public Relations: A Case Study Analysis
Mohammad Ali, Texas at Tyler

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Use of Facebook in Bangladesh Public Relations: A Case Study Analysis

Mohammad Ali
The University of Texas at Tyler

Contact Information
3400 Varsity Drive #Apt 2216
Tyler, TX 75701
MAli6@patriots.uttyler.edu
+1 903-705-9687

Brief Author Biography

Mohammad Ali is from Dhaka, Bangladesh. This Spring, he completed his graduation in communication from the University of Texas at Tyler (UT Tyler). Ali has master's and bachelor degrees in Public Administration from the University of Dhaka. Before moving to the United States, he had worked as a journalist for eight years in Dhaka. At UT Tyler, he served as a teaching assistant for Communication Department from Fall 2015 to Spring 2017. He also earned an excellent academic result, a 4.0. This young researcher's merit and diligence already enabled him to get one of his research papers published in a journal and three papers presented in different conferences. Ali now plans to earn a Ph.D. focusing on data journalism and social media.

Use of Facebook in Bangladesh Public Relations: A Case Study Analysis
Mohammad Ali

Despite Facebook's tremendous growth in Bangladesh and its wonderful features for Public Relations (PR) communication, no systematic study occurred there focusing on this area. This paper, accordingly, analyzed the Facebook page of a leading international company in Bangladesh as a case study. Using Dialogic Communication Theory, it analyzed three-month data of the company's Facebook page. Findings revealed sufficient interest of customers to participate in conversation with the company on its Facebook page. However, the company was found less active to capitalize on the opportunity of bolstering its PR communication through Facebook and to persuade customers to avail its services.

Extended Abstract

In contrast to mass media's one-way communication, social media platforms make two-way communication. For instance, they hold the "capacity for monitoring audience responses, eliciting feedback, encouraging continuous engagement, fostering interconnectivity" (Argyris & Monu, 2015, p. 156-157). Such conversational communication is vital for effective PR practice. Renowned German scholar Albert Oeckl (1976) stated that "the decisive rule for public relations is: public relations is two-way communication" (p. 305 as cited in Puchan, 2006, p. 117). The two-way communication feature of Facebook made it more unique than mass media.

Beside such PR-friendly features of Facebook, Bangladesh experienced tremendous growth of Facebook users in the last couple of years. In 2009, the number of Bangladesh's Facebook users was only 10,000. By June 2015, the number rose to 30 million (Sujan, 2015, para. 3). Recently, Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, became the second among all the cities with the largest number of active Facebook users in the world. As of April 2017, there are 22 million active Facebook users in Dhaka (Active Users, 2017).

To harness such excellent features of Facebook, many companies opened Facebook pages to interact with their customers and other stakeholders ("Facebook stats-Brands," n.d.). However, no systematic study is found about how effectively they are utilizing Facebook for PR communication in Bangladesh. There are some studies that focused on Bangladeshi Facebook use but in different aspects. Their focuses include pattern and purposes of Facebook use by university students (Rahman, 2014), issues involving teenagers (Al-Jubayer, 2013), and influence on students' academic results (Kabir, Akter, & Ferdus, 2014). None of the studies sheds light simultaneously on Facebook use and PR communication in Bangladesh. This study, accordingly, analyzed Facebook use by a leading international bank named Standard Chartered Bank (SCB) in Bangladesh. To gain a deeper understanding about Facebook use for PR communication, the study used the case study methodology taking SCB's Facebook page as a unit of analysis. SCB is the largest international bank operating in Bangladesh in term of both number of branches and amount of profit ("History and presence," n.d.). As such, the focus of this study is on two research questions:

RQ1: How is Standard Chartered Bank in Bangladesh using Facebook for PR communication?

RQ2: What responses is the bank receiving from customers on its Facebook page?

In order to answer the research questions, three months' worth of data was collected—all posts, responses, likes and other expressions, shares, and other relevant information—from official Facebook page of SCB between August 27, 2016 and November 26, 2016. The data were then coded and analyzed utilizing Microsoft Excel. The Dialogic Communication Theory, developed by Kent and Taylor (1998), was used to analyze the data and find different patterns of the data.

A brief scenario of the study results is that SCB made 19 posts during the three months. In total, customers made 190 comments and 146,107 expressions, and shared the posts 400 times. However, no customer comments were liked by SBC. The company responded to only two comments of the customers. SCB replied to one of the two questions three days after a customer asked it. Within one and half hours of the company's reply, the same customer made a follow-up comment, but no further reply was seen from SCB relating to that question. In response to another question, SCB responded four days later it is asked. In four separate cases, customers responded to their fellow-customers. Two of the four cases created more than one round of conversation among the customers, creating a dialogic loop among them.

A Facebook post, which offers installment payment to buy smartphone using the bank's credit card, received the highest number of comments ranging from 26 to 35. The second highest number of comments ranging from 16 to 25 went to four posts that are related with discount on food at restaurants. A total of six posts got the third highest range (6-15) of comments. Their offers were on the following items: furniture, airfare, night stay at resort, holiday travel, electronic items, and lifestyle brands.

Analyzing the results, the customers were found interested in knowing about the bank's services and engaging in conversation on Facebook. That is why all the original posts received comments, shares, and expressions from the customers. Customers' interests are also expressively recognized when some of them were seen replying to questions of their peer-customers. The big number of customers' feedback suggested that there are a number of customers who are already connected with SCB through its Facebook page. Despite the downward trend of company-customer engagement on Facebook page, the number of customers' expressions is seen moving upward. This also reflected customers' interests in engaging in the bank's Facebook page.

However, the company did not actively participate in conversation with customers. SCB replied to only a few comments of customers, which discouraged the customers to make further comments. The bank also could not capitalize on the large number of ready customers to persuade them to avail its services. SCB thus left the wonderful opportunity of creating company-customer dialogic loop unexploited. By not participating in conversation with customers, PR officials left the company's image at risk of uncontrolled discussion by customers. The outcome is supported by the idea of dialogic loop that when companies do not respond to customers' concerns or comments, they lose the opportunity to develop long-term relationships (Kent & Taylor, 1998). The bank also failed to utilize the opportunity of persuading customers to perceive the company as "a more transparent entity" (p. 429).

A major limitation of this study is that it used only one company's Facebook page to analyze the PR function through Facebook in Bangladesh. However, thanks to the extensive data collection and robust analysis of the case, the findings should initiate a discussion to unfold the ways that corporations can utilize for effective PR communication. Overall, the results unveiled deeper understanding of how Facebook is being used in PR communication in Bangladesh.

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◉ 12. Entrepreneurial Journalism in India: Toward an Understanding of how Founders' Social Identity Shapes Innovation and Financial Sustainability
Summer Harlow, Houston, and **Monica Chadha**, Arizona State

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Entrepreneurial Journalism in India: Toward an Understanding of how Founders' Social Identity Shapes Innovation and Financial Sustainability

By:
Summer Harlow
The University of Houston
summerharlow@gmail.com

Monica Chadha
Arizona State University
monica.chadha@asu.edu

Summer Harlow, who has a Ph.D. in Journalism from the University of Texas at Austin, is an assistant professor in the Jack J. Valenti School of Communication at the University of Houston. Her research focuses on the intersections of emerging technologies, journalism, alternative media, and activism. She is the author of *Liberation Technology in El Salvador: Re-appropriating Social Media among Alternative Media Projects* (Palgrave Macmillan). Her recent work has been published in such journals as the *Journal of Communication*; *New Media and Society*; *Journalism*; *Journalism Practice*; *Digital Journalism*; *International Journal of Communication,* and *Media, Culture & Society*. A former newspaper journalist who reported from the U.S. and Latin America, she serves as a press freedom analyst for Freedom House. Follow her on Twitter: @SummerDHarlow.

Monica Chadha is an assistant professor, teaching multimedia journalism, at the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University. Her research interests center on digital media, role identity, hyperlocal journalism, and entrepreneurial journalism. Her work has been published in peer-reviewed journals such as *Journalism Practice*, *Digital Journalism* and *International Journal of Communication*. Chadha, who has a Ph.D. in Journalism from the University of Texas at Austin, spent more than a decade reporting from India for the BBC and The Indian Express, one of the country's largest English language newspapers.

Entrepreneurial Journalism in India: Understanding how Founders' Social Identity Shapes Innovation and Financial Sustainability

a) Summary

This qualitative study, based on interviews at 10 digital news startups in India, explores how the social identity of digital news founders shapes innovation and financing. In line with extant managerial literature, this study showed founders can be classified according to a three-part typology: Darwinian, Communitarian, and Missionary. Findings suggest Indian journalism entrepreneurs' social identities influence how they define entrepreneurship, innovation, and experimentation. These definitions, in turn, influence their motivations and shape whether audiences are viewed as clients or citizens, and whether journalism is seen as a commodity or public service.

b) Explanation

In management research, entrepreneurialism is seen as a reflection of self-identity (Hoang & Gimeno, 2010; Shepherd & Haynie, 2009). Fauchart and Gruber (2011) suggest entrepreneurs' identities influence their motivations for creating startups, as well as their strategic business decisions. They draw on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and proffer a "founder identity" typology, linking founders' social identity with an organization's creation processes and outcomes: Darwinians (driven by desire be successful), Communitarians (motivated by desire to contribute to community), and Missionaries (aiming for social or political change). Based on this theoretical rationale, the present study uses interviews with entrepreneurial journalists/founders in India to elucidate how self-identification shapes innovation, business models, and understandings about audiences and content at digital media startups in South Asia.

Most entrepreneurial journalism research has been conducted in Western countries; few studies have examined the emerging trend of independent digital news startups in India that challenge the journalistic status quo and are being lauded as promising alternatives to legacy media (Sen & Nielsen, 2016; Chaudhry, 2016). So great is the promise of digital news in India that The Huffington Post and Buzzfeed also have started digital Indian editions, despite stiff competition from the homegrown startups (Shah, 2016). Apart from widening the scope of entrepreneurial journalism scholarship, studying how Indian founders of digital news startups pursue innovation and revenue generation encourages idea-exchange among news entrepreneurs around the globe.

To this end, 18 in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with founders, editors, and journalists at 10 such sites based in New Delhi and Mumbai. Interviews lasted about 1.5 hours each and were conducted in December 2016. In total, 11 men and 7 women were interviewed. For each news site, the founder was interviewed, and in most cases, an editor and/or journalist also were interviewed.

Interview subjects were identified using a snowball sampling method. Because no directory of online news ventures in India exists, the two researchers as well as a research assistant, all former journalists and two of whom are India natives, relied on their knowledge of Indian media and existing contacts to craft such a list. In India, official business is conducted primarily in English and Hindi, as such, the researchers focused on the English-language sites (n=68). Each of these sites was contacted via email, social media, or a contact link on the site, asking for the founder to participate in this study;

20 agreed. Due to time and budget constraints, the researchers focused on New Delhi and Mumbai, India's political and financial capitals as well as news media hubs.

c) Results

Interviews revealed that half of the founders were Darwinian in nature. "Making money" was at the center of their goals and they wanted to build a "product" that would surpass any competition, and attract prestige and revenue. The three sites identified as Communitarian focused on serving readers and providing a public service. While revenue generation was important to them, serving the community was more important and thus, decisions related to innovation and revenue generation were in keeping with their larger goal. Only two of the 10 sites were Missionary in nature; they viewed themselves as voices for groups and issues that are largely ignored by mainstream media.

These entrepreneurial social identities influenced how the founders discussed financing and innovation. The Darwinians had created sites with business models that mostly relied on traditional and/or native advertising and sponsored content. In contrast, Communitarian and Missionary interviewees spoke of constantly trying new revenuegenerating strategies because they didn't want to compromise on their way of doing journalism; financial independence equaled editorial independence. They experimented with subscriptions, crowdfunding, merchandising, events, partnerships with NGOs, and even symbiotic collaborations with corporate houses that coincided with their organization's mission. Thus, an emphasis on the core identity of the startup can reap revenue benefits.

Communitarians and Missionaries also were more innovative than the Darwinians. While the latter mostly discussed innovation in technological terms, the former discussed innovation in technological and journalistic terms. Darwinians wanted to keep up with the latest technologies, be the first to use them and create better products than the competition. In contrast, Communitarians and Missionaries focused on innovating in storytelling and topics covered, sources quoted, and using technology in different though not necessarily new ways, in line with Schumpeter's (1942/1975) understanding of innovation. They saw creativity and experimentation as key to working around the constraints of limited funds.

Entrepreneurial social identity of the founders, however, was not necessarily tied to whether they preferred the label entrepreneur or journalist; founders across all three social identities considered themselves entrepreneurs because they had started something new or were trying strategies that were new to them. They hesitated to simultaneously 4 wear the hats of entrepreneur and journalist; most interviewees identified as either/or. In the few cases when subjects saw themselves as entrepreneurs and journalists, it seemed to be out of necessity – lack of revenue and staff meant they were responsible for everything – and their unwillingness to lose their journalistic identity.

By studying news startups in India, this paper provides a glimpse of how entrepreneurial journalists in the world's largest democracy talk about their identities as founders of news sites, elucidating how a founder's social identity can shape relationships with technology, financing, and audiences, which ultimately influences their understanding of the role of digital journalism in South Asia.

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◉ 13. Breaking News on Social Media & Its Effect on Journalistic Practices in India – Rethinking the Hierarchy of Influences
Dhiman Chattopadhyay, Bowling Green State

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Breaking news on social media & its effect on journalistic practices in India – rethinking the hierarchy of influences

Dhiman Chattopadhyay
PhD Candidate, School of Media & Communication
Bowling Green State University
Contact: dhimanc@bgsu.edu Mobile: 419-819-1227

Brief Bio
Dhiman Chattopadhyay is a former journalist from India with over 18 years' experience, first as a news reporter, and later as an editor/senior editor at some of India's leading news organizations. Currently a doctoral candidate at Bowling Green State University, Dhiman's dissertation topic focuses on breaking news on social media and journalistic decision-making in an online-first era—a critical examination of current gatekeeping practices in Indian journalism with the aim to develop a theoretical model that helps journalists and scholars better understand newsroom practices in an age of real-time news updates. Some of his recent manuscripts have received top student paper awards at NCA (2015, 2016) and AEJMC (2016) conventions. He is the current holder of BGSU's School of Media & Communication Excellence Fellowship.

*Founding member, South Asia Initiative at AEJMC 2015 & 2016.

Summary

This paper is part of a larger project that examines Indian journalists' perceptions of social media as a credible and useful tool for sourcing and promoting breaking news, to understand how social media affects journalistic practices and what this means for journalism in India. A survey of Indian journalists indicated only two of the five Hierarchy of Influences affected journalistic decisions to uploaded breaking news on official websites, while none of the levels influenced decisions to source from or promote such news on social media. Interviews with editors sought to understand how mainstream media can best utilize social media in their fight to retain public trust.

Extended Abstract

Introduction

Mainstream news organizations such as newspapers and television channels in many nations today face an existential crisis (Swift, 2016). Public trust in news media as a source of accurate and unbiased information is at an all-time low (Mitchell & Holcomb, 2016). At the same time consumption of news on social media has seen a sharp rise (Pew, 2016; Harper, 2010), perhaps because of the convenience of use and comparatively lower costs of accessing news on social media platforms (Ha, Yoon, & Zhang, 2013). In the US for instance, 62 percent of adults today read news on social media (Gottfried & Shearer, 2016). Yet, few would disagree that a credible and responsible fourth estate is essential for the smooth functioning of any democratic society.

India is a particularly interesting site to study in this context. It boasts of the largest English newspaper market (Barclay, Pichandy, & Venkat, 2012) as well as one of the fastest growing media industries in the world (IRS, 2014; Rao, 2014). At the same time the country also has 462 million active internet users, accounting for 13.5 % of the 3.63 billion global internet users (LiveStats, 2016) and 153 million social media users (Velayanikal, 2016). Most Indian media houses today have a news website and use at least one social media channel (Kori & Chhabra, 2015).

Few studies however, have examined how journalists in such mainstream news organizations use social media as a tool for sourcing, selecting and disseminating breaking news and whether changing consumer needs and patterns of breaking news has affected journalistic practices so far as the selection and promotion of news is concerned. Some recent studies in the US and Europe have found that one tweet, post or video from an influential user, retweeted, reposted or endorsed by their followers, could potentially influence global headlines (Pentina & Tarafdar, 2014), and affect fortunes of governments (Shirky, 2011). It is therefore all the more necessary today to understand how news is sourced, selected and promoted in the world's largest democracy in an age when news is updated in real-time.

Research Problem

This study examines the role of social media in journalistic decision-making with regards to breaking news in India. Specifically, how journalists in India perceive the **credibility** (RQ1) and **usefulness** (RQ2) of social media as a source of breaking news, whether these perceptions influence their decision to select such stories to promote on their organizations websites (RQ3a) and social media pages (RQ3b), and to what extent the five levels of Hierarchy of Influences (Shoemaker & Reese 1995; 2013) affect their decisions to upload stories breaking on social media on their websites (H1a-H1e) or social media pages (H2a-H2e). Further the study explores how editors in mainstream media think social media has affected journalistic practices (RQ4) and what steps they think need to be taken to help mainstream news organizations retain public trust in an age of much news breaks on social media (RQ5).

Practical Significance

Scholarly understanding of how journalists source and select news when it breaks on social media and how they use social media to promote news is still largely fragmented. While some recent studies have focused on American and European news media in this context, studies that focus on India as a site have been few. More research has focused on framing and agenda-setting literature, focusing on how India's media frames crime news such as rapes (Rao, 2014; Durham, 2015) or on social media's influence on journalism in political reporting (Rodrigues, 2014). They have not explored breaking news as a variable to examine what factors influence newsroom gatekeeping practices (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) when a news breaks and must be shared with consumers as soon as possible, nor have they explored journalistic perceptions of social media as a professional tool.

Results

A sequential mixed method (Creswell, Plano, Gutman & Handson, 2003) framework was used for this study. An online survey of over 300 journalists across 15 Indian cities found that while social media ranked low on credibility (2.58 with a range of 1-4 on a scale of 1-5), most journalists found it to be highly useful as a professional tool for gathering and verifying information, monitoring public opinion and sharing links (4.22 with a range of 2-5 on a scale of 1-5). Multiple regression tests indicated that while social media's credibility was a significant predictor of journalists' decision to promote breaking news appearing on social media on their official websites (standardized coefficient beta .295; <0.001***) both credibility (.228; 0.005**) and usefulness (.216; 0.008**) were predictors of journalists' decision to select such news to post on their organization's official social media handles/pages.

The most intriguing finding in the quantitative phase of the study was the revelation that when deciding which breaking news on social media to choose to upload on their official websites, journalists were only influenced by two of the five levels of hierarchy of influences – organizational factors (standardized coefficient beta .314; 0.007**) and extra media factors (.266; 0.012*); further none of the five steps of the hierarchy of influences model seemed to have any significant impact on journalistic decisions when deciding what to post on their organization's official social media pages.

The findings indicated that the time-tested Hierarchy of Influences model cannot adequately explain what factors influence Indian journalists' decisions to source and promote breaking news, especially on social media.

In-depth interviews with senior editors across platforms suggested a sense of unanimity that social media wads here to stay and journalists must devise a way to successfully utilize this medium without hampering their or their organizations credibility. There were some divisions of opinion as to what factors needed to influence journalists' decisions when selecting breaking news from social media or promoting a breaking news on social media platforms. Emerging themes suggested the possibility of a new model to better explain newsroom practices in an era of instant news updates.

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◉ 14. Contrasting Social Media Use Between U.S. Millennials and Bangladeshi Young-Adults
Didarul Islam Manik, Missouri-Columbia, and **Charles A. Lubbers**, South Dakota,

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Contrasting Social Media Use Between U.S. Millennials and Bangladeshi Young-Adults

Didarul Islam Manik, M. A.
University of Missouri

Charles A. Lubbers
University of South Dakota

Biographies:

Didarul Islam Manik is a PhD student at the University of Missouri-Columbia in the Department of Communication. He received his MA in Communication Studies from the University of South Dakota in 2015. Before that he earned his BS and MS in Mass Communication and Journalism from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. He has seven years of experience working with several Bangladeshi national dailies as a reporter and copy editor. Prior to starting Doctoral studies he served as a chief reporter for the Weekly Bangladesh, a weekly newspaper published from New York. His primary research areas are: millennials and social media, political use of social media, youth and political polarization, and media and politics. He loves political talks and traveling.

Charles (Chuck) Lubbers, Ph.D., is a Professor in the Department of Media & Journalism at the University of South Dakota. Prior to USD, he was on the faculty of the Miller School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Kansas State University from 1990 to 2005, and departed as the Assistant Director in charge of graduate program and research activities. Lubbers' primary research interests are in the areas of advertising and public relations pedagogy, as well as advertising and public relations for travel and tourism, motion pictures and sports. Lubbers serves on several editorial boards and is currently the editor of the *Journal of Public Relations Education*. Dr. Lubbers is the past head/chair of the Public Relations Division of both AEJMC and NCA.

Contact Information:

Didarul Islam Manik, M.A.
Department of Communication,
University of Missouri
108 Switzler Hall, Columbia, MO 65203
313-506-6083
im347@mail.missouri.edu

Charles A. Lubbers, Ph.D.
    (Corresponding Author and Presenter)
Department of Media & Journalism
University of South Dakota
414 East Clark Street, Vermillion, SD 57069
605-677-6400 (O); 605-670-1488 (C)
Chuck.lubbers@usd.edu

Contrasting Social Media Use Between U.S. Millennials and Bangladeshi Young-Adults

1. Summary

Millennials seek various gratifications from social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter. This study investigated what types of social media millennials/young-adults use in their everyday lives, for what purpose they use social media, and if there are any significant differences between the two cultures' social media use. A sample of 409 students was surveyed. U.S. millennials spend more time on social media than the Bangladeshis, but Bangladeshis spend nearly twice as much time on Facebook. Bangladeshis are more likely to use Facebook for the acquisition of information, entertainment, educational purposes, and connecting with people. However, few Bangladeshis use Twitter.

2. Explanation of research work

Children who grew up with digital technologies such as cellphones, text messaging, and video games, are called millennials (Howe & Strauss, 2000) in the United States, but are often called "young-adults" in other countries. Millennials have also been referred to as "digital natives" (Prensky, 2006) and the "web generation" (Hartmann, 2003). They are the first generation to grow up with social media (Loechner, 2013). Media consumption is an integral part of the millennials' lives because it is a dominant force for entertaining, educating, enlightening, and enticing (Harp, Bachmann, Rosas-Moreno, & Loke, 2010).

Social media consumption in Bangladesh is primarily limited to Facebook and blogging (Kabir, 2013). Al-Jubayer (2013) found that in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, 27% of teenagers spend more than 10 hours per week online and 50% of them use Facebook regularly. Social media habits depend on internet availability. In the developing countries, the penetration rate of the Internet is much lower than the developed countries. Only 13.2% of Bangladeshis use the Internet in comparison to 88.5% of U.S. citizens (*Internet Live Stats*, 2016). Additionally, due to higher per capita income, 86 % of the U.S. millennials (Weise, 2015), but only 20% of the Bangladeshi young-adults use smartphones (Hussain, 2016).

Most social media research conducted thus far focuses on Western societies. Less attention has been paid to developing countries. Studying social media behavior in a cross-cultural perspective contributes to understanding global consumer culture and will help to make policy. This study employs the Uses and Gratifications (U&G) theory to investigate what types of social media millennials/young-adults use in their everyday lives, for what purpose they use social media, and if there are any significant differences between the two cultures' social media use.
Method

In March, 2015 a total of 409 (209 from Bangladesh and 200 from U.S.) students in communication and political science courses were surveyed. The lead researcher collected the U.S. data, and a research assistant was hired to collect data from Bangladesh. A four-page questionnaire instrument was constructed to understand millennials'/young-adults' Internet and social media use, the level of use and uses and gratifications as related to Facebook and Twitter, and to collect demographic information. Descriptive statistics determined the level of social media use, the purpose of social media use, and gratifications. Additionally, t-tests were conducted to determine if statistically significant differences exist between the Bangladesh and U.S. students.

3. Research Results

The mean respondent age was 20.76, with a minimum age of 18 and a maximum age of 34. The number of female (206, 50.4%) and male participants (203, 49.6%), were nearly equal, but the number of female participants in the United States was higher than in Bangladesh (67.5% vs 34%).
Daily social media use

Respondents averaged 134 minutes per day spent on social media. There is no statistically significant difference between the Bangladesh and the U.S mean. Of eight popular social network sites (see Table 1), respondents spent the most time (82 minutes) on Facebook. Bangladeshi respondents spend nearly twice as much time on Facebook as the U.S. respondents. The second most popular site is Twitter in the U.S. but YouTube in Bangladesh. Of 409 respondents only 12 have no Facebook ID. On the other hand, in Bangladesh, only 14% of young-adults use Twitter, whereas 80% of the U.S. respondents have a Twitter account. It is notable that YouTube is more popular in Bangladesh than the U.S. Instagram and Pinterest are the fourth and fifth most popular social media sites in the U.S. In Bangladesh the popularity of social media other than Facebook, YouTube, and Google Plus+ is much less. Only a limited number of Bangladeshi students use Instagram, Pinterest or Tumblr.

Purposes for social media use and differences between cultures

Table 2 shows that millennials are likely to use Facebook for filling free time, acquiring information, seeking entertainment, reading friends' status, and maintaining existing relations. Facebook use for both educational purpose and profile update was rated close to 4 which indicates neither agree nor disagree. Table 2 also shows that there is a statistically significant difference between Bangladeshi' and the U.S. millennials' use of Facebook for the purpose of filling free time, acquisition of information, the opportunity to meet with new people, political discussion, posting religious issues, and educational purposes. The higher mean score indicates fewer agree with the measures, whereas lower mean scores indicate higher agreement with the measures.

Table 3 results demonstrate that millennials strongly agree that they use Twitter for filling free time and seeking entertainment. They somewhat agree that they use Twitter for acquisition of information and to read a friends' status. The U.S. millennials are likely to use Twitter for filling up free time and seeking entertainment. They somewhat believe that they use Twitter for acquisition of information and just to read others' status. Bangladeshis responses about the uses of Twitter were more neutral. They neither agree nor disagree with considering Twitter as a tool of acquisition of information, maintaining existing relationships, political discussion, and posting religious issues.

Table 3 also shows that there is a statistically significant difference between Bangladeshi and the U.S. millennials' perceived use of Twitter for filling up free time, acquisition of information, seeking entertainment, the opportunity to meet with new people, political discussion, discussion and posting religious issues, educational purposes, and updating profile pictures.

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Tables

Table 1
Types of Social Media Use

Social Media	Overall Mean	U.S. Mean	B.desh Mean
Facebook	82	57.44	107.03
Twitter	19	35.78	4.33
YouTube	38	32.08	43.40
LinkedIn	1.6	2.10	1.27
Pinterest	7.6	15.14	1.10
Google Plus+	9.7	7.21	11.82
Tumblr	3.7	7.47	.622
Instagram	14.8	28.24	2.94
Other	10.0	5.85	10.63

Table 2

Reasons for Using Facebook — t-test for Equality of Means

Likely to use Facebook for…	Overall Mean	U.S. Mean	B.desh Mean	Mean Diff	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Filling up free time	2.61	2.32	2.88	-.56356	-2.963	.003*
Acquisition of information	2.90	3.31	2.53	.77943	4.420	.000*
Seeking entertainment	3.09	3.10	3.08	.01866	.107	.915
Just to read the status of other friends	3.23	3.14	3.42	-.28373	-1.511	.131
Maintaining existing relationships	3.25	3.16	3.33	-.17177	-.892	.373
Educational purpose	4.04	5.16	3.01	2.14402	11.531	.000*
Updating my profile pictures	4.11	4.27	3.96	.30718	1.554	.121
Opportunity to meet with new people	4.33	4.98	3.74	1.24258	6.325	.000*
Political discussion	5.11	5.72	4.56	1.15646	6.123	.000*
Discussing and posting religious issues	5.18	5.82	4.59	1.22728	6.283	.000*

Table 3 Reasons for Using Twitter				T-test Comparing BD/U.S. on 10 Measures of Twitter Use Purposes		
Likely to use Twitter for…	Overall Mean	U.S. Mean	B.desh Mean	Mean Diff	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Filling up free time	2.70	2.55	3.51	-.96724	-2.139	.034*
Seeking entertainment	2.81	2.64	3.68	-1.04591	-2.566	.011*
Just to read the status of other friend	3.03	2.98	3.34	-.36358	-.880	.380
Acquisition of information	3.16	2.99	4.06	-1.07522	-2.607	.010*
Maintaining existing relationships	4.37	4.43	4.00	.43750	1.058	.292
The opportunity to meet with new people	4.76	4.96	3.65	1.31358	3.278	.001*
Political discussion	4.95	5.10	4.10	1.00280	2.427	.016*
Educational purpose	4.85	4.91	4.51	.39526	.946	.346
Updating my profile pictures	5.01	5.23	3.75	1.47888	3.673	.000*
Discussing and posting religious issues	5.31	5.55	4.00	-.96724	3.988	.000*

◉ 15. Modi's Media: Intermedia Effects in Indian Elections in 2014
Mohammed Al-Azdee, Bridgeport, and **Srishti Puri**, Bridgeport

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Modi's Media: Intermedia Effects in Indian Elections in 2014

Mohammed Al-Azdee
[1]Associate Professor of Mass Communication
University of Bridgeport
Carlson Hall, R227
303 University Avenue
Bridgeport, CT 06604
Office: (203) 576-4521
Email: malazdee@bridgeport.edu

and

Srishti Puri
Graduate Student of Global Media and Communication Studies
University of Bridgeport
Carlson Hall
303 University Avenue
Bridgeport, CT 06604
Cell: (732) 912-9414
Email: srpuri@my.bridgeport.edu

Bios of Authors

[1]Mohammed Al-Azdee is Associate Professor of Mass Communication at the University of Bridgeport. His research focus is the intersection amongst media, politics, and religion. Articles by Dr. Al-Azdee have been published in the *Foreign Policy Journal*, the *International Affairs Forum*, the *Mass Communicator*, the *International Journal of Development Research and Quantitative Techniques*, *Questions of Journalism*, the *Journal of Global Development and Peace*, *Media & Mass Communication*, and the *International Journal of Communication Studies*. Dr. Al-Azdee has also served the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication as Vice Head and Research Chair of the International Communication Division.

Srishti Puri is a graduate student at the University of Bridgeport, pursuing master's degree in Global Media and Communication Studies. Her scholarly interests are deeply rooted in communication and development. Formerly, she pursued her bachelor's degree in Journalism and Mass Communication at Amity University, India. During her undergraduate studies, she was engaged in multiple projects, such as Project Womania at a community radio station. She also gained distinguished experience in film-making, some of which were critically acknowledged at film festivals. After graduation, she worked in the fields of communications and public relations at the prestigious Sambodhi Research and Communications Pvt. Ltd. During the course of her career, she was recognized as Best Employee of the Year.

Modi's Media: Intermedia Effects in Indian Elections in 2014

Summary

This quantitative research investigates the role of social media in facilitating Mr. Narendra Modi's win in the General Elections of India in 2014. The study aims at testing the hypothesis if the three selected social media platforms under Modi's thumb influenced the content published on the websites of six Indian corporate newspapers. Three levels of intermedia agenda-setting were employed as frameworks in a method of content analysis, to estimate correlation values between media agendas. The analysis shows significant intermedia agenda-setting effects from Modi's social media platforms to Indian corporate newspapers.

Explanation of Research Work

Introduction

On May 16, 2014, Mr. Narendra Modi, the prime ministerial candidate of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), won a majority with 282 seats out of the 543 parliamentary constituencies of the Lok Sabha, lower house of India's Parliament. Modi's victory was historic. No party was able to gain over 30% of the votes since 1991 (Chhibber & Verma, 2014). Observers attribute this sweeping victory to Modi's campaign through social media. Modi's Facebook page had over two lakh likes, around nine million people followed him on Twitter, and thousands subscribed to his YouTube channel (Peer, 2014), quadrupling his outreach to both the public and the media. Indian corporate newspapers were speculating the probable candidacy of Modi. In Indian corporate newspapers, Modi, who is a rich businessman, was portrayed as larger than life. Modi's campaign hit headlines more than the opposition's campaign. Modi, himself, was mentioned more than the opposition's candidate in headlines of top Indian newspapers across languages (Rohan, 2013).

Literature Review

Social media contributed significantly to transcending Modi's problematic image to a fatherly figure. His presence on every social media platform was ubiquitous and unprecedented. All of Modi's social media platforms were integrated, and the theme of his election campaign, "Development," was promoted across all platforms (Pal, Chandra, & Vydiswaran, 2016). India, Mehta (2015) explains, is a fast growing Internet market, but it is also the world's second largest newspaper market. Modi was able to rise to success due to a lot of hot air infused by social media and corporate newspapers. It was through his social media campaign he mobilized Indian corporate newspapers. Mehta (2015) argues that the coverage in Indian corporate newspapers followed Modi's social media campaign, taking the form of *cheerleading hagiography*, rather than actual reporting. Kapur (2014) agrees that leveraging social media and influencing corporate newspapers impacted election results. Reportedly, there were around 58 million tweets about the election of which Modi's seemed to be the most influential in leading the dialogue. Indian corporate newspapers treated his tweets as newsworthy. Modi was the driving factor of the huge mandate BJP acquired (Kapur, 2014). Election results represent a significant shift in the political orientation of Indian voters, from left to far right. Observers attribute this change to the role of Indian corporate media, especially newspapers (Palshikar, Kumar, & Lodha, 2017).

Theory

When media provide salience (i.e., amount of coverage and/or relative placement) to an object (i.e., figure or issue), the media add value to that particular object (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs, & Lennon, 1998). Salience is described as making an object of a perceived reality more

memorable by frequently mentioning it (Entman, 1993). These saliences transfer between different agendas (e.g., media, public, policy). This conceptual argument is put into a framework by the agenda-setting function of mass media, within the first level of analysis (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

In second-level agenda-setting, objects in media content have attributes. In other words, objects have characteristics. Just as saliencies of objects change by objects' frequencies, saliencies of attributes also vary by their frequencies (McCombs, 2011). Saliences of attributes attach meanings to objects, because attributes, affective and substantive, influence images of objects (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs, & Lennon, 1998), as they get portrayed in media coverage. Saliences of attributes, and subsequent images of objects, transfer between different agendas (e.g., media, public, policy).

While first and second levels of agenda-setting deal with objects and attributes as discrete points, with their saliences transferring between agendas in a linear process, third-level agenda-setting deals with saliences of objects and attributes as sets of bundles (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2014). In third-level agenda-setting, objects and attributes are interconnected, not discrete points, and the transfer of their saliences between agendas is network-like, not linear (Guo, Vu, & McCombs, 2012).

This is especially significant to intermedia agenda-setting. The phenomenon, intermedia agenda-setting, refers to the transfer of saliences between media agendas (Lim, 2006). Scholars found that intermedia agenda-setting effects occur across different platforms of traditional and new media (Lee, Lancendorfer, & Lee, 2005).

Research Question

This ongoing study aims at answering the following question:

RQ. What are first-level, second-level, and third-level intermedia agenda-setting effects, from Modi's social media to Indian corporate newspapers, during the 2014 campaign of Indian elections?

Method

The research design (Appendix) relies on content analysis as a quantitative method. The analysis timeframe, from September 13, 2013 to May 10, 2014, is pertinent as Modi's candidacy was announced on the former and his campaign ended on the latter. Our sample, collected through systematic sampling, came from Modi's social media (i.e., Facebook page, Twitter account, and YouTube channel), in both Hindi and English, and websites of widely-circulated Indian newspapers, in Hindi (i.e., *Dainik Hindustan*, *Dainik Jagran*, and *Amar Ujala*) and English (i.e., *The Hindu*, *Tribune*, and *The Telegraph*). Collectively, we analyzed the content of 2,683 postings by Modi on three of his social media platforms, and 6,528 news articles published on the websites of six newspapers. Two coders worked on coding saliences of objects, attributes, and bundles, using MS Excel. We used SPSS to establish intercoder reliability, build a dataset, and test correlations represented by the arrows in the research design (Appendix).

Results

Our early findings show that Modi's social media set the agenda of Indian corporate newspapers, such that the coverage of the 2014 elections in the newspapers included saliencies of objects, attributes, and bundles set by the social media of Modi.

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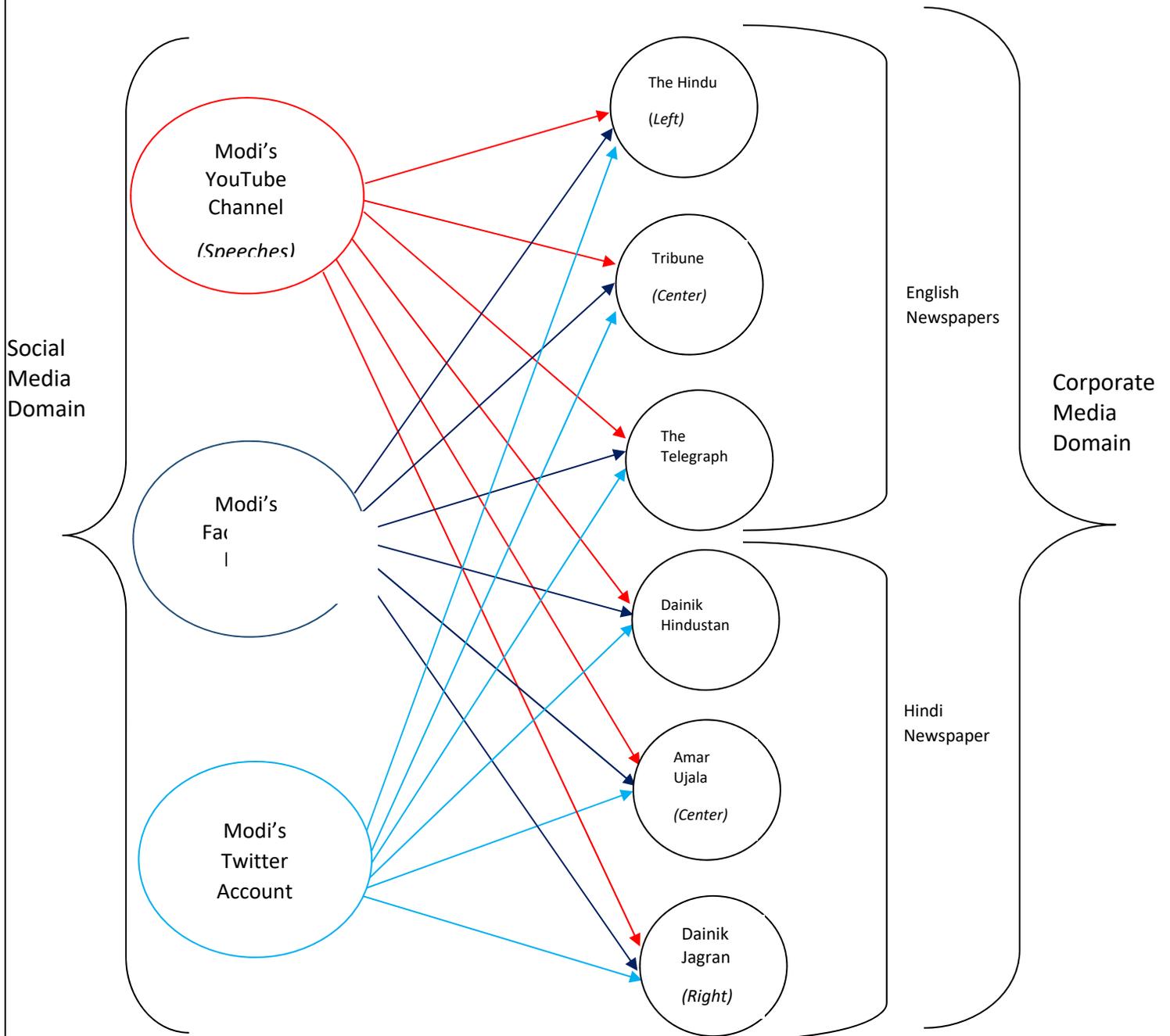
Appendix

Social Media Domain

Corporate Media Domain

Modi's YouTube Channel

(Speeches)

Modi's Facebook

Modi's Twitter Account

The Hindu (*Left*)

Tribune *(Center)*

The Telegraph

Dainik Hindustan

Amar Ujala *(Center)*

Dainik Jagran *(Right)*

English Newspapers

Hindi Newspaper

◉ **16. Media System of Bangladesh: In the Middle of Authoritarianism and Libertarianism**
Md. Khadimul Islam, Mississippi, and **Mohammad Yousuf**, Oklahoma

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Media System of Bangladesh: In the Middle of Authoritarianism and Libertarianism

by

Md. Khadimul Islam
Graduate Student
Meek School of Journalism and New Media
The University of Mississippi
Email: khadimul@gmail.com

&

Mohammad Yousuf, Ph.D.
Adjunct Instructor
Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Oklahoma
Email: yousuf@ou.edu

Bio:
Md Khadimul Islam is a graduate student in the Meek School of Journalism and New Media at the University of Mississippi. He was a senior political journalist in Bangladesh. In his sixteen years as a reporter, he has covered three national elections, a military coup, the arrest and trial of two former prime ministers and the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia. He joined Bangladesh's leading newspaper, New Age, in 2003, where he has been since, serving as the chief of correspondents for about a year. A fellow of The Asia Journalism Fellowships, Singapore and the International Institute for Journalism (IIJ), Germany, Islam has reported from the United States, Liberia, Japan, Singapore, Dubai, India and Nepal.

Dr. Mohammad Yousuf is an adjunct instructor in the Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Oklahoma. His research interests include strategic management of online media, media economics, media ethics, journalistic use of social media, data journalism, and news media and democracy. His research was published in prestigious journals including *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* and *Journalism Practice*. His scholarship reflects 8 years of work experience with national and international media in Bangladesh as a reporter and copy editor. He earned a Master of Social Sciences from the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, and a PhD from the University of Oklahoma.

Media System of Bangladesh: In the Middle of Authoritarianism and Libertarianism

Summary

This paper presents an excerpt from a large study that sought to define one of the least- explored media systems in the democratic world—Bangladeshi media—using the perspective of John Merrill (1990). Drawing on 36 in-depth interviews with mid-career journalists working in 25 television channels, the study examined the extent to which Bangladeshi media enjoy freedom as well as the extent to which the government controls media. Results indicate that Bangladesh's media system is neither libertarian nor authoritarian. It is slowly moving towards libertarianism while some authoritarian practices are still in place.

The media system of a country is often labelled libertarian or authoritarian on the basis of the country's political system. Renowned media scholar John Merrill (1990) refuted this notion and argued that no media system is completely libertarian or authoritarian. Media's relationship with the authority varies from one country to another, and is constantly changing. More recently, Merrill (2011) wrote, "It is safe to say that every media system is, to some degree, authoritarian and unethical. It just depends where the authority lies" (p. 57). Unlike authoritarian regimes that directly control media and their contents, social and political elites in democratic nations try to control media using indirect means such as ownership (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013; Ladd, 2010). Many renowned Western researchers and scholars (e.g., Chomsky & Barsamian, 1994; McChesney, 2004; Shoemaker & Reese, 2013) dug deep into how media contents in Western democracies were controlled by the elites. But very little is known about media system of many developing nations that rejected authoritarian rulers and embraced liberal democracies. Bangladesh is one of those countries where remnants of authoritarianism still remain dormant in the power structure while press freedom, although guaranteed in constitution, remains elusive. Reports on international media indicate that Bangladesh government often interferes in media's affairs by telling them what to publish—an authoritarian technique to control media (Safi, 2017). The political elites also try to control media indirectly by awarding ownership to ruling party loyalists. But little systematic research has been done to define media system of Bangladesh.

Drawing on John Merrill's perspective, this study examined the relationship between television channel owners and the ruling political coalition to understand the degree of freedom enjoyed by Bangladeshi media. The authors conducted in-depth interviews with 36 mid-career journalists working in 25 channels. The purpose of these interviews was to get deep into their understandings of direct and indirect influence of the government and ruling coalition on news and contents. This method is appropriate for this study as Lindlof and Taylor (2011) wrote, "Interviews are particularly well-suited to understanding the social actor's experience, knowledge, and worldviews" (p.173).

Growth and Ownership of Television Channels in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is one of several developing nations in South Asia that rejected authoritarian rules and introduced liberal economic policies. Since her independence from Pakistan in 1971, Bangladesh went through 20 years of military and autocratic rule before restoration of an electoral democracy in 1991. But successive democratically-elected governments have failed to ensure freedom of the press although it is guaranteed by the constitution (Kabir, 2003). Instead, these governments continued to ban newspapers, shut down television channels, prosecute journalists, and enact legislations that hinder press freedom (Islam, 2003; Safi, 2017). Until April 2000, there was only one television channel—Bangladesh Television—in the country, which was run by the government. Following adoption of free market economic policies in the early 2000s, the number of television channels in Bangladesh increased significantly. Since Bangladesh's first private television channel ETV started broadcasting in April 2000, many channels entered the market and many were shut down by successive governments. Currently, 29 (including three state-owned) channels are operating and only two of the mare owned by people known for their opposition to the ruling coalition led by Bangladesh Awami League.

Ownership of television channels is controlled by the government and the ruling coalition. Obtaining a television license depends on one's loyalty to the rulers. Issuing TV licenses to party loyalists was initiated during the BNP regime (2001—2006). It gave all of 10 satellite television channel licenses to its loyalists (Khan, 2007). The following elected-government followed suits. It didn't only give license to party loyalists, but also shut down many media that opposed the government.

Insights from Insiders

The 36 interviews provided insights into the extent to which Bangladeshi television channels enjoy freedom as well as the extent to which the ruling coalition controls media. Most of the journalists (32 out of 36) interviewed in this study said they knew if their employers were loyal to any political party. A majority of them said their channels did not have any specific policy or any written guidebooks. Their actions were guided by the political and business interests of owners. Some journalists reported receiving requests or instructions from government officials or ruling party leaders to publish or kill stories. A reporter of a 24-hour news channel said his employer asked him to kill stories that might have put the government in a bad light. However, most channels did not allow journalists and staff members to directly participate in political activities of any kind. Every four in ten journalists noted they felt their channels' coverage were neutral. Only a small portion of the journalists (two-in-ten) said they belonged to a political party.

In sum, the insights provided by these 36 journalists defined the media system of Bangladesh as neither libertarian nor authoritarian, but somewhere in the middle as John Merrill suggested. However, it is slowly moving in the direction of libertarianism with increasing number of private television channels hitting the market. However, some authoritarian practices are still in place. The journalists, some of those have been in the business for several decades, suggested that successive democratically-governments used their power to control media—often by banning media outlets or enabling party loyalists to own them. It has become a common practice to close down private television channels that oppose the government. As Doyle (2013) suggested, the ruling elites seek to establish a diagonal concentrations of ownership to impose a political monopoly over media contents. However, neutrality of most journalists (eight-in-ten) demonstrates potential for Bangladeshi media to move towards libertarianism over time.

This study contributes to the literature by defining one of the least-studied media systems in the democratic world, which currently serves over 156 million people (The World Factbook, 2016).

The study also shows potential of John Merrill's perspective in defining complex media systems that are hard to define.

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◉ **17. The Effect of the Exposure to American Media on the Lifestyle of Indian Immigrants**
Ibrahim Helmy Emara, Tanta University. Egypt.

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The effect of the exposure to American media on the life -style of Indian Immigrants.

Ibrahim Helmy Emara
Teaching assistant, School of Arts, Tanta University
Visiting scholar, school of media and Journalism, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
Tel: 9199287755
Email: doctor.omara@gmail.com , ibrahim1@live.unc.edu
Mailing address
1105 W NC highway 54
APT L4
Chapel Hill, NC 27516

Ibrahim Helmy Emara graduated in 2008 from the faculty of Arts, university of Tanta, Egypt. In 2009 he served as Journalism teacher in preliminary school and as a Journalist at several community newspapers at Al Gharbia governorate. After that he joined the department of mass communication as a teaching assistant and master student at the school of Arts, University of Tanta, Egypt. In 2013 he started his PhD program in the school of mass media, Cairo university, Egypt. He published three papers in the field of media and journalism. Attended several conventions. Wrote articles in Al-Ahram newspaper about the disabled matters in Egypt. Currently, he is a visiting scholar at the school of media and journalism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

The effect of the exposure to American media on the life -style of Indian Immigrants.

Abstract:

This study investigated the effect of the American media on the life style of the Indian immigrants who live in the US. In addition, the study identified the reasons for using American media among the Indian immigrants. It examined the similarities and differences between the American and Indian media. Besides, it explored the participants' evaluation of the treatment of the Indian matters in the American media. Moreover, the study measured the attitudes of Indian immigrants toward the decision of president Trump about the immigration to the US.

60 Indian immigrants responded to 20 questions that were included in the printed questionnaire. The sample consisted of 30 males and 30 females. In addition, old and young immigrants were equally represented.

The study indicated that the young Indian immigrants were affected by the American media more than the old immigrants. In addition, gaining entertainment and enjoyment were the most permanent objective of exposure to the American media. The traditional media were more attractive to the most of the participants. Few portion of the sample reported that they trace the Indian media in order to be aware of the current affairs in their country. Some of the Indian immigrants adapted a limited number of the American traditions, as they were proud of their Hindi culture. Few number of Indian immigrants felt anxiety after Trump's decisions concerning the immigration to the US and their ramifications.

Introduction:

Anyone who travel to a new country has a desire to know its' culture. This process is called (acculturation). the immigrants get exposed to the media of their home countries in order to be aware of what is happening there. The immigrants use the mass-media to achieve a twofold goal. Where the immigrants can transfer their values, habits and the heritage to a new country, they also maintain relations with their homeland.

India is regarded as a heterogeneous country. It has a large variety of ethnic groups, many with their own languages and religions.

Historically, the BBC international service was launched to target the Indian audience. it produced radio programs to deliver the western culture and give the Caribbean authors a wider audience. (Newton, 2008) .

The immigrants usually receive three types of media: the media of the new country, the media of the home country and the ethnic media which are produced in the host country but speak the language of original country. Sometimes the media of the host country talks about the culture of immigrants. However, the native residents may not realize that there are other denizens from different countries because the main goal of the municipal media is to reflect the culture of their country.

In The US there are a colossal number of immigrants who come from all over the world. Some experts believe that this represents a significant threat to the U.S. in the future, and have named this phenomenon unfinished American society.

It was estimated that the number of Indian immigrants to the US was more than two millions. The Indian immigration to the US started in the 1960s, after the passage of laws that facilitated immigration to the US. Although the Indian people have their culture and identity, they live in the US for a long time experiencing the American culture and life style.

The Indian immigrants encounter a tussle between accepting the new culture and preserving the original culture of their country. This problem increases among the (twice-migrants) who travel

to the US after being an immigrant in another country. They become prone to the cultural hybridity pressure performed by the host country. There are some Indian migrants who spend A massive efforts to resist such trials which seek to change their authentic culture.

Although the foreign immigrants to the US have a presumed contribution to the American economy, they represent to some, as a burden as they compete to get services such as: housing, jobs, food, and health care.

For a long time the immigrants to the US tried to interact with the American culture. Unfortunately, the racism was one of the prominent reasons for preventing achieving such cultural dialogue. For example, the Caribbean black immigrants changed their appearance In order to avoid the segregation which was experienced by African-Americans (Min, 2013).

One of the most significant sources of disseminating the American culture is mass media. Within the 24 hour cycle media outlets deliver to Indian immigrants, like other people, stories, articles and shows which include information about different aspects of American daily life. As a result Indians are prone to change their style life to be more correspondent with the American modern life.

thanks to the information technology revolution which provided the immigrants with A new tools that enabled them to share their culture in the host country. In addition they have a chance to know more about the other cultures.

Recently, the circumstances of immigrants in the US are not stable. As their future react with political conditions and regulations in the US. Although the new decisions which were made by President Trump did not affect the Indian immigrants directly, there are still fears about the future of the immigrants in the US. So that the question of how the Indian immigrants see their future in the US emerged. They use the American media in order to keep in touch with these new   variables.

This study attempt to investigate how American media affects the life of Indian immigrants. Before measuring the media effect the researcher examined media preferences among Indian people who live in the US. In parallel he identified to what extent Indian people get exposed to the Indian media after traveling to the US. Moreover, this study scrutinized the views of Indian immigrants about the coverage of the Indian affairs in the American media. Besides it highlighted the similarities and differences between American and Indian media.

This study was motivated by a series of questions :

RQ1 to what extent the American media have an effect on the life   of Indian immigrants?

Rq2 What do Indian immigrants choose to follow from different genres of the American media?

Rq3 what is the Indian immigrants' evaluation of the news coverage of Indian affairs in American media?

Rq4 what are similarities and differences between American and Indian media?

Rq5 what are the Indian migrants' attitudes toward the presidential decision related to immigration in the US?

Literature :

Before talking about the Indian immigrants we have to identify the common traits of the media system in India. (Bamezai et al., 2011) studied the use of mass-media among Indians. They demonstrated that the internet did not menace the reading of conventional newspapers. Few number of Indians read newspapers online particularly young males who lived in bigger cities. The lack of technology resources, poor electricity and weak communication infrastructure decreased the use of online newspapers in India. As a result the public relied on the television to get the local news. In another study, the gigantic use of the TV appeared through a campaign that was designed to diminish the use of tobacco in India (Murukutla et al., 2011).

(Chakravartty & Roy, 2013) studied the relationship between media and democracy in India. They concluded that the media system in India consists of national and regional levels. This gave the public an easy access to the news and information. (Barcla, 2015) found that social media represented a mighty pillar during the Indian parliamentary elections in 2014. This result was confirmed by a study was carried out in India that measured the effect of Facebook on voters' trends during the partisan election (Barclay, Pichandy, Venkat, & Sudhakaran, 2015). (Agrawal, 2015) highlighted the importance of using the new media in the social field such as finding marital partners online (Bharadwaj, 2000).

The attitude of Indian adults towards Islam was reported in a study conducted by (Ahmed, 2012). He found that there is a relationship between the negative attitudes towards Islam and their exposure to the British and American media.

Some studies identified media preferences among Indian people. One of these studies was applied on judges. It demonstrated that they prefer to read newspapers in the morning while they watch TV programs at night (Lee & Tse, 1994). Also (Chatterjee, 1999) found that the Indian married women get exposed to information pertaining the AIDS in the mass media and discuss it within their social networks.

Some scholars investigated the effect of media on immigrants' culture. (Lee & Tse, 1994) studied the harnessing of media among Hong Kong immigrants in Canada. They found that the ability of new immigrants to deal with the surrounding culture was low as a result of lacking language skills and their dependency on the home country media. Conversely the long- time immigrants did not prefer to get exposed to the ethnic media which speak the mother Tung language.

In contrast, In Canada there was A group called the Algonkians who are Indian immigrants acted as the characters presented on TV shows. (Granzberg, 1982). (Min, 2013) carried out a survey indicated that the Caribbean Indian immigrants adopted the Indian culture in a limited scale. Few number of them spoke the Indian language and most of them left eating the Indian food. while, they listen to Indian music and watch TV programs.

Some scholars studied the coverage of Indian immigrants' matters in the media of host country. The Australian media and views of Indian experts who wrote about apartheid actions toward Indian students were inspected. The Australian media dealt with Indians as a minority group. The Indian media covered these incident using an inaccurate details (Khorana, 2014).

There is a difference between the views of older Indian immigrants and young adult immigrants. This was noted through a study that interviewed the first generation of Indian immigrants who were discontent about the image of Indian women shown in "soap operas". The new image of Indian women was at odds with conventional values in India. as the participants were aware of the cultural changes in India by tracing their ethnic media (Somani & Doshi, 2016).

Also, (Mathur, 2012) compared the consumption characteristics between three groups: the first generation of Indian immigrants to the US and native Indians and Indian citizens in the US. He suggested that the most salient feature of first Indian immigrants to US was feeling of arrogance during dealing with the latest immigrants.

It is fact that, various ethnic groups live in the US. They consume the media in different ways so that researchers examine the effect of media on these groups. For example, (Mercado, 2015) analyzed the content of (El Taquito Magazine). He elucidated the importance of the transnational communication in achieving civil engagement of foreign immigrants in American society.

1241 whites, Blacks, and Hispanics adults responded to a questionnaire asking them about TV program preferences. The Black and Hispanic showed higher levels of believing in the information come from TV than white people. The results also revealed that Hispanic viewers watch

TV to get information and enjoyment while Black people get exposed to TV to acquire recreation (Albarran & Umphrey, 1993), (Johnson, 1996).

A study compared between the effect of American media and Korean media. This survey showed that the exposure to the American media increased the acceptance of the American culture among Korean immigrants. By contrast the Korean media did not have the same impact on the Korean immigrants in the US (Moon & Park, 2007).

(Messaris & Woo, 1991) probed the relationship between the image of the US presented in the media and Koreans' decisions to immigrate to the US. The interviewees hinted that the American media was the only source to get information about the US before immigration decision.

(Taylor & Chatters, 2011) compared the use of religious radio programs among African-Americans, Caribbean-Blacks, and non-Hispanic Whites. The results implied that Caribbean Blacks and African Americans get exposed to religious media more than non-Hispanic whites .

(Johnson, 2000) analyzed the content of a Latino magazine. She suggested that this magazine gave the immigrants a chance to get informed about their country. In addition, it covered the ethnic news and activities in the habitation country. However, the identity of Latino was introduced in English instead of the Spanish language.

The western Indian women were interviewed to measure the effect of media in their identity. They adduced that they were compelled to imitate the American model which is presented in TV particularly in beauty themes (Gentles, Kamille, 2005).

Few scholars referred to the proactive role of media instead of the reactive. (Viswanath & Arora, 2000) believed that the ethnic media can present the contribution of immigrants in order to depict them in a positive image and integrate them into the American society.

The relationship between the Indian immigrants and the American media was addressed through several studies. For instance (Shah, 1999) analyzed the content of American newspapers in order to explore how the media covered Asian Indians immigrants in the period from 1906 to 1923. The analysis detected the focus of American newspapers on the negative values and related these values to Indian's skin's color. In addition, (Bloemraad, Graauw, & Hamlin, 2015) investigated the coverage of Vietnamese and Indian immigrants' affairs in American and Canadian media. They pointed out that the demographic factors had an effect on the density of the media coverage related to these groups.

Also the demographic aspects appeared as effective variables of using religious media among immigrants in the US (Taylor & Chatters, 2011).

It is noted that the public health information gained a great deal of attention among the Indian immigrants. In the US, the sources of health information which are used by American Indians were studied. It was revealed in a study that American Indians rely on various sources of medical information particularly the internet (Geana, Greiner, Cully, Talawyma, & Daley, 2012).

In contrast, another study found that Indian Americans do not prefer getting health information from the internet (Islam, Islam, Patel, Wyatt, & , 2016).

On the other hand, Asian Indian immigrant women who seek information about Breast Cancer were investigated. The study suggested that there is a relationship between anxiety and information seeking behavior (Marfani, Rimal, & Juon, 2013) .

The Indian immigrants encounter the impingement of changing their culture. 280 Indian adults responded to a questionnaire asking them to evaluate films. The study showed that the presented films did not meet the preferences of young people (Kureshi & Sood, 2012).

In another study, respondents reported that some beauty notions appeared in Tamil movies which were performed by Malaysian Indian youths. in addition the content analyses showed that youthfulness and fairness were the most salient principles in these films (Karupiah, 2015).

(Rekha Sharma, 2011) explained the role of desi films which were produced by South Asian immigrants. These films contributed to preserve the original culture and $prevent westernization or Americanization.

The studies did not focus on measuring the effect of traditional media on the Indian immigrants only. As the Indian immigrants use new media in order to build links with their homeland and acquaint new cultures. (Mallapragada, 2017) investigated two videos that were produced by two women Indian immigrants. The study demonstrated that social media helped the immigrants to bid their identity, change the negative image and defend on their rights.

In addition, (Aricat, Karnowski, & Chib, 2015) investigated the role of mobile phones on the understanding the culture of host country among Indian immigrants. The results implied that the mobile phones assist Indian immigrants to communicate with their relatives and friends in India in addition to its role in assimilating the culture of the host country.

Through this literature review there was not any study that investigated the effect of American media on life style of Indian immigrants or determined their preferences or their use of American media.

The method :
The researcher conducted a survey on 60 Indian immigrants who get exposed to American media. The participants responded to the 20 questions which were included in the printed questionnaire. The study was applied on the Indian immigrants who live in the state of North Carolina. The questionnaire covered the following aspects : the exposure to the American media , media preferences , their attitudes towards the news coverage of Indian issues in the American media. Moreover, it included A comparison between the salient characteristics of American and Indian media in addition to their views toward the presidential decisions pertaining immigrants in the US.

The 60 Participants represented different demographic characteristics including gender, age, education and income.

Findings:
Most of the participants showed A high interest of the American media. The young people were followers to the American media more than the old Indian immigrants. It demonstrated that the participants preferred the traditional American media more than the new media. In addition, the participants were unsatisfied about the coverage of Indian affairs on the American media. Some of the respondents suggested that the American media ignore this group and treat them as a minority. On the other hand , most of Indian immigrants do not trace the Indian media regularly, in particular, the youth. Moreover, they reported that there is a significant difference between the American media and the Indian media. The majority of respondents believed that the American media did not change their original Hindi culture as the US is regarded as heterogeneous society which includes a different groups who have different cultures. Some Indian youth imitated the American youth but this was not as a result of exposure to the American media. Most of the participants were not worried about the presidential decision related to the immigrants in US as the immigrants play an remarkable role in the American economy. They attributed this fuss to enlarging this issue by the American media. Finally, they recommended publishing newspapers in addition to stablishing radio and television stations in Hindi.

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◉ **18. Exploring the Symbolic Construction of Beauty: An Analysis of a Soap Advertisement in Bangladesh**
Md. Mahfuzul Haque, Mississippi

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Exploring the Symbolic Construction of Beauty: An Analysis of a Soap Advertisement in Bangladesh

Md. Mahfuzul Haque
Graduate student
Meek School of Journalism and New Media
The University of Mississippi
Email: mhaque@go.olemiss.edu

The author is a Bangladesh-based journalist, currently pursuing MA in Journalism in the Meek School of Journalism of the University of Mississippi. He writes for *The New Age*, a national English daily in Bangladesh, on human rights, environment, and labor issues. He also worked as a research associate for the Development Consultant and Global Compliance Initiative (DCGCI) in Dhaka, Bangladesh. As a freelance researcher he also served for USAID, UNDP, Plan International and HelpAge International. His research interests include advertising and society, gender and media, representational politics of media, environment and sustainability.

Summary

Advertising has become an important cultural artifact in the life of human beings. Manufacturers adopt advertising as an imperative tool to reach consumers. To control consumption, advertisers embed meaningful messages in the advertisements. It is nearly impossible to find any product in the consumer society which is not embedded with meanings and certain symbols of identity. This paper explores how an advertisement of a soap brand in Bangladesh criticized the symbolic discourse of beauty created by the brands of skin lightening cream in order to introduce another symbolic framework of beauty.

Introduction

Advertisements are ubiquitous. Wherever people are, at office desk, in front of the computer or television, on the street or on the couch with a newspaper, they find advertising constantly attracting their eyeballs toward products and services. Its main role is to bridge the gap between manufacturers and consumers by providing information about the product or service to the consumers. But the role is not always confined to this task. Rather it tends to embed meanings in the products so that consumers can assume a material object as a friend in need. So it has been seen that *Cadbury* is not mere a chocolate; rather it is a symbol of romance between boyfriends and girlfriends, husbands and wives. Without consuming *Cadbury*, romantic relationships remain unfulfilled. Similarly, the advertisements of *Fair & Lovely*, a brand of skin lightening cream, have constructed an "identity" for female and male. Everybody should have bright complexion; otherwise she/he is not worthy of evaluation in family, workplace, interpersonal spaces, above all in the society. The advertisements symbolize a "reality" where lighter skin is the only asset of human beings and those who do not have this are presented as weak, a burden and eventually socially excluded. Thus, the product has constructed a "unique gendered identity" of both male and female. The embedding of particular meanings within material objects attempts to control consumption (Jhally, 1990).

A television advertisement[1] of *Meril Splash*, a local soap brand in Bangladesh, criticized the notion of having lighter skin to be beautiful. In the social and mainstream media, the advertisement was praised for its initiative to go against the wave. This paper attempts to analyze the advertisement by applying semiology and framing theory so as to explore the meaning of the advertisement.

The idea of Semiology came from the work of Swiss linguist and semiotician Ferdinand de Saussure. Semiology is a signifying system which is constituted by a series of signs (Saussure, 1986). The components of a sign system are called the signifier and the signified. A signifier is any form such as sound, image, color. And the signified is the concepts and meanings attached to the forms. For example, a diamond ring is a symbol of romantic engagement. Similarly, the flower red rose is as "natural" as romance. The process of signification is arbitrary given that the meanings are culturally and socially constructed. It is not fixed in time and space.

Framing refers to the way any media texts are presented. The presentation helps make sense of the world. Framing enables gatekeepers to emphasize certain things and omit others. It is based on the idea that the way an audience interprets a text or an object depends on how it is presented (Scheufele, 1999). Despite variations in how a text is interpreted, the way information is structured and selectively presented affects the meaning derived from it (Reese, 2001).

Content of the advertisement

The advertisement began with a mother drawing a "jinx-barrier" on the forehead of her dark-skinned infant girl. An elderly woman made negative remarks about the skin tone of the baby. In the

next sequence, the baby was shown as a child preparing to act as a princess in a cultural program of her school. But her complexion barred her from playing the role.

An elderly woman instructed her pregnant daughter-in-law to drink milk and eat more bananas because she wants her grandchild to be fair-skinned. The story moved on to a cinema shooting set where the director instructed the make-up artist to make the actress fairer. Then the actress struck up a conversation with the audience and questioned the stereotyped notion of beauty. The narrator said that beauty does not lie in skin tone. Think fresh because freshness means beauty.

Results

To introduce the soap brand to the audience, the maker of the advertisement framed its messages in a way that challenged the symbolic notion of beauty created by the advertisements of skin lightening cream brands. In South Asian countries, many people are obsessed with bright complexion. The advertisements of skin lightening cream included convenient signs and codes to create a symbolic discourse of beauty. On the contrary, the advertisement of *Meril Splash* set a framework with its convenient signs and codes to go against it and to introduce another notion of beauty.

The advertisement could use other signs, but it went with the signs of a dark-skinned baby, fairer skin. It also used a poster advertisement of skin lightening cream to indicate its pervasiveness. All the signs have been used to provide a meaning to the audience that the soap brand is against the stereotyped notion of beauty. Many Bangladeshis are bored with this gendered notion. They praised the brand for its bold step to criticize the notion of fairer skin and beauty.

Using all these signs the advertisement offered a framework to define beauty. It said beauty does not lie in skin tone. It advised the audience to think "fresh" by saying "fresh look is beauty." The soap will keep you fresh. The idea of "fresh look" thus did not contradict the symbolic construction of beauty; rather the advertisement defined another "gendered identity" of females by using convenient signs and codes.

Endnote

1 The advertisement of *Meril Splash*, a soap brand of Square Toiletries Limited in Bangladesh, was released in 2014. Below is the Youtube link to the advertisement:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rpO7QXlrQxM

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◉ 19. Blame It on Me! News Framing of Delhi Air Pollution in Indian Newspapers
Nandini Bhalla, South Carolina, and **Daniel Haun**, South Carolina

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Blame it on me! News Framing of Delhi Air Pollution in Indian Newspapers

Nandini Bhalla
Doctoral Student
University of South Carolina
nbhalla@email.sc.edu
and
Daniel Haun
Doctoral Student
University of South Carolina
dhaun@email.sc.edu

Nandini is pursuing a doctoral degree in mass communications at University of South Carolina, and her areas of research interest are global public relations, crisis communication, risk communication, and strategic communication. She obtained her MA degree in Journalism and Mass Communication from Apeejay Institute of Mass Communication, affiliated with Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, India. Before coming to the U.S. in 2015 to pursue her Ph.D., she worked in the Indian media industry for almost six years, primarily in public relations: as an executive at a national public relations agency, as a freelance consultant, as the press conference supervisor for the Commonwealth Games 2010, and as editor and writer in national television and radio news. Daniel Haun is a doctoral student in Mass Communications at University of South Carolina, and his areas of research interest are public relations, new media, social media, and educational technology. He received a M.F.A degree from University of Pennsylvania.

Blame it on me! News Framing of Delhi Air Pollution in Indian Newspapers

Abstract (Summary)

This study explores how the Indian news media frame the Delhi air pollution issue, looking at the way the media present its causes and solutions. This study also explores agenda setting, framing, and the concept of media advocacy through a content analysis of the top three Indian English-language newspapers' coverage of Delhi air pollution from 2011 to 2016, the year Delhi was enveloped with the worst toxic smog. Findings revealed that individual-level causal attributions were mentioned more than societal-level casual attributions in the news stories. Government, medical experts, judicial representatives, and nonprofits were the most common sources in news coverage.

Introduction

In September 2011, the World Health Organization (WHO) released the urban air database and declared Delhi as the worst polluted city, among 381 cities in developing countries (Chaudhari, Gajghate, & Singh, 2015). In 2013, outdoor air pollution became the fifth largest killer in India (Global Burden of Disease) with almost 620,000 premature deaths due to air pollution-related diseases (IANS, 2013). In 2014, Delhi again surpassed Beijing to become the city with the worst air pollution in the world ("India admits," 2014). In early November 2016, Delhi woke up to the deadly 'smog,' considered one of the worst levels of air pollution since 1999(PTI, 2016), putting the life of an estimated 25 million people at risk (Bhatnagar, 2016). The state government took many actions—albeit temporary—including closing schools, halting all construction for five days, banning diesel generators except in emergencies, and it ordered water to be sprinkled on the streets (TNN, 2016). Various societal-level and individual-level solutions as well as causes for increasing air pollution are defined by the government and reported by the media. However, there is a dearth of literature to understand how Indian media framed the issue of Delhi pollution.

How media report this social problem is a worthy topic to study because how the media frame an issue informs audiences about the issue and how to think about it (Gitlin, 1983). Media framing of health and social issues, such as air pollution, is important because it can impact the health policy formulation (Walsh-Childers, 1994; Andsager & Powers, 2001; Kensicki, 2004; Kim et al., 2010; Kim & Willis, 2007). Also, framing can help in understanding increased salience of this issue among the public by selecting and emphasizing certain ideas or aspects in news coverage (Entman, 1993, 2007). Literature has often linked framing with agenda setting to explore why and how certain health and social issues become the focus of media coverage (Mckeever, 2013). Agenda setting describes how the news media shape public opinion by emphasizing certain issues or issue attributes (Kim, Scheufele, & Shanahan, 2002; Weaver, 2007). Another important concept, media advocacy, may help explain increased media coverage and subsequent policy changes relating to social issues like pollution (Wallack, 1990; Wallack, Dorfman, Jernigan, & Themba, 1993).

Results

This study examined 372 news stories from *Times of India*, *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu* about the problem of air pollution in Delhi from 2011 to 2016 in order to determine how the framing of the news coverage may have helped push the issue of air pollution onto the agenda, promoting specific rules and policies to decrease air pollution levels in Delhi. This study uses content analysis to explore whether Indian newspapers mentioned individual causes more often than societal-level causes. Results indicate that individual-level causes appeared much more frequently (239 mentions of individual causes compared to 195 mentions of societal causes). *Diesel and petrol*

vehicular emissions was the most frequently mentioned individual cause, appearing in 55 (23%) articles, followed by *increased number of cars/congestion* (n = 44, 18.4%), and *burning biomass/waste burning* (n = 41, 17.2%).

This study also explored whether Indian newspapers presented societal-level solutions more than individual-level solutions. Results reveal that societal solutions appeared much more frequently (603 mentions of societal solutions compared to 24 mentions of individual solutions). The most regularly mentioned societal solution was *implementation of stricter norms* (n=125, 20.7%), followed by *reducing congestion/odd-even scheme/car-rationing* (n= 118, 19.6%), and *creation of recycling plants* (n = 78, 12.9).

Results also indicate that *Delhi government* sources (n=166, 28.7%) were included most frequently in the news coverage. Representatives of *judicial bodies* (n= 123, 21.2%) and *scientific/medical/ pollution "experts"* (n=111, 19.2%) were the next two most common types of sources, followed by *nonprofit sources* (n=101, 17.4%).

By analyzing Delhi pollution news articles in the top three English-language newspapers in India, this study explored factors influencing the way ambient air quality and air pollution issues are framed. Interestingly, personal-level causal attributions were mentioned more than societal-level casual attributions. Meanwhile, societal-level solutions were offered more than personal-level solutions to curb Delhi pollution. Given the strong collectivism of the Indian culture, it was expected that the media would focus more on societal accountability to encourage collective action than on individual responsibilities (as hypothesized). Newspaper coverage attributed unfavorable *metrological conditions* as a major cause of severe air pollution in Delhi, and emphasized the need for government intervention by mentioning solutions such as *stricter norms, introducing better car rationing policies (Ex: odd-even), introducing more recycling plants, monitoring air quality and introducing air treatment systems*, and *improving public transport system.*

Though limited in scope, this study provides communication professionals and scholars a better understanding of the concepts of media advocacy and framing to discuss health problems in a way that might influence public and policy agendas. This study is relevant, especially in today's times as India is the emerging economy but suffering from health hazards due to air pollution from many years and this crucial environmental problem can also impact South-Asia neighboring countries.

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◉ 20. Corporates and Media Ownership: A Qualitative Analysis of the Growth of Private Television Sector in Bangladesh
Rahnuma Ahmed, Oklahoma, and **Joe Foote**, Oklahoma

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Corporates and Media Ownership: A Qualitative Analysis of the Growth of Private Television Sector in Bangladesh

Rahnuma Ahmed, Doctoral Student
Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass communication, University of Oklahoma
Mailing address: 1802 East Lindsey, Apt# 1, Norman, OK-73071
Contact Number: (347) 355 1980
Email: rahnuma.ahmed@ou.edu

Bio: Rahnuma Ahmed (MA, University of Oklahoma) is a second-year doctoral student in Advertising, Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Oklahoma. She completed her undergrad and MBA programs from Bangladesh. Before coming to the USA, she worked as a lecturer in one of the top private business schools in Bangladesh for two years.

Joe Foote, Professor
Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass communication, University of Oklahoma
Email: jfoote@ou.edu

Bio: Joe Foote (BA, MA, University of Oklahoma; PhD, University of Texas; Post-graduate Rotary Fellow at Bristol University, England). Joe Foote is Edward L. Gaylord Chair in the Gaylord College at the University of Oklahoma. He also has served as President of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) and the Broadcast Education Association (BEA) For the past 25 years, he has led projects targeted to the South Asian countries of Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Extended Abstract

Bangladesh is considered an outstanding case "television media boom" among South Asian countries (Rahman, 2009; Andaleeb et al., 2012). The aim of the present study is to investigate the role of corporate houses in the growth of private television sector of Bangladesh. The study presented a review of scholarly and industry literatures on the TV media ownership structure of Bangladesh. Based on previous research, the study also presented an argument on the sustainability of this growth considering corporate ownership. The arguments presented in the present paper are important, as they provide a decent comprehension for media management researchers on to understand and work on South Asian media diaspora.

During the last two decades, media industry of Bangladesh has gone through frequent changes. After the fall of the socialist bloc, and with the emergence of a new world order, Bangladesh significantly endorsed privatization and market economy in early nineties and, thus, experienced a thriving service sector (Rahman & Alam, 2013). The expansion of private sector and liberalization gradually charged the full landscape of media sector. Broadcasting media, in particular, has grown as a reliable source of information within a very short period of time (Rahman, 2009).

Earlier studies identified several reasons for such an exponential growth: expansion of private sector, pressure of global commercial channels and local print media, growing awareness about democracy, entertainment demand from the growing middle class, technological advancement and the bid to legalize "black money" (see Rahman & Alam, 2013). However, one of the major antecedents was business houses' need for increased advertisements (Rahman, 2009; Andaleeb et al., 2012; Rahman & Alam, 2013). In fact, the expansion of advertising spending and investment endorsement by local and transnational corporations have led the industrialists of Bangladesh to media conglomeration (Rahman, 2009).

The trend of corporate ownership of media started back in 1997, when a giant conglomerate introduced the first private television channel of Bangladesh, ATN Bangla. As of now there are more than 43 authorized channels and 23 are on air, including two state owned channels (Islam, 2015). Since its inception, private TV industry successfully managed to grab interest of both audience and investors.

Advertisement is the major source of revenue for the private TV channels of Bangladesh. Private business houses need to depend on media to promote their products and services though advertisements. Therefore, there is a reasonable link between the expansion of private business sectors and the growth of private TV channels. Because of the huge advertising spending by medium-to-large companies in telecommunication, FMCG, food and beverage, banking, education, pharmaceuticals, real estate, electronics, house building materials, health care, automobiles and other sectors, the advertising market is thriving in Bangladesh (SIRIUS, 2013). According to 2013 SIRIUS study, the annual size of advertisement industry of Bangladesh is around USD 250 million. Out of this amount TV accounts for the highest USD 110 million, followed by print USD 75 million, radio USD 9 million, Internet USD 7.5 million and rest goes to Below the Line (BTL). Therefore, the growth in ad industry is directly associated with the growth of broadcast media in Bangladesh.

A close analysis of the ownership structure of the TV industry showed that private TV channels are mostly owned by giant corporations, whose focus of business is anything but media. Private channels, launched between 1997 and 2006, are mostly owned by media-related organizations, which are mainly engaged in productions of TV programs, advertisements and movies. But, conglomerate business houses' investment in private TV channels became visible in 2007. It is worth mentioning that political leaders/parties also investment in disguise of private media investment in order to back up their political agenda (Rahman & Alam, 2013).

However, TV media owned by big business houses, either related to political affiliation or not, seem to have more benefit regarding sustainability. Their initial expenses are largely supported by the subsidy from their sister concerns until they become self-sustainable in terms of revenue generation (Personal communication, 2014). Even if the channel never touches the break-even point, the organization would support the media. Therefore, many unprofitable channels are still running depending on the contribution from its giant investors. Corporations use such unrelated product diversification strategy mainly to maintain a way of mass communication or persuasion (Rahman & Alam, 2013). Most of the business houses do not treat their media as profit-making concerns, rather a tool to reach consumers through advertising and spread organizations' ideology (Personal Communication, 2014).

Nonetheless, there would always remain a political risk of going off air with the alternative government. Like many other South Asian countries, Bangladeshi media have a symbiotic relationship with the political elites (Rahman & Alam, 2013). Many channels, for instance, have got quick licenses by using political connection and many channels have gone off air due to the changes in ruling parties. Therefore, business houses pay a lot of attention to build strong government relations, lobbying connections and/or negotiation skills to remain legalized in any government regime.

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◉ **21. Changing Their minds?: How Tourism Advertising Affects the International Country Image of Bangladesh**
Imran Hasnat, Oklahoma, and **Elanie Steyn**, Oklahoma

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Changing their minds?: How tourism advertising affects the international country image of Bangladesh

Imran Hasnat & Elanie Steyn

Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Oklahoma

im@ou.edu/elanie@ou.edu

Imran Hasnat is an international Ph.D. student in journalism at the Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Oklahoma. He earned an M.A. in Journalism and Mass Communication from the University of Oklahoma and an M.A. in International Relations from Jahangirnagar University in Bangladesh. His research focuses on the interrelationship between the media and international politics. He has presented conference papers on this topic and has published on domestic and international politics in the Bangladeshi popular press. In 2014, he launched an online journal, *Glocal*, focusing on international politics. Before enrolling at the University of Oklahoma, he worked as secretary to the High Commissioner of Canada to Bangladesh and was a UNESCO youth peace ambassador.

Elanie Steyn is Associate Professor and the Head of Journalism at the Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Oklahoma. She teaches and researches media management, women in media leadership, and business trends in media. She has been the co-Principal Investigator on nine U.S. Department of State/University of Oklahoma grants that involve students, entrepreneurs, and media professionals from South Asia. She has published several peer-reviewed articles, chapters for academic books, and international research projects. Steyn received an M.A. in Business Communication from the former Potchefstroom University (now North-West University), South Africa. She also received an M.A in Communication Policy Studies from City University, London, United Kingdom, and a Ph.D. in Business Management at North-West University, South Africa.

Changing their minds?: How tourism advertising affects the international country image of Bangladesh

Abstract: This study measures the attitude toward Bangladesh, its people and its government among respondents from 40 different countries before and after watching a television commercial. This commercial, "School of Life" and part of the "Beautiful Bangladesh" campaign, was produced for the Bangladesh Tourism Board. It was the first of its kind in Bangladesh and launched during a major sporting event in Bangladesh in 2011. Results show respondents had a more positive perception about the country, its government and its people after watching the commercial. Results concur with similar previous studies showing how tourism advertising can affect a country's international image.

Since its independence from Pakistan in 1971, Bangladesh has struggled with internal conflict, natural disasters, hunger and human rights. This study examines recent efforts by the Bangladeshi government to counter the negative images of past decades. They do this by promoting the natural beauty, friendly people and attractiveness of the nation as a tourist destination.

Bangladesh is located in a delta of the Bay of Bengal. It is surrounded by India on three sides and Myanmar on the southeast. It is, for the most part, known to the world as a developing country heavily dependent on foreign donations and characterized by political instability, hunger, uncontrolled population growth, corruption, natural disasters, illiteracy and human rights violations (European Commission, 2015; Wassener, 2012; Islam, 2009). Bangladesh's international image was largely established after its independence from Pakistan in 1971. Given the realities the newly-independent country faced, then U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, called it the "bottomless basket" of the world—an image the international media reinforced from the 1980s onward and one still prevalent to a large extent today.

To address this and promote a more positive image in the eyes of the international community the Bangladeshi government's Tourism Board launched the country's first nation branding campaign in 2011. This campaign, with the slogan "Beautiful Bangladesh: School of Life" ran concurrently with the country's co-hosting of the Cricket World Cup with India and Sri Lanka. The campaign continued in 2014, when the Tourism Board commissioned "Beautiful Bangladesh: Land of Stories."

This research explores how the "School of Life" television commercial has the potential to positively affect the international country image of Bangladesh, its government and its people. It utilizes the theoretical framework of mediated public diplomacy and specific the bleed-over effect of tourism advertising.

In 2006, U.S. Travel Association COO Geoff Freeman stated that when tourists come to the United States they have a more positive view of the country than before visiting. Moreover, Freeman hypothesized that when tourists are exposed to tourism advertising messages about the U.S., they are more positive toward the country, even without visiting it (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2013, p. 2). This argument suggests that tourism advertising may "bleed over" to other nation branding objectives by positively affecting visitors' general attitudes toward a country, whether or not they intend to visit the country or whether they like the commercial itself. As a result, tourism advertising, to the extent that it is government-sponsored, becomes a tool for public diplomacy, that is "a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies" (Tuch, 1990, p. 3).

Using a pre-test, post-test research design, the study was conducted among an international research population of just under 1,000 respondents who participated in the research via an online survey. A set of questions collected data on respondents' demographic characteristics, while a set of pre-test and an identical set of post-test Likert-scale questions measured their attitude about Bangladesh as a country, its government and its people before and after watching the "School of Life" commercial. Another set of questions collected data on respondents' view of Bangladesh as a tourism destination in general.

Results from the study show that respondents had a more positive image of Bangladesh, its government and its people after watching the commercial than before. Though the change in perception about the Bangladeshi government was the least significant, results did indicate a positive change. However, respondents had a significantly more positive perception about Bangladesh as a tourist destination and about the Bangladeshi people after watching the commercial.

Research results support previous studies by mainly Fullerton and Kendrick (2006; 2013; 2015) which showed that audiences changed their perceptions about countries such as Australia, the U.S., Cuba and South Korea after watching tourism commercials similar to the "School of Life" commercial. It also supports the bleed-over effect of tourism advertising highlighted in these studies. The authors argue that this type of message, combined with other forms of public diplomacy (including mediated public diplomacy), can play a significant role in affecting audiences' view of a country, attract them to travel to that country (Entman, 2008) and in the process contribute towards (or "bleed over") into other areas such as economic development and overall improvement in country image.

As a developing country with a traditionally negative country image, this is something Bangladesh can significantly benefit from.

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⦿ **22. Who Are Those Anti-Nationals? A Content Analysis of Indian English Newspaper Articles Including the Term "Anti- Nationals"**
Shreenita Ghosh, Wisconsin-Madison

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Who are those Anti-nationals? A content analysis of Indian English newspaper articles including the term "anti-nationals".

Shreenita Ghosh
University of Wisconsin- Madison
Email is: ghosh26@wisc.edu

Bio:
Shreenita Ghosh is a second year doctoral student in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at UW-Madison. She pursued her Master's degree from Indian Institute of MassCommunication, India specializing in Advertising and Public Relations. Her primary field of research interest is in Communication for Development and Social Change. She is keen to dig deeper into the role of grassroots media and moderators in communication. In India, she was a producer in Red FM (India's largest radio network) and then a copywriter in the advertising agency Log5 Communications. She also served as assistant director in the Satyajit Ray Film and Television Institute short film "Aadha Quarter".

Who are those Anti-nationals? A content analysis of Indian English newspaper articles including the term "anti-nationals".

"It (civic elections) has now become a fight between nationalist, patriotic and progressive forces on the one hand, and anti-national, fascist and anarchist forces on the other," a leading Indian daily newspaper quoted a notable politician in the national capital. This reflects the trend of politicians using the terms patriotism and nationalism interchangeably and media giving voice to the same. While sociologists have made distinctions in between the two concepts, the term anti-national has been used more widely in discourse in media and newspapers rather that anti-patriotic or traitor. Mass media plays an important role in interpreting social and political contexts and influences discourse among the general public. This study attempts to understand the framing of the term anti-nationals by Indian newspapers by qualitatively analyzing the content of four major Indian English Dailies. The study examines the following research questions: Are there specific themes/patterns/trends that surround newspaper articles having the keyword anti-nationals in it? Is the definition or meaning of the term anti-national mentioned in the articles? Is there any trend in who are defined as anti-nationals in the articles? Is there any remedy frame that is repetitively portrayed?

Social scientists define national attachment as a sense of "belongingness" to the nation as a whole (Blank, Schmidt, & Westle, 2001). Feshbach (1994) through research defined two types of national attachment. Nationalism was regarded as national superiority while patriotism, reflected one's love of country and the symbols and concepts that represented one's country (Davidov, 2010). Patriotism was defined as a much more politically neutral form of national attachment than nationalism (Coenders & Scheepers 2003; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Researchers further contended that nationalism and patriotism as concepts were different and could result in diverse attitudes and behavior of the citizens (Ajzen, 2005). Blank and Schmidt (2003) define the term nationalism as "an idealization of the nation . . . the conviction of one's own national superiority and the generalized positive judgment of one's own nation" while "genuine" patriotism (Adorno et al., 1950) is defined according to Davidov (2010) does not idealize the nation and in fact is constructive and critical of it. Patriotism is also said to demonstrate support for the nation with ample regards to humanistic values, and an acceptance of negative criticism towards of the nation (Easton, 1975). Researchers argue that these two components of national attachment can amount to quite different attitudes toward the "others". Raijman et al. (2008) contend that nationalists often demonstrate stronger exclusionary attitudes towards people unlike themselves or their definition of the nation while patriots are often more open to discussion counterarguments and tend to the thoughts and ideas of other minorities.

Chatterjee (1993) contends that nationalism is the major source from which anticolonial confrontations emerged and it helped unite the community and arouse them and bind the community into a singular thought, belief and identity. While India's independence on 15 August 1947 was a turning point for the country making it a geographically distinct nation with no foreign governance, Pugsley and Khorana (2011) contend that "India's nationhood has always been a tenuous construction where unity within that 'marginal' space becomes a dramatic concern". Virdi (2003) states Indian media is often seen to portray India as multiethnic, multilingual, and precariously secular cohesive state and 'tensions that threaten to fracture the nation are obsessively manifested in films as moral conflicts or ethical dilemmas'. However, if Indian media is so concerned about representing India's diverse population and thought process, who are portrayed as the "others" or the anti- nationals?

This study uses a qualitative approach to examine the newspaper coverage of the term anti-national in newspapers. The four English Dailies coded for this study were The Times of India, The Hindu,

Hindustan Times and Indian Express. These publications were chosen due to their high readership rates and their reach throughout India. Overall 1714 articles were retrieved from the search: 524 from the Times of India, 103 from the Hindu, 698 from Hindustan Times, and 389 from Indian Express. The study examined every tenth article thereby analyzing 171 articles.

Content analysis was selected as the method) instead of public opinion surveys and interviews because of surveys' unobtrusive nature and its lack of reliance on subjective perceptions (Krippendorff, 2004). However, according to Entman (1993), a content analysis which is not guided by a framing paradigm, often misrepresents the perceived meanings of media content that is understood by the audience. Identifying and describing frames when used in content analyses thus can help understand the audience interpretation of the text and can overall help in predicting and analyzing public opinion. Thus, content analysis can be a useful method to understand how print news media frames the discourse surrounding the term anti-national in politics and society.

Entman's (1993) four-part framing typology for was used to code all the articles for analyzing the dominant meaning. The four parts to the framing process includes a) the defining the problem: determining what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits), b) studying the cause: (whether/what causes were suggested), c) the moral judgments or evaluation of causal agents and their effects: whether/where blame was placed, d) and treatment (or suggest remedies).

Initial investigations showed that Indian media relied extensively on the quotes of elites while describing someone as anti-national while objects and statements without human subjects (eg. Writings on walls/ carts/ script of play etc) were often directly termed as the same. While there were some articles which extensively defined the difference between nationalism and patriotism and what encompassed sedition, most articles did not have such information. In fact, even the elites seemed confused by the term anti-national as implicated by phrases such as "A lot depends on the interpretation of 'an-ti-national'," said a senior police officer." (Times of India, 2016). Students at educational institutions such as Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi University, Hyderabad University, foreign non-profits Greenpeace and Amnesty, as well as political elites were often seen portrayed in the causal frame. The resolution frames differed considerably in accordance with the causal frame.

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◉ **23. Beyond Borders: M.I.A.'s *Kala* and the Politics of Creative Cultural Resistance**
Meenakshi Gigi Durham, Iowa

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Beyond borders: M.I.A.'s *Kala* and the politics of creative cultural resistance

Meenakshi Gigi Durham
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Iowa

Phone: (319) 384-1836
Email: gigi-durham@uiowa.edu

Meenakshi Gigi Durham is professor and Collegiate Scholar in the University of Iowa's School of Journalism and Mass Communication. Her work centers on media, gender and sexuality, and the politics of the body, often taking a transnational feminist approach. She is the author of *The Lolita Effect* (2008) and *Technosex* (2016), and the co-editor with Douglas M. Kellner of *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks* (2001). She has published numerous peer-reviewed articles, essays, and book chapters. In 2014, she received the Teresa Award for the Advancement of Feminist Scholarship from the International Communication Association's Feminist Scholarship Division. She is also the recipient of the University of Iowa's President and Provost's Teaching Excellence Award, the Honors Thesis Mentor Award, and the SPJ Student Chapter Faculty Excellence Award.

Beyond borders: M.I.A.'s *Kala* and the politics of creative cultural resistance

Meenakshi Gigi Durham, *University of Iowa*

Summary: This paper examines the 2007 hip-hop album *Kala*, recorded by the British-Sri Lankan artist M.I.A. after she was denied an entry visa to the United States on grounds of posing a terrorist threat. In the paper, I conduct a critical/cultural studies analysis of *Kala*'s music and, more importantly, its mode of production. I argue here that the album embodies subaltern creative cultural resistance, characterized by its use of interventionist collage, new imaginings of global community and subjectivity, and use of new communication technologies as a form of "differential movement."

In 2006, the acclaimed British-Sri Lankan hip-hop artist M.I.A. was denied a visa to the United States, where she intended to work on a new album with the producer Timbaland. She appealed the denial four times to no avail. The U.S. government's ban on her entry halted work on her album as well as a scheduled tour. "The uncompromising tone of her music, which features bomb blasts and lyrics about revolution, has upset the U.S. authorities," reported London's *Evening Standard* (Singh, 2006, p. 25). "Immigration officials have denied British-Sri Lankan rapper M.I.A. (Maya Arulpragasam) a work visa, preventing her from entering the U.S. to record her upcoming album with Timbaland," reported *Rolling Stone*: "M.I.A. has been vocal about her family's affiliation with the Tamil Tigers, a terrorist group seeking to overthrow the Sri Lankan government" ("MIA shut out of U.S." 2006, p. 27).

Although a decade has passed since this incident, the contemporary politics of U.S. border policy and rhetoric have intensified public discourse around national security and immigration. Donald Trump's 2017 executive order suspending the legal entry of people from purportedly "terror-prone" nations is facing legal challenges that raise questions about the criteria for inadmissibility, among other issues (Liptak, 2017; Spiegel & Rubenstein, 2017).

In this environment, M.I.A.'s case and her response to her permanent exile from the U.S. provide an opportunity for a theoretical exploration of subaltern artistic expression in an era in which globalized economies and identities confront heightened state-sanctioned xenophobia and repression, especially between the global North and South.

The goal of this study is to interrogate the tactics of creative resistance deployed by a subaltern subject in the face of the political tyranny of the "war on terror," the anti-immigrant rhetorics at work in a number of Western countries, and the machinery of global media systems. This paper explores M.I.A.'s work as a specific form of subaltern resistance, both in its content and, more importantly, in its modes of production and distribution, which operated outside of, and in direct opposition to, institutional mechanisms designed to expunge or neutralize politically subversive art and artists.

My analysis will focus on M.I.A.'s second album, *Kala.* Her prohibition from entering the United States galvanized a global odyssey in which she gathered and combined sounds from myriad countries and cultures to create this album, named one of the top ten albums of 2007 by many leading critics and listed as one of *Rolling Stone*'s 500 greatest albums of all time. *Kala* was described in *Rolling Stone* as "a global mash-up" of music that "flitted between hip-hop, soca, dub, punk, and an array of other styles" (Rosen, 2013,¶7, ¶4). The music as well as the process of its composition channeled the artist's fury at her visa denial. The globalized recombinant creation of the album marks it as an act of creative cultural resistance whose significance is conceptually complex.

In this paper, I will conduct a critical/cultural analysis of the album and its production techniques, arguing that M.I.A.'s creative resistance can be understood as an "interventionist

collage" (McLeod & Kuenzli, 2011), an imagining of new communities and political subjectivities (Duncombe, 2007), and as a form of differential movement (Sandoval, 2000). The last term refers to the ways resistant ideas percolate into society and galvanize social movements and other forms of collective action. "Differential movement" moves expressions of resistance to their destinations. Sometimes these forms of expression are expunged from the mainstream, yet they foment underground, giving rise to emancipatory forms of thought and praxis. The journey from "inner" forms of consciousness—individual awareness, critique, and deconstruction— to "outer" forms of identity formation, coalition building and social movements, calls for radical and extra-institutional methods of distribution. "DIY" recording technologies comprise such distributive systems.

In the contemporary era of recording technologies, subversive artist like M.I.A. must imagine new schemes for disseminating art that challenges mainstream politics, and these schemes are necessarily technological rather than artisanal. Kellner and Kahn argue that "emergent information-communication technologies (ICTs) have facilitated oppositional cultural and political movements and provided possibilities for the sort of progressive socio-political change and struggle that is an important dimension of contemporary cultural politics" (2006, p. 703). In the case of M.I.A.'s emergence as a "terrorist rapper" with an anti-U.S. political agenda waged from a Third World feminist location, new communication technologies as well as a global identity position enabled her to circumvent the corporate media channels that usually serve to block and silence potential sedition. In an era of political repression and militarist jingoism, the attempted suppression of M.I.A.'s art and music through legal channels was ultimately unsuccessful. By working with an "underground" network of distribution and interaction, she effectively transmitted her subaltern political messages without the aid of the media machine that usually drives the dissemination of pop culture. In addition, she was able to do this by moving outside of the United States and working from various global locations that were connected via cybertechnologies to the mixing and production facilities in the West. Her music flourished by means of a latticework of musical colleagues, producers, and fans that crosscut the globe.

In a sense, M.I.A.'s experience of political strife, violence and sexism is infiltrating the Western genre of hiphop in an inversion of the colonial explorations of the past. This paper concludes that by using guerilla technologies to disseminate her guerilla art, M.I.A. is giving voice to the marginalized insurgents whose counterhegemonic impulses challenge current orthodoxies with the goal of changing dominant/colonizing cultures.

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◉ **24. Who is a bigger killer, HIV/AIDS or Stigma?: An Exploratory Study on Pakistani Media's Coverage of Sexual Health**
Lamia Zia, Texas Tech

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CLOSING THE GAP: MEDIA, RESEARCH AND THE PROFESSION

Microtalk Title:
Who is a bigger killer, HIV/AIDS or Stigma?: An Exploratory Study on Pakistani Media's Coverage of Sexual Health

By

Lamia Zia
Adjunct Professor
College of Media & Communication
Texas Tech University
Email: Lamia.zia@ttu.edu

Lamia Zia, an adjunct professor at TTU, is an independent journalist with over 10 years experience in print and broadcast media in Pakistan. She worked with renowned award-winning journalists, research scholars and US-Pakistani diplomats in Washington D.C. In her most recent role as a visiting fellow at the US-Pakistan Women's council, Lamia assisted the Council on women's entrepreneurship projects. Prior to her Fellowship, she completed her Masters in multimedia Journalism at the University of Iowa. Her recent Multimedia project "Faces of Silence," that focuses on the challenges of Muslim American women of South Asian descent in the Mid America got acclaimed in media circles. Apart of extensive writing on human rights issues, she has also worked at national TV channel, GEO as a senior correspondent in Pakistan. In 2004, She was awarded British Council fellowship and worked as a research fellow with *Panos* Institute London. As a fellow, she published articles on the role of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers reducing maternal mortality rate in Pakistan. Currently, her news columns appear regularly in nationally acclaimed Pakistani newspapers including *The Express Tribune* and *Daily Times*.

Specialties: International development, Human Rights, Gender and Politics, Health communication, Blogging, Visual Communication, Documentary, Investigative Reporting, Communication strategies and research.

a) **Microtalk title & a short summary:**

Who is a bigger killer, HIV/AIDS or Stigma?: An Exploratory Study on Pakistani Media's Coverage of Sexual Health

The study explores the public knowledge of HIV/AIDS in Pakistan who merely rely on the media to get basic health information. The study measures prevention and level of awareness among the public including their health behavior towards HIV/AIDS. Although Pakistan is a relatively less researched area, existing information available on HIV/AIDS is insufficient and lacks credibility in terms of data available on public and private archives. Also, the high volume of information presented to the public does not appear to have clear understanding of the health messages (Readings, Content Analysis of Anthrax in the Media, pp-404). This exploratory study provides a detailed review of the existing literature, which then is discussed in the context of qualitative interviews that were conducted to further understand and explore this problem. Findings of this study suggest that the lack of training and appropriate knowledge on the part of news media, particularly TV channels, is actually contributing to reinforce stigma about sexual health, in general, and HIV/AIDS, in particular. In order to address this unspoken issue in the society, Pakistani news organizations should be taken on board by launching special training programs for journalists and the so-called producers of information.

b) **Further Explanation of the Study:**

As stated previously, although Pakistan is a relatively less researched area, the existing information available on HIV/AIDS is insufficient and does not provide accurate information. There are however, various factors, like inadequate media campaigns, and unavailability of blood screening for HIV, which pose a risk in increasing the HIV transmission, in particular to the 'high-risk' population, i.e. sex workers, long route truckers, and injecting drug users. And due to the aforementioned factors combined with the lack of awareness regarding prevention and modes of transmission of HIV/AIDS, the disease is feared to penetrate into the general masses in Pakistan, if proper actions are not taken (Butt, 2004).[3]

The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is a retrovirus that infects cells of the immune system, destroying or impairing human function. As the infection progresses, it makes the immune system weaker, and the person becomes more susceptible to infections. The most advanced stage of HIV infection is Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). It can take several years for an HIV-infected person to develop AIDS.

There are various ways of contracting an HIV infection; it can be transmitted through unprotected sexual intercourse, transfusion of contaminated blood, sharing of contaminated needles, and between a mother and her infant during pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding (World Health Organization, 2010). [4]

At present, in Pakistan, 70,000 to 80,000 persons, or 0.1 percent of the adult population in Pakistan, are infected with HIV. However, officially reported cases are much lower. As in many developing countries, underreporting is due mainly to the social stigma attached to the infection, limited surveillance and voluntary counseling and testing systems, as well as the lack of knowledge among

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[3] http://gateway.nlm.nih.gov/MeetingAbstracts/ma?f=102277868.html

[4] http://www.who.int/topics/hiv_aids/en/

the general population and health practitioners (The World bank, 2005).[5]

Unsafe sex is not only one cause of getting HIV, low level of awareness, inadequate health campaigns, blood transmission and unsterilized medical instruments in the hospitals are also the major causes which showed that anyone can be infected with this virus. Unsafe medical injection practices are very common in Pakistan. It is estimated that 40 percent of the 1.5 million annual blood transfusions in Pakistan are not screened for HIV. Unsafe injections account for 62 percent of Hepatitis B, 84 percent of Hepatitis C, and 3 percent of new HIV cases. Among other causes, low level of literacy among general population increases the risk of HIV because sexual education is not considered a part of health due to cultural influences in Pakistan.

Majority women in rural areas remain unaware of health issues because of restrictions on their mobility limits access to information and preventive and support services. Young adults are more vulnerable to influence by peers, unemployment frustrations, and the availability of drugs. The primary research question for this study deals with understanding and exploring the types of stigmas associated with sexual health in Pakistan.

Method. In addition to analyzing the content available on governmental and non-governmental archives, the study conducted qualitative interviews to assess the knowledge, attitude and practice towards HIV/AIDS. The respondents were in the age group of 20-34 years. Their responses were transcribed and analyzed by utilizing a thematic analysis.

c) Findings of the Study

Findings of this study suggest that people in Pakistan have low literacy about HIV/AIDS and they often associate it to sexual immorality. Pakistani Media lack trained health experts who do not deliver credible information to their audiences. Also, due to religious and cultural pressure, health messages cannot be disseminated by the media or health campaigns, which leave huge gaps of knowledge to fill. The findings of this study also suggest that for the management of information on such issues related to public health, government and public health leaders should remove the barriers of communication, and work toward creating strategies to avid conflict while disseminating credible information to masses so that they can look at the sexual health separate from cultural and religious stigmatization.

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⊙ **25. Evaluating Social Media Performance of South Asian Embassies in the USA: An analysis of Twitter Activity**
Md. Nazmul Rony, Oklahoma, and **Rahnuma Ahmed**, Oklahoma

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Evaluating Social Media Performance of South Asian Embassies in the USA: An analysis of Twitter Activity

Md. Nazmul Rony
Contact Number: (347) 355 9958
Email: nazmul.rony@ou.edu

Bio: Nazmul Rony (MA, University of Oklahoma) is a second-year doctoral student in Advertising, Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Oklahoma. He completed his undergrad (in marketing) and MBA (in international business) programs from Bangladesh.

Rahnuma Ahmed
Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass communication, University of Oklahoma
Mailing address: 1802 East Lindsey, Apt# 1, Norman, OK-73071
Contact Number: (347) 355 1980
Email: rahnuma.ahmed@ou.edu

Bio: Rahnuma Ahmed (MA, University of Oklahoma) is a second-year doctoral student in Advertising, Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Oklahoma. She completed her undergrad and MBA programs from Bangladesh. Before coming to the USA, she worked as a lecturer in one of the top private business schools in Bangladesh for two years.

Extended Abstract

How your country stands in comparison to other nations matters significantly. The very idea of branding nations has become an integral part of government policy to increase foreign direct investment, tourism, export, skilled workforce, worldwide political influence, etc. (Dinnie, 2008). Therefore, any government, as a representative of its people and institutions, should provide the rest of the world with the positive identities of the nation to create favorable perceptions or image in the mind of people (Anholt, 2007). A part of such nation branding goals can potentially be achieved by a nation's embassy activities and contribution in foreign affairs (SRana & Chatterjee, 2011). It is particularly true for embassies representing developing countries (SRana & Chatterjee, 2011). Their roles in promoting trade, investment, acquiring technology, managing aid, exchanging culture, initiating and enhancing partnership on behalf of the developing countries' people, government, business and institution (SRana & Chatterjee, 2011) are literally in line with achieving competitive brand value of a nation (Anholt, 2007; Dinnie, 2008). Social media provide a good platform for organizations like Embassies to create a road map to achieve such goals via an engaging environment.

The current study focuses on South Asia as a case study to understand how their embassies in the USA are performing on social media. The current paper aimed to investigate (1) the extent to which Embassy social media are active (joining date and number of tweets), (2) the extent to which they are engaged in community development (number of followers and followings), (3) the extent to which Embassy social media generate tractions in terms of "likes," and (4) the extent to which Embassy social media generate insights (positive and negative sentiments) in comments.

Based on earlier social media assessment metrics (see Duke, et al., 2014; Peters, et al., 2013), Chung (2015) suggested that there are three key metrics to measure and assess social media-based campaigns: exposure, engagement, and insights. First, exposure in referred to the extent to which the social media content is viewed by audiences (Chung, 2015). Audience engagement is defined as the extent to which audience gets engaged with others (Chung, 2015). Next, the content of the comments can reveal audience's viewpoints or insight. Chung (2015) argued that the goal of insights metric is to gain visions regarding audience sentiments and opinions regarding an object (e.g., person, brand, organization, campaign, event, message, etc.). The major objective of this paper is to evaluate the social media performance of South Asian Embassies in the USA in terms of audience exposure and insights. The study also focused on measuring traction or success indicators (e.g., likes)

In order to find out the frequency of activity, community development, and traction, the current study analyzed the Twitter account of constituent six South Asian nations (i.e., Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Maldives and Sri Lanka). Bhutan was excluded, as the country does not have any diplomatic relations with the USA and therefore, there exists no diplomatic presence of Bhutan in the USA (U.S. Department of State, 2015). In addition, Bangladesh was excluded, because the Embassy does not have a Twitter account. For analyzing the sentiments, the study collected and analyze the census of tweets via NodeXL.

Results show that among the countries, Afghanistan was the first nation to join Twitter, followed by Sri Lanka. Although India entered a little bit later, the country remained the most active one in terms of number of tweets and the most popular one in terms of number of followers. Community development activity, in terms of number of following, was high for Sri Lanka. Finally, Afghanistan's Twitter page got the most "like," an indicator of social media success. Regarding sentiments, all the tweets were dominated by positive sentiments. Nepal had the highest positive to negative sentiment ratio (1.79). Insights and results from this study will significantly add value to the current continuing scholarly and practical discussions on social media performance of the Embassy of South Asian countries in the USA.

Keywords: social media, nation branding, South Asian Embassy in the USA, sentiment

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Call for Papers: Research Microtalks on South Asia at AEJMC 2017
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Afghanistan   **Bangladesh**   **Bhutan**   **India**   **Maldives**   **Myanmar (Burma)**   **Nepal**   **Pakistan**   **Sri Lanka**

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We invite you to present your research on South Asia or the South Asian diaspora. In our commitment to the 2017 AEJMC conference theme "Closing the Gap: Media, Research and the Profession," the AEJMC South Asia Initiative will host an interactive session featuring research microtalks (2 to 3 minutes) on South Asia or the South Asian diaspora.

▶ **3:30 p.m. to 5 p.m.**, **Aug. 11**, **2017** (Friday) during the 100th AEJMC conference
▶ **Chicago Marriott Downtown Magnificent Mile**, 540 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

▶ Deadline for extended abstracts: **11:59 p.m. EDT, May 18, 2017**
▶ Notifications of acceptance: **June 8, 2017**

Microtalk speakers will be selected in this peer-reviewed competition to present their research on South Asia or the South Asian diaspora. We welcome submissions representing a range of theoretical and methodological approaches relevant to South Asia or the South Asian diaspora.

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With over one-fourth of the world's population, South Asia has emerged as an important region for media and journalism, politics, international relations, health communication, culture, media and other areas that enrich the repertoire of our field.

The South Asia Initiative brings together people with interest and expertise in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar (Burma), Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and the South Asian diaspora worldwide. The AEJMC South Asia Initiative, which currently constitutes 520 members worldwide, was instituted at the AEJMC 2015 conference in San Francisco.

⦿ **Submission Guidelines**

1. Submit an extended abstract of 900 to 1000 words and related references or endnote citations (*which are NOT part of the 1000-word limit*).
2. Include a cover page with your extended abstract. The cover page should include your microtalk title, author name(s), affiliation(s), contact information, and a 125-word bio (written in third person) of author(s). We will detach this cover page to facilitate blind judging. Do not include author name(s) or any other identifying information in subsequent pages of the extended abstract.
3. Follow this format:
    (i) Cover page (see item#2)
    (ii) Extended abstract (*1000-word limit)* with these parts:
        (a) Title of microtalk with a 100-word summary,
        (b) Explanation of research work,
        (c) Research results, and
        (d) References or endnotes (*which are NOT part of the 1000-word limit*).
4. Submit your extended abstract in one file to **Dr. Deb Aikat**, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, as an email attachment [in Portable Document Format (PDF) or in Microsoft Word] to **da@unc.edu** with "**SAsia17res**" in the subject line of your email.
5. Submission deadline is **11:59 p.m. ET on May 18, 2017**. All submissions will be peer reviewed on five criteria: Relevance, originality, theoretical/practical contribution, clarity of presentation, and fit with South Asian nations or their diaspora worldwide.
6. We will email notifications of acceptance by **June 8, 2017**. Selected authors must personally present their microtalk of 2 to 3 minutes to foster research interactions on South Asia or the South Asian diaspora. We will strictly follow the time limit to provide all speakers with ample opportunities to present their scholarship to the wider audience of conference attendees.

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Do you wish to join the AEJMC South Asia Initiative? Are you interested in media and communication issues relating to South Asia or the South Asian diaspora? Email your ideas to **Dr. Deb Aikat** (**da@unc.edu**), School of Media and Journalism, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA. Mention "SAsia17" in the subject line of your email.