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ATHENS INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

A World Association of Academics and Researchers

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Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets some [basic academic standards](#), which include proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different [divisions and units](#) of the Athens Institute for Education and Research.

The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best ones, and in so doing, to produce a quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER encourages the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue of the The Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications (AJMMC) is the first issue of the sixth volume (2020). The reader will notice some changes compared with the previous issues, which I hope is an improvement.

Gregory T. Papanikos, President
Athens Institute for Education and Research



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18th Annual International Conference on Communication and Mass Media, 11-14 May 2020, Athens, Greece

The [Mass Media & Communication Unit](#) of ATINER organizes its **18th Annual International Conference on Communication and Mass Media, 11-14 May 2020, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the [Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers of Communications, Mass Media and other related disciplines. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-MED.doc>).

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The Indiciary Paradigm as Methodology for Researches in Brazilian History of Communication

By Hérica Lene^{*} & Francisca da Silva[±]

This article aims to address the indicial paradigm as a methodology for research on the History of Media understanding it as part of a broader field: History of Communication. In this sense, we follow the characterization made by Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro and Micael Herschmann (2008) on the field of historical studies of Communication in terms of methodology and research. The authors emphasize the historiographic analysis of the media of communication is relegated still as low priority. Although the interest in historical themes of Communication has been presenting in the last years as a growing trend in both Communication and History. As an example of the application of the scientific method of indicial studies in this area, we analyze the work Cultural History of the Brazilian Press – 1800–1900 (2010) by the researcher Marialva Barbosa. The indicial paradigm has been created by Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg based on the book Myths, Emblems and Signs (2009), in which he presents the paradigm of index knowledge inspired by Sigmund Freud, Sherlock Holmes, art critic Morelli among others.

Keywords: communication, history, history of media, indicial paradigm, microhistory.

Introduction

The field of Communication studies (mainly journalism) shares with History a deep link. Historians use the news records to elaborate their narratives, as one of their sources, and the communicologists use the historical knowledge in the development of the area researches.

The History of Communication in Brazil has been consolidating itself as a fertile area in researches, especially in this century. In mapping this field, Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro and Micael Herschmann (2008, p. 13–26) record that the Communication in Brazil suffers from "presentism," since most of the research carried out in the country privileges aspects and problems related to contemporaneity: studies about postmodernity, globalization, new technologies, etc.

The authors emphasize the historiographic analysis of the Communication or the Medias of Communication are still relegated as low priority. Although the interest in historical themes of Communication has been a growing trend for both Communication and History in the last years.

In the interface of these two areas, the proposal of this article is to approach the indicial paradigm as methodology to researches of Media History or Press History. We understand both as part of a broader field, which is History of Communication. The main question that instigates us is if indicial paradigm can serve as a methodology for the historical studies of the communicational field.

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The indiciary paradigm has been addressed specially in the Microhistory field. This article aims to demonstrate this methodology as suitable for History of Communication researches.

In the development of this approach, from an essay perspective, we called on the theoretical contributions from the two areas: Communication and History. This article has three parts: The first one in which the definition of the field of History of Communication is discussed; a second on indiciary paradigm research methodology and a third in which we analyze the application of indiciary paradigm in the work "Cultural History of Press–Brazil 1800–1900" (2010), by Marialva Barbosa.

Literature Review

The field of Communication has as one of its areas of research the studies of the History of Communication. Before thinking how the indiciary paradigm is suitable in such studies, it is important to better define the concept of the History of Communication.

In the article "History of Communication in Brazil: a field under construction," Ribeiro and Herschmann, organizers of the work "Communication and history: interfaces and new approaches" (2008), help us in this sense.

The authors, in seeking to characterize the field of historical studies of Communication in terms of methodology and research, emphasize that History of Communication and History of the Media (or the Press) are not exactly the same thing.

Communication is a broad concept, which can encompass all forms of social interaction, including interpersonal communications. If we consider communication as the production of socially shared meanings, the concept is almost confused with that of language.

In addition to the changes in the media itself, the History of Communication would encompass a range of other possibilities (study of the transformations of oral systems, fashion, architecture, etc.) and would almost be confused with the History of the Culture (Ribeiro & Herschmann, 2008, p.16).

On the other hand, Mass Media does not constitute an abstract concept. Media means technologies, which has been developing and gaining new uses in certain historical contexts. It is associated with life styles and specific social organizations. Its appearance - beginning with the press - came about with modernity, with the consolidation of a whole set of institutions and forms of social organization (such as nation-states, market growth, industrialization, urbanization, secularization) and with the so-called acceleration of history (social dynamics marked by speed).

The authors emphasize that we can think of the History of the Media as part of a discipline or field of broader studies: a Cultural History or a History of Communication. In Brazil, professionals from different disciplinary fields like historians, social scientists and communicologists (journalists, publicists or other communication scholars) have developed the studies of History of Communication.

So how can indiciary paradigm serve as a useful methodology for studies in this field? We propose to discuss it in the next section.

Methodology

How can we define the indicial paradigm or the evidential paradigm? The researcher who works in the perspective of the evidence-based or indicial studies follows in search of the vestiges, signs and symptoms of the marks in the attempt to unravel the historical events. This type of scientific methodology is included in the microhistory and uses the same devices as the doctor when analyzing the patient and trying to discover the disease or the psychoanalyst who wants to unravel the traumas and access the unconscious.

Márcia Rodrigues (2006, p. 5) in the book "Exercises of Indiciary Paradigm" explains that well-known authors (such as Michel Foucault, Walter Benjamin, Gilberto Freyre, Lucien Febvre, Fernand Braudel, Mikail Bakhtin, Robert Darton, Peter Burke and Carlo Ginzburg, among others) wrote works marked by the appreciation of the details and the conciliation between rationality and sensitivity. They carried out in them a detailed and an exhaustive research revealing a detective character.

The guiding thread for the different works of these thinkers is the indicial research based on the investigation of political, economic and social microstructures, everyday aspects and social intimacy, small events in history (Rodrigues, 2006).

The indicial research uses, among other techniques, the method developed by the Italian theorist Carlo Ginzburg based on studies performed by Giovanni Morelli at the end of the 19th century. Morelli's goal was to identify the falsifications of famous paintings using less negligible details and less influenced by the characteristics of the school to which the painter belonged, such as the ear lobes, the nails, the shapes of the feet and the fingers (Ginzburg, 1989, p. 143–144).

According to Ginzburg, Morelli's books are unusual in relation to other art historians because they have illustrations of fingers, ears and minute features that identify a particular artist similar to a criminal identified by his fingerprints. "Any museum of art studied by Morelli immediately acquires the appearance of a criminal museum" (Ginzburg, 1989).

Castelnuovo, quoted by Ginzburg (1989), brought Morelli's evidential method closer to that attributed to Sherlock Holmes by its creator, Arthur Conan Doyle. The art connoisseur, he remarks, "resembles the detective who discovers the perpetrator of a crime (or the artist behind a painting) on the basis of evidence that is imperceptible to most people" (Ginzburg, 1989, p. 97–98).

For Ginzburg (1989), modern psychology would be at Morelli's side because our little unconscious gestures reveal our character more than any formal attitude. According to Ginzburg, Freud identified himself as a Russian art expert, Ivan Lermolieff, in his essay "The Moses of Michelangelo" (1914), where he referred to the method used by Morelli.

Freud, quoted by Ginzburg (1989), stated that his method is closely related to the technique of medical psychoanalysis, which also penetrated into hidden things through elements that are not noticed or covered, what he called the "debris" or "refuse" of our observation.

Ginzburg summarizes that one can speak of an indiciary or divinatory paradigm, according to the forms of knowledge, to the past, the present or the future and based in the medical semiotics (diagnostic and prognostic).

He further emphasizes this is the method not only used and accepted by society and physicians, by identifying the disease through symptoms, but also in one of the oldest gestures of the intellectual history of mankind by the hunter "squatting in the mud, who scrutinizes the tracks of the prey" (Ginzburg, 1989, p. 154).

Results

The production in History of Communication in Brazil has as one of its main characteristics the predominance of monographic researches, focusing on very specific subjects (a journal, for example) or in a certain period (in general, not very extensive), as mapped by Ribeiro and Herschmann (2008, p. 18–23). However, they point out that there must also be synthesis works that systematize logically the knowledge accumulated in the specific researches and can function as a subsidy for the development of new investigations.

In this sense, the reference work is Nelson Werneck Sodré's book "History of Press" first published in 1966. In addition to Juarez Bahia's book, "Newspaper, History and Technique: history of the Brazilian Press" (1990), only recently during the celebration of 200 years of the Brazilian press new books have been published by Marialva Barbosa (2007 and 2010) and by Richard Romancini and Cláudia Lago (2007).

In this article, we opted for an analysis of one of Marialva Barbosa's recent work. She researches the interconnection between the History and the Communication. In her work "Cultural History of the Press - Brazil 1800–1900" (2010), the researcher makes a careful and detailed investigation, starting from the arrival of the royal family in the Brazilian territory as they were escaping from the imminent invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte to Portugal.

They had inaugurated the press in Brazil more than 300 years later - since Johannes Gutenberg created the mobile type press in the middle of the fifteenth century in the Mainz, Germany, being rapidly expanded throughout Europe and even to Mexico a few years later (Giovanini, 1987).

The foundation of the Royal Printing in Brazilian land brought to the country the first official newspaper called "Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro" created on September 10, 1808. The press arrived in Brazil amidst a context of controversy because three months before another newspaper called "Gazeta Braziliense," an underground and an enemy of the Crown journal produced in London by Hipólito da Costa, was already circulating in Brazil.

Marialva Barbosa's investigative trajectory in this work ends at the beginning of the 20th century, in the first decades of 1900, when avid readers arise for sensational news, especially related to crimes, an even more striking feature in the contemporary press.

What is obvious in the introduction of the book is the methodology adopted

by the author, which is implicit in the language used throughout the course of the work. Already in the first paragraph, she invites the reader: "History exists only in the present because the past has inscribed, in our here and now, multiple traces indicating the existence of this past" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 11).

The author further reinforces the need for this investigative pursuit by inviting the reader to "follow these clues to reinterpret the times of yesteryear trying to capture the spirit of other times." Then she emphasizes, "It is up to the historian to follow traces left in the present, walking through these traces towards the images of the past" (Barbosa, 2010).

Barbosa believes the press is also lavish in self-referencing because it produces texts that speak of the daily life and others that leave clues about its relations with the instances of power. Behind printed letters, photos and published illustrations, it is possible to trace the whole circuit of communication. She asks, "what were these publications, who wrote in those newspapers and what was writing?" She adds, "above all, what interpretations did this anonymous reader, who gradually, by the indications that a closer look can follow, becomes an illustrious known?" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 11).

For her, to write about the history of the press is certainly not to align facts and dates, names, nor to highlight the characters that have become singular in the constructions generated in the past for the future and that, most of the time, are tributary of the strategies of power (Barbosa, 2004).

According to Marialva apud Certeau (1982), building the history of the press requires making the same move as "writing history." It is to perceive history as a complex process, in which social, cultural relations, speeches and non-sayings are been engendered. It is up to the historian to ask for the silences and to identify in what has not been said a reason of an often-political nature. "Thinking historically presupposes contextualizing social spaces in a chain of facts, events, occurrences, and customs, institutions that conform as a flow - before and after" (Barbosa, 2007).

When speaking particularly of a history of the press, Barbosa emphasizes that one must consider the notion of system, the very core of communicational relations. Thus, to speak of the history of the press is to talk about communication processes and the intricate relationships that develop around the communication system (Barbosa, 2007).

It was about the producers of the text and the different forms of appropriation of the messages by the public. It referred to the production. In what way or how and for whom it had been produced and what consequences this production had brought to society. Barbosa (2004) adds, "It is also to refer to the way in which the public reacted to those messages and to perceive how they carried out plural readings or interpretations."

For Barbosa (2004), the theory of history is a fundamental field for journalism studies because history cares about the reasons, the causes and the whys. To consider history is not necessarily to carry out historical studies, but to use the theory of history to undertake analysis. In this sense, she emphasizes that the main postulate of historiography refers to the question of interpretation. She explains: "It is not a question of recovering what actually occurs (because it can

never be recovered), but interpreting - based on the subjectivity of the researcher - the reasons for a certain social action" (Barbosa, 2005a).

Discussion

In analyzing the work *Cultural History of the Press - Brazil 1800–1900* (Barbosa, 2010) we find that the author traverses the same path as the indiciary paradigm researchers, that is, her research results from the articulation of principles and heuristic procedures centered on "details, marginal data, residues taken as clues, signs, traces, symptoms - according to psychoanalytic terminology."

Rodrigues (2006, p. 5) defines that the clues would be the official and the extra-official documents, secondary and voluntary sources, that is, those intentionally sought by the researcher. If they are subject to discourse, semiotic or symptomatic analysis sometimes they can reveal much more than a witness. She further clarifies that other sources can help in this process; those invited to witness in the construction of historical narratives, involuntary sources, found by chance, unintentionally and that sometimes insist and intrude on research.

In this case, the researcher uses the combination of reason and sensitivity so the sources hear and argue with creativity, intelligence and consistency, considering the faulty acts, metaphors, metonymy and displacements in documentary analysis (Rodrigues, 2006, p. 6).

The method that unites reason and sensibility was present throughout Marialva Barbosa (2010, p. 43–55) investigative research, when she reconstructed the stories of the 1821 newspaper, the "*Maranhão Conciliator*," especially in the chapter "A history by the margins." She observed the handwritten notes of anonymous readers left in editions of the newspaper in microfilms consulted by the author in the National Library (Rio de Janeiro).

Then, in the chapter "The Newspapers and the World of Slaves," Barbosa (2010) was able, through the sensitivity and analysis of published material and engravings, to capture the meaning of this pre-abolitionist period when slaves began to constitute themselves as readers and anonymous participants in Brazilian political life.

For the author to speak of the relation of the press and the world of the slaves is to show the way the periodicals refer to them or to highlight the discourses more or less favorable to the abolition. In addition, it was important to recognize that it has influenced their lives.

This connection made them actors and subjects of history by the way they appeared in the newspapers. Their marks and wounds were being exposed and printed in the same newspapers where there were descriptions of advertisements in search of the rebels' slaves who repeatedly escaped from captivity. According to the author, "these journals were being divided with more or less fervor in favor of their cause" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 80).

The researcher says that in the periodicals and magazines of the period repeatedly appeared the faces and the bodies of the slaves. "Amorphous mass, presented in an undifferentiated way as something, men of color, blacks or

'pieces,' as they were mentioned in the announcements." She adds: (...) "the slaves live in cities where multiple sociabilities allow mixtures that certainly make them aware of what those publications talk about."

Her work made it clear from the expressions and from her narrative that the author (Barbosa, 2010) was moved by this situation of indifference to the slaves and that she had used the text to denounce these unfair conditions in a very sensitive way.

Through the clues, Barbosa (2010) discovered the world of the slaves and realized they had access to reading. For her, there were signs that many slaves could read or at least "listen to the news that echoed through the streets, squares and big houses." These indications were in several situations described by the author.

From the proximity that some of the slaves experienced in the home of their owners - exercising domestic activity or even as a hard worker slave - led us to seek indications of their readings in different levels. The slaves observed in the city since they circulated through the streets, squares and alleys, or in the kind of activity, they had carried out. It allowed us to say that it was not only passively that they appeared in the pages of publications.

The occasional sale of periodicals, such as the "Gazeta de Notícias," began in 1875 with the shrill cry of the slaves' sons who delivered the new publication on the streets of Rio de Janeiro (Barbosa, 2010, p. 80).

Marialva Barbosa (2010) also noted that when the slaves were not able to read still some of them had a degree of understanding among those who lived in the capitals. As matter of fact, in the 1870s society there were not only masters and slaves as a simplistic interpretation might suppose. She reinforced "there were slaves for work or for rent, and freedmen exercising specialized professions, such as carpenters and masons, which certainly made them deal at least with numerical codes."

The author also mentioned some freedmen handled typographic presses, which made typographic letters part of everyday work. There were also the national free workers exercising the most diverse professions, such as artisans, traders, employees of the textile industries and the European immigrants. She stated, "In the universe of large cities, the slave contingent was representative."

The researcher revealed that the voices of the slaves and their thoughts, produced by the "understanding of the world they effectively exercised," figured in an evident silence difficult to overcome. She added the difficulties faced by them, and continuously highlighted aspects related to indiciary paradigm, such as the expressions "evident silence" and "evident traces." (Barbosa, 2010).

The slaves were not producers of texts, but they were communicating through the oral forms and they were always silent from the point of view of the documents' productions. For this reason, the author explains: "they did not leave the evident traces of how they knew the printed documents and how they carried out their readings and appropriations" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 84).

The indiciary paradigm technique was the similar to the one used by the hunters at the time of the first human groupings, as described by Ginzburg apud Rodrigues (2006, p. 10), whose investigation was based on clues, mud tracks,

broken branches, dung acorns, tufts of hair, feathered tangles and stagnant odors.

Barbosa (2010, p. 84) stated that only considering the "traces of the past as possible messages there will be historical awareness in the present that is available to visualize the readings and the interpretations, so it will be possible to recover those voices."

Barbosa defended that the printed papers had an import role in the forms of understanding the world in contact with the society. "It takes a predisposition in the present time to think of the slaves not only as objects, but as historical subjects who lived in a world of multiple voices" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 84).

According to the author, the existence of slaves capable of reading is an event of the historical past forgot for decades. "Always contained in the present by the ruses of the memory, the past makes it possible at some point in our historical consciousness to remember what had been systematically forgotten" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 84).

The researcher points out that the memory is a concept resulting from the disputes and the dialogues. Since the nineteenth century, many authors have attempted to account for the complex theorizing around various fields of knowledge. "History, on the other hand, is defined as being a field of knowledge, a discipline, a practice, a writing with a symbolizing function that allows society to situate itself, making room for the past" (2005b, p. 107).

Therefore, speaking of the memory is to refer to four fundamental postulates: memory is action of the present; it necessarily provokes the idea of disputes by meanings; it is a product of the dialectic to remember and to forget, being, therefore, place of choices; and finally, it is a project towards a desired future (Barbosa, 2005b).

Morel, quoted by Barbosa (2010, p. 86), noticed the production of the slaves and freed-slaves in the Brazilian historiography. This was possible by making a historical survey that searched to understand the degree of literacy or reading of the slaves in the nineteenth-century. She mentioned the case of the young slave Eduarda who left marks in the printed-paper.

Barbosa described the slave Eduarda as wandering on the street at the morning of February 11, 1886, "with bruises and open wounds on her face and arms, visible marks of the torture imposed on her by her owner." According to Barbosa (2010), Eduarda was approached by a woman who dissuaded her from going to the Chief of Police, advising her to go instead to the "Gazeta da Tarde" newsroom in the center of Rio de Janeiro, where she would be safer and she could have been heard. The newspaper was founded by the abolitionist leader José do Patrocínio in 1881 (Barbosa, 2010, p. 86).

According to Morel, cited by Barbosa (2010, p. 86), Eduarda and another slave received medical attention before they conducted them to the judge of the Second Civil Court. Patrocínio had publicized the events in the press. "Eduarda did not know how to read, but she was able to understand when the woman who approached her suggested that she should go to the newspaper office owned by José do Patrocínio." Barbosa emphasized the symbolism and the importance of the printed papers in this society, represented by the newspaper that would welcome her (Barbosa, 2010, p. 87).

The researcher pointed out also the case of the two slaves tortured to death by a wealthy woman and lover of a wealthy merchant. It had all the ingredients that might have interested the reader: "Torture against the defenseless, the situation of poverty and destitution of the victims and the mighty against the weak" (Barbosa, 2010).

Another interesting example mentioned by Barbosa (2010, p. 105–106) was the issue of October 15, 1887, in the *Ilustrada Magazine*. The image reproduced a scene of the reading of the slaves. Under the caption, "a farmer also made a discovery that left him shocked! A slave read on the bed for his partners about an abolitionist speech by Counselor Dantas." In another situation, a rural scene appeared where eleven slaves formed a circle: in the center, one holding a newspaper. The name of the periodical was "O Paíz." Holding the first page, one read. The others - seven men, two women and one child - were gawking at him. "They leaned on the hoe and made absolute silence. They listened carefully to the words of the printed paper invading the oral world" (Barbosa, 2010).

The scene indicated that despite the reiterated silence of decades about the practices of these subjects, a trace appeared showing that there was much more correlation between the press and slavery than we might at first have supposed (Barbosa, 2010, p. 106).

Ginzburg (1989, p. 177) had stated, "if the reality is opaque, there are privileged zones - signs, clues - that enable us to decipher it." In these analyzed examples of the work of Marialva Barbosa, it was clear that the author used indiciary paradigm to uncover the nebulous zones, either by using the information on the margins of the periodicals or by reconstructing their important role in the period of the Brazilian Empire.

Then, it was possible to find out the participation of the slaves in the literate world through readings. In addition to the discovery of these newspapers as a source of complaints of ill-treatment of the slaves. Through the association "sensibility and reason" that the indiciary paradigm presents, it is possible to get closer to our historical past in a more vibrant and true way.

The researcher ended her book by stating, "the reader was a fundamental part in the construction of this text. We searched to follow its tracks, in 'traces' that time is gradually erasing" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 253). She further reinforced this idea, adding, "recovering the face of past readers was no easy task. Also they left innumerable 'marks' that could refer to the forms related to the texts and, above all, to the understanding they had and produced from those texts" (Barbosa, 2010, p. 253–254).

These marks would have been "written in many ways and through many gestures" (Barbosa, 2010). Then she complemented with the type of source she searched. It could have been in the handwritten form, in the margin of the publications, indicating an attentive reading. "A reading backward and forward," in the attempt to unveil concepts and to understand the world, but it could also be "in the silence" performed by some readers of the past. "Multiple and plural readings gave life to the periodicals that appeared and disappeared throughout the nineteenth century in Brazil (Barbosa, 2010).

Conclusion

The field of the History of Communication in Brazil has been consolidating itself as a fertile area in researches, especially in this century. In the interface of the two areas - Communication and History - the proposal of this article was to approach the indiciary paradigm as a methodology for the researches of the History of Press or Media, understanding both as part of a broader field: History of Communication.

The researcher who works in the perspective of the indicial studies follows in search of the vestiges, the signs, the symptoms or the marks in the attempt to unravel the historical events.

In this approach, we took as an example the work "Cultural History of the Press - Brazil 1800-1900," by Marialva Barbosa (2010), whose analysis showed its proximity to the Carlo Ginzburg's indiciary paradigm. We have verified that the indiciary paradigm can be useful to the investigations of this field.

The analysis showed that the author traverses the same path as the indiciary paradigm investigators. This kind of research results from the articulation of heuristic principles and procedures centered in details, marginal data, and residues taken as clues, signs, traces and symptoms.

The association of the "sensitivity and the reason" by the indiciary paradigm enriches the historical studies of Communication, since it allows a greater approximation with the historical past, in a more vibrant and true way.

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President Trump and the Mother of All Bombs – Quickly Forgotten

By Judith Sylvester*

When the United States military dropped the GBU-43/B Massive Ordnance Air Blast (MOAB) in Nangarhar Province in Afghanistan in April 2017 both the news media and social media also blew up – but only for a couple of weeks. Nicknamed the "Mother of All Bombs," MOAB is the largest non-nuclear bomb ever dropped in combat. It literally came out of the blue, shocking not only the tunnels in Afghanistan it was meant to destroy, but briefly the entire world. Donald Trump was in his first 100 days as president of the United States. Because President Trump took no credit for the decision to drop MOAB, whether the action was taken for military or political purposes remains an open question. International media were more graphic in their description of the bomb's destruction and provided more reactions from Afghan leaders. As many as 95 ISIS fighters were reported killed, with no civilians reported killed. US media that support President Trump reported the use of MOAB in more patriotic terms than less supportive media. A Crimson Hexagon software analysis of social media posts reveal that "fear" was the overwhelming emotion expressed. Twitter was the No. 1 source of comments. International sources were more likely than American sources to predict that a new, non-nuclear weapons race among major world military powers, would result.

Keywords: Afghanistan, bomb, Massive Ordnance Air Blast, Trump

Introduction

When the United States military dropped the GBU-43/B Massive Ordnance Air Blast (MOAB) in Nangarhar Province in Afghanistan on April 13, 2017, both the news media and social media also blew up. Nicknamed the Mother of All Bombs, this was the largest non-nuclear bomb ever dropped. It literally came out of the blue, shocking not only the tunnels in Afghanistan it was meant to destroy, but the entire world – at least for a couple of weeks.

The purpose of this study was to gauge world-wide reaction to the decision to drop MOAB during Donald Trump's early days as president and to see whether the United States would face unexpected consequences in the form of a new non-nuclear arms race.

To evaluate world reaction to the deployment of a bomb that was second

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only to a nuclear bomb in destructive power, social media posts and reposts (the majority from Twitter) were tracked. English language news articles were pulled from a large database of newspapers and broadcast transcripts. Additional articles were captured from media and military websites. Descriptions of the bomb were pulled from US military internet home pages and press releases.

The MOAB was not well known outside military circles. Developed during the Iraq War but never used, the weapon had faded from memory. The term "Mother of all...came into the American consciousness when Saddam Hussein referred to the Gulf War as the "mother of all battles." He actually used an Arabic phrase that more closely means "locked in battle" but the Associated Press translated it differently and the rest is history (Abadi, 2017).

In 2001, the US military was in Afghanistan, trying to find Osama Bin Laden in the Tora Bora Mountains and destroy his stronghold. The 15,000 BLU-82 Daisy Cutter bombs were used to shock the mountains, but Bin Laden escaped into Pakistan (Corera, 2011). During the Obama administration, drone warfare was expanded. However, because civilians, and even American citizens who had become "enemy combatants," were killed along with the targeted terrorists, the expanded use of drones was termed "a shameful part" of Obama's legacy by the *Washington Post* (Downie, 2016).

Because the US military has been fighting in Afghanistan since 2001 without either a military or diplomatic solution, deploying MOAB may have been viewed as inevitable as the US military tried again to crush the life out of ISIS fighters hiding in the mountains of Nangarhar Province.

Literature Review

What is GBU-43/B?

GBU-43/B (MOAB) was dropped on April 13, 2017. The news media covering the event scrambled to find out what this bomb was all about. Social media also became a microcosm of public shock and opinion. In some quarters, people expressed pride that the US had demonstrated such military power, but many others expressed sorrow and fear that a new arms race was now likely.

MOAB was not a recent invention. It was first prototyped in 2003 when the United States was engaged in the Iraq War. Unlike most such weapons, this bomb was created in-house at the Air Force Research Laboratory Munitions Directorate housed at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida. Albert L. Weimorts, who died in 2005, was a civilian engineer for the Air Force who conceived and designed some of the biggest, most powerful non-nuclear bombs ever made (Zachary, 2008). An additional contributor to the MOAB's design was Henry I. Register who died in 2007. He spent 52 years working on Eglin Air Force Base and was a manager for the MOAB project (Team, 2008).

The lead model maker was Joseph Fellenz who retired from the Eglin Air Force Base weapons lab in 2008. According to an interview in *USA Today*, Fellenz was surprised to learn from television news that the bomb had been used

(Gabriel, 2017).

MOAB was designed as the largest-ever satellite-guided (or "smart bomb") air-delivered weapon, replacing the 15,000 BLU-82 Daisy Cutter that was used in Vietnam and early on in Afghanistan (Collins, 2017). The order came to build it during Thanksgiving 2002. "We were asked to generate a prototype, and we were asked to work out the bugs so that it might evolve into something that could be produced (for the warfighter)," said Robert Hammack, Munitions Fabrication Facility (or Model Factory) team chief (Zachary, 2008).

Produced during the Iraq War era, "The goal is to have the pressure be so great that Saddam Hussein cooperates," said then Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld in a March 2003 interview. "Short of that – an unwillingness to cooperate – the goal is to have the capabilities of the coalition so clear and so obvious that there is an enormous disincentive for the Iraqi military to fight against the coalition" (Collins, 2017).

Unlike any project before or since, the model shop was solely responsible for coordinating the logistics on material acquisition and engineering. MOAB was designed, built, tested and refined entirely on location. After each weapon was assembled, it was individually loaded onto a rented flatbed truck, secured and covered by tarps. The munition was then transported to the Naval Ammunition Depot at McAllister, Okla., where it was filled with explosive materials, painted and catalogued for the inventory. MOAB was painted a "John Deere green" since no other color was available because of the war (Gabriel, 2017).

None of the military sources have revealed how many MOABs have been manufactured, but European sources have estimated that as many as 20 could be in the US arsenal. In 2017 only one was required.

How the Bomb Works

MOAB has an explosive force equal to 11 tons of TNT. Weighing more than 21,000 lbs., the weapon is the largest non-nuclear bomb ever used in combat. *CBS News* national security correspondent David Martin reported that the bomb was aimed at the center of an ISIS cave complex in Afghanistan and set off a "massive pressure cave that would have crushed the life out of any fighters hiding in the cave," sending a mushroom-like cloud into the sky (CBS Interactive, Inc., 2017).

An "official" description of the bomb and an aerial photo of the impact were provided by the Department of Defense (DoD) the day after the drop. The report said MOAB was developed in only nine weeks in 2003 to be available for Operation Iraqi Freedom. The bomb was not used during that war (Collins, 2017).

The DoD also provided the basic specs for the bomb:

- It has a relatively thin aluminum casing designed to burst on a surface, not penetrate it. That creates a large blast with lesser fragmentation.
- It is a "smart bomb" with GPS-guided munition. It has got stabilizing fins and inertial gyro for pitch and roll control.
- It weighs 21,000 pounds!

- The MOAB delivers an 18,700-pound warhead known as the BLU-120/B, which is made of H6 – a mixture of cyclotrimethylene trinitramine, TNT and aluminum.
- It is big – 30 feet long with a diameter of 40.5 inches, to be exact (Collins, 2017).

The MOAB has a rather low-tech launching system. It is cradled on an airdrop platform of a C1-30 Hercules. A drogue parachute (designed by a Russian in 1912) pulls the entire platform off the plane at a high altitude and slows the descent. It is quickly released from the platform, and grid fins open to stabilize and guide it to its target (Collins, 2017).

News Media Coverage

The United Kingdom's Daily Mail provided a detailed and graphic description of what happens when the bomb reaches its target:

In the milliseconds following the initial blast in Afghanistan, all the oxygen would have been sucked out of the tunnels and for hundreds of feet around, literally sucking the life out of ISIS terrorists, suffocating them as their lungs imploded. Then, in a flash the fiery shockwave would have blasted outwards at the speed of sound for up to a mile, causing huge blunt force trauma injuries to anyone caught in its path, leveling buildings and trees.

Ears would have been left bleeding and internal organs battered by the sheer force of the shockwave. The blast would also have caused many within two miles of the blast to lose their hearing. Anyone caught inside the tunnels would have been crushed as the force of 19,000 pounds of highly complex explosives caused them to collapse on top of the ISIS terrorists. Anyone left alive would have been shocked and left in awe by the sight of a terrifying mushroom cloud - the psychological scars staying with them forever (DAILYMAIL.COM REPORTER, 2017).

The Guardian, another British newspaper, interviewed an Afghan, Mohammad Shahzadah, who lives in Shaddle Bazar, about a mile and a half from an area called Asadkhel and the mountains were the bomb exploded. "The earth felt like a boat in a storm," Shahzadah said. "I thought my house was being bombed. Last year a drone strike targeted a house next to mine, but this time it felt like the heavens were falling. The children and women were very scared. My ears were deaf for a while. My windows and doors are broken. There are cracks in the walls." The sky was engulfed in flames, and tremors shook the ground (Rasmussen, 2017). (Photos of MOAB and the blast appear in Appendix A.)

Perhaps to drive home the point that this is an American bomb, *The Daily Mail* further described what would happen if the bomb exploded six feet over New York City: At "ground zero" complete destruction and 100 percent fatalities. Buildings in a radius of 300-feet away would be severely damaged. People up to 430-feet away would suffer 3rd degree burns, and some would suffer the loss of limbs (DAILYMAIL.COM REPORTER, 2017).

The *Associated Press* (AP) and *The New York Times* often set the agenda for much of the US news media. Both were decidedly brief and much less descriptive in their coverage. The AP distributed a photo of MOAB with a description of its 11 tons of explosives. The story, however, focused on the authorized use of the bomb:

The US commander in Afghanistan who ordered use of the "mother of all bombs" to attack an Islamic State stronghold did not need President Donald Trump's approval, Pentagon officials said Friday.

The officials said Gen. John Nicholson has standing authority to use the bomb, which is officially called the Massive Ordnance Air Blast bomb, or MOAB, the largest non-nuclear bomb ever dropped in combat. The bomb had been in Afghanistan since January.

The officials were not authorized to speak publicly on the matter and requested anonymity (Burns, 2017).

The New York Times, the newspaper that often sets the media agenda, only published four news summaries and one Op-ed about the bomb. Additionally, video footage showed the bomb dropping and the aftermath with some background narrative providing history and context. Except for the Op-ed, the stories mostly provided the facts and were reported by a Washington reporter and three reporters stationed in Afghanistan:

The United States dropped the "mother of all bombs" – the most powerful conventional bomb in the American arsenal – on an Islamic State cave complex in Afghanistan on Thursday, the Pentagon said, unleashing a weapon so massive that it had to be dropped from the rear of a cargo plane.

The strike was the first combat use of what is formally named the GBU-43/B Massive Ordnance Air Blast. President Trump has bestowed additional authority on the Pentagon in his first months in office, which the military has argued will help it defeat the Islamic State more speedily. Mr. Trump did not say whether he had personally approved Thursday's mission (Cooper & Marshal, 2017).

The Op-ed was written by Ali M. Latifi, a writer based in Kabul, Afghanistan, for the *Times*' international edition. He struck a decidedly different tone in expressing his reaction to the "Madar-e Bamb-Ha," as the Afghans called it. He first summarized a history of nearly 40 years of war in his country. He described how he heard about the bomb and then his drive to the area where the bomb exploded. He wrote:

Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump barely mentioned Afghanistan during the long presidential campaign. Yet President Trump had chosen to use the most powerful non-nuclear weapon in the world on a remote Afghan village. Afghanistan was simply a convenient landscape for the reality star turned president to unleash a startling, theatrical display of his might...

I went to bed that night sad with the knowledge that my homeland was still simply a

staging ground for foreign nations to project their power. On Friday morning I woke up to find Kabul had chosen to stay quiet and not protest the decision...

In the end, "Madar-e Bamb-Ha" became the star of a grotesque reality television show. We know how much it weighs, what it costs, its impact, its model number and its code name. We know nothing about the people it killed except they are supposed to be nameless, faceless, cave-dwelling Islamic State fighters. It was a loud blast, followed by a loud silence. It is yet another bomb to fall on Afghan soil, and the future of my homeland remains as uncertain as ever (Latifi, 2017).

American media that have supported President Trump were the most elated by the MOAB deployment. A *Fox News* host said that dropping a massive bomb on ISIS fighters in Afghanistan is "what freedom looks like." The remark came after Fox began the segment of "Fox and Friends" with a clip of the "mother of all bombs" being dropped – set to the music of Toby Keith's "Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue." Fox correspondent-at-large Geraldo Rivera said, "It's one of my favorite things to watch" (Szoldra, 2017).

The *New York Daily News* used the headline: ISIS, HAVE A BLAST! The article pointed out that Trump was still in his first 100 days as president: "He promised that, if elected, he would 'knock the hell out of' ISIS" (Silverstein & Dillon, 2017).

The Politics

A matter of speculation is who authorized MOAB's deployment and whether it was used for military or political purposes. Did President Trump authorize it? He never took direct responsibility for it. During a White House meeting on the afternoon of the day the bomb was dropped, this exchange took place:

SHOUTED QUESTION: How about that bomb, sir? Did you authorize that bomb?

PRESIDENT TRUMP: I'm very, very proud of the people. Really another successful job. We're very, very proud of our military. Just like we're proud of the folks in this room, we are so proud of our military, and it was another successful event.

REPORTER: Did you authorize it?

TRUMP: Everyone knows exactly what happened. So, and, what I do is I authorize my military. We have the greatest military in the world, and they have done the job, as usual. We have given them total authorization, and that's what they're doing, and frankly, that's why they've been so successful lately. Take a look at what's happened over the last eight weeks and compare it with the last eight years. There is a tremendous difference. Tremendous difference. We have incredible leaders in the military, and incredible military, and we are very proud of them.

REPORTER: Does this send a message to North Korea?

TRUMP: I don't know if this sends a message, it doesn't make any difference if it does or not. North Korea is a problem, the problem will be taken care of. I will say this. I think China has really been working very hard. I have really gotten to like and respect President Xi. He is a terrific person, we've spent a lot of time together in Florida, and he is a very special man. We'll see how he does. I think he is going to try very hard (Hains, 2017).

President Trump's reluctance to claim personal credit led several news organizations, including the *Associated Press*, to give the US commander in Afghanistan the credit for ordering the use of MOAB. The *Associated Press* went so far as to say that Gen. John Nicholson had standing authority to use the bomb even before Trump took office in January 2017 (The *Associated Press*, 2017).

The *Associated Press* further challenged views that the bomb was dropped to terrorize North Korea and other US enemies. The actual "military" reasons for dropping the bomb were:

- 1) To destroy a tunnel and cave complex used by Islamic State fighters in a remote mountainous area of eastern Afghanistan.
- 2) Nicholson wanted to demonstrate to leaders of the Islamic State affiliate in Afghanistan the seriousness of his determination to eliminate the group as a military threat (The Associated Press, 2017).

Initial reports indicated that 36 ISIS fighters were killed in the collapsed tunnels. However, later Afghan reports placed the number at 95 with no civilian casualties. An expert in MOAB and the Daisy Cutter, retired US Air Force Col. Dave Lewis, who currently is the director of strategic studies graduate program at Texas Tech University, said, "The use of the GBU-43/B is intended to send a strong message to adversaries and potential adversaries that the United States is willing to commit significant technology and resources to counter an enemy's unconventional tactics." He further pointed out that the reported target for MOAB was insurgents hiding in caves in Afghanistan, an area where non-combatant civilians were unlikely to be (Young, 2017).

Afghan leaders were divided in their views. Former President Hamid Karzai accused the United States of using his country as a weapons testing ground. He described it as an "immense atrocity against the Afghan people" and that Afghanistan "was used very disrespectfully by the United States to test its weapons of mass destruction" (Robinson, 2017).

Timor Sharan, senior analyst at the International Crisis Group in Washington, called the attack "disproportionate." "It's more about the message than the act – sending a clear message to regional players, including Russia and as far as North Korea, to say that the United State is ready to take action and utilize necessary force," he said.

Abdula Abdula, chief executive of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, on the other hand, praised the action, saying that many key terrorists were killed, and the majority of Afghans supported the action. "People kept saying no serious intention is given to fighting against Daesh (ISIS), Al Qaeda and the Taliban but now their trust has been restored about the seriousness for the will to fight terrorism," he said (Hamdard, 2017).

Local tribal leaders also publicly supported the attack because they said it was successful without civilian casualties. They said that Daesh was a huge threat to the people in Nangarhar Province and that they were relieved that the terrorists were killed off with one bomb (McLaughlin, 2017). Some Afghan officials who would not go on the record complained about a lack of information about the effects of the bomb, saying they had not been allowed to go to the site.

Some news organizations that covered the war in Afghanistan claim that the US military had broadcast radio messages warning of coming operations by American and Afghan troops in southern Nangarhar for at least a month before the strike. Leaflets also were dropped warning residents to leave as soon as possible "to save their lives." Because of fighting that was occurring in the area, many people in nearby villages had already left (McLaughlin, 2017).

Adding to the debate, some commentators pointed to the timing to suggest that President Trump was making a foreign policy statement. The MOAB strike

came the same day the Pentagon admitted that an American-led air strike mistakenly killed 18 Syrian fighters allied with the United States in Syria. Also, the Afghanistan attack occurred days after Syrian President Bashar al-Assad launched a chemical weapons attack on civilians and a US special forces soldier was killed in Nangarhar Province. Perhaps President Trump was indicating a willingness to trust his commanders to make decisions like this, especially given President Obama's likely reluctance to allow MOAB use (Engel, 2017).

Methodology: News Media and Social Media

News Coverage

Lexis Uni, a database of global newspapers and broadcast transcripts, was used to pull news media output from April 12, 2017 through December 31, 2018. That period represents the day before the news broke about MOAB through the first anniversary and eight months past. The English language content selected came from different parts of the world and contained background information about the bomb and descriptions of the destruction it caused. Because of the large number of articles and transcripts produced, articles were selected based on their origin and uniqueness rather than as a result of a random selection.

To collect social media content, a monitor was set up on Crimson Hexagon (using the LSU Manship School of Mass Communication Social Media Analysis and Content Lab's license). Specific posts (from Tweets, Retweets, blogs, etc.) were pulled across social media and from multiple countries.

While the American military were clearly proud of the bomb and its performance and the American media were mostly neutral to dismissive, the European and Middle Eastern leaders and media were much more alarmed. Determining worldwide public opinion about the topic is considerably more difficult than analyzing news coverage. Social media posts about MOAB were collected through Crimson Hexagon beginning on April 12, 2017 and ending in January 2019. (Nearly all the comments were posted during the remainder of 2017 with concentration in April and May 2017.)

The software used algorithms to characterize the posts and analyze the posts' origins, authors and sources. Sentiments, emotions and limited demographics can be produced. Crimson Hexagon provided a "fuzzy" picture of public opinion, but it is the most efficient way to collect a large number of social media posts despite some limitations. During the time these statements were collected, bots were not well known or exposed. However, the sources of the statements are, for the most part, legitimate sources as shown below.

To make Crimson Hexagon efficient, key words or phrases are set to select the content. In this case, "MOAB," "bomb," "Mother of all Bombs," "Afghanistan," and "Trump" were used to set up the monitor. Crimson Hexagon provided various descriptions of the statements including country of origin, most prolific authors and sentiment. Social media largely mirrored the news media in that MOAB was a topic for a short period of time.

A total of 64,737 posts were collect between April 12, 2017, and December 31, 2018. However, posts peaked at 46,648 on April 13 and mostly disappeared after April 24, 2017. The daily volume dwindled to five or less from then on, even on the first anniversary.

Twitter accounted for 88 percent of the posts. Forums accounted for 8 percent, and blogs accounted for 4 percent. Facebook, Reddit and comments accounted for less than 1 percent each.

A word cloud was produced to see the relationship among the key words. (See Appendix B.) Eighty-three percent of the posts used neutral language, 2 percent were rated as positive, while 15 percent were rated as negative. The overwhelming emotion expressed was fear (84 percent). Other emotions expressed included sadness (7 percent), disgust (5 percent), joy (3 percent) and surprise (1 percent). (See Appendix C.)

The United States contributed 61 percent of the posts, the most of any country. The next top countries were India (6.5 percent), United Kingdom (5.3 percent), Canada (2.5 percent) and Pakistan (2.2 percent). In all, 100 countries were represented. (See Appendix D.)

Findings

Although concern about MOAB appeared fleeting on social media and in the American news media, other adversarial government were paying attention and took the opportunity to flex some weapons muscles of their own. The top social media hosts were mostly American with insiders.foxnews.com leading the way, followed closely by apnews.com and www.cnn.com. Among the top 16 hosts are also sputniknews.com, indiatoday.intoday.in and www.independent.co.uk (Table 1).

Twitter was by far the most the top social media site with 88 percent of the captured posts originating there. Defence.pk was the only international source to be among the top five sources (Table 2).

Posts originating from CNN were the most retweeted, with Fox News as a distant second. Among the top 10 sources, two individuals appeared in the list of mostly news organizations: Piers Morgan and Brian Fraser (Table 3).

Popular hashtags focused on Afghanistan and MOAB, but #MAGA (Make America Great Again) was also among the top 10 (Table 4).

Table 1. The Top 16 Social Media Hosts

Site	Total Posts
insider.foxnews.com	504
apnews.com	491
www.cnn.com	490
www.newyorker.com	235
sputniknews.com	157
www.nytimes.com	143
edition.cnn.com	137
abcnews.go.com	132
consumercounseling.org	123
twitter.com	116
www.businessinsider.com	109
abc7.com	96
indiatoday.intoday.in	89
nypost.com	88
boingboing.net	87
www.independent.co.uk	81

Table 2. The Top Five Social Media Sites

Social Media	Number	Percent
twitter.com	56,743	88%
blogspot.com	693	1%
facebook.com	485	<1%
defence.pk	387	<1%
usmessageboard.com	247	<1%

Table 3. The Top Ten Social Media Authors that Were Re-Tweeted

Occurrences	Original Author
17,000	CNN (CNN)
5,400	FoxNews (Fox News)
3,500	piersmorgan (Piers Morgan)
840	bfraser747 (BRIAN FRASER)
700	FoxNews (Fox News)
650	Complex (Complex)
590	FoxBusiness (FOX Business)
550	ajplus (AJ+)
400	AP (The Associated Press)
370	thedailybeast (The Daily Beast)

Note: Examples of the types of social media posts Crimson Hexagon collected are found in Appendix E.

Table 4. Top Ten Hashtags

Hashtags	Number
#Afghanistan	3,900
#MOAB	2,500
#BreakingNews	870
#ISIS	820
#Trump	710
#BREAKING	620
#MAGA	360
#MOAB-	300
#BoomShakaLaka	290
#DC	260

Although no mega bombs have been used to date (September 2019), threats and weapons testing has occurred. The countries that reacted on social media provide insights into which countries were paying attention. India and Pakistan, in continuous conflict over Cashmere, were among the top posters on social media. Members of the European Union and the British Commonwealth – members of NATO – were also paying attention. Although the Afghan military was involved in the planning to drop MOAB, NATO commanders apparently were not in the decision loop. South Korea and Japan, the two countries that are under the most threat from North Korean missiles, also were among the top social media posters. Nigeria and South Africa, as well as Mexico and key Central and South America countries also had posters who expressed concern. The American news media initially offered the most basic information about MOAB, providing the history of the bomb's development but the reports lacked details about its destructive power. In fact, very little American coverage of the Afghan war was happening before MOAB was dropped. All media were too absorbed in President Trump's first 100 days, the traditional period to evaluate a new president's "honeymoon period" accomplishments, to allocate resources to foreign affairs. After MOAB was dropped, the American news media were more likely than foreign media to report support for the deployment.

European and Middle Eastern media, on the other hand, provided more graphic details about MOAB's deployment and the aftermath. They also were more mixed in reports of support and opposition to using the bomb. One of the immediate concerns after news spread about the MOAB deployment was whether a new arms race would ensue. Rather than having fears only about nuclear proliferation, critics now were concerned about mega smart bomb proliferation. Recent evidence exists that such fears are warranted. The DoD has admitted that MOAB has competition. On September 11, 2007, the Russian military announced it had tested the "Father of all Bombs," the world's most powerful non-nuclear air-delivered munition. According to the DoD and globalsecurity.org, "The Russians claim it is four times more powerful than the MOAB, even though it technically has fewer explosive in it (7.8 tons compared with the MOAB's 8 tons). The FOAB is said to use more efficient explosives, yielding the equivalent of 44 tons of TNT with a blast radius of 300

meters – double that of the MOAB (Collins, 2017)."

As of early January 2018, China entered the fray. Using social media, the official Xinhua news agency described its bomb, calling it the "Chinese version of the 'Mother of all Bombs'." It was dropped by a Chinese H-6K bomber. The Chinese bomb was between 16 and 20 feet but weighs less than the American version. Still military analyst Wei Dongxu reportedly claimed that the explosion produced would easily wipe out land fortifications ("China tests," 2019).

In a 2017 article in *The Defence Journal*, Taiqeer Jissaom Sargama painted a bleak picture of the current state of world armaments. He posited that post 9/11 the United States not only "overstretched its military muscles" but also "introduced aggression in its foreign policy." Introducing MOAB in the US conventional military strategy has ushered in a new era of military confrontation among traditional Cold War competitors. At the top of this new food chain are the United States, the Russians and the Chinese, all of whom have developed powerful non-nuclear bombs. The next tier is comprised of Israel, Iran, India and Pakistan. Further, Sargama predicts that these seven "players" will not be in isolation but rather will form alliances of the United States and Israel, Russia and Iran, with China and Pakistan the most likely to woo India (Sargama, 2017).

February and March 2019 have shown additional signs that weapon deployment have increased. A suicide bombing in Pulwama, Kashmir in February left 40 Indian paramilitary personnel dead and stirred long-standing tensions between India and Pakistan. The Indian Air Force launched a retaliatory strike against a terrorist training camp in Balakot. Pakistan responded with a strike; and in a subsequent dogfight, an Indian aircraft was shot down and the pilot was captured. Tensions eased somewhat when the pilot was released. Both India and Pakistan have nuclear weapons (Rao, 2019).

In March two rockets reached Tel Aviv for the first time since 2014. *The New York Times* reported that the rockets were fired from the Gaza Strip, and Israel blamed Hamas, the Islamic militant group that controls Gaza, although Israeli military officials said the rockets were launched "by mistake" (Halbfinger, 2019). On the other hand, Al Jazeera's English language website, reported the story somewhat differently. Israel, Al Jazeera said, launched air attacks on Gaza after rockets were "allegedly fired near Tel Aviv" and that the Israeli military had claimed in a Twitter post that 100 Hamas targets in Gaza were hit (Al Jazeera, 2019). The area of agreement between the two sources was that tensions are escalating once again.

The failed second summit between President Trump and North Korea's Kim Jong-un on February 27-28, 2019, also signaled a dangerous escalation involving the United States, South Korea and Japan. *The Guardian* reported that the two sides disagreed as to why the summit failed. President Trump said that North Korea wanted sanctions lifted without a complete denuclearization, while North Korean foreign minister, Ri Yong Ho, said Pyongyang had only demanded partial sanctions relief in return for closing Yongbyon, the major nuclear facility. He said the United States had "wasted an opportunity that 'may not come again'" and Pyongyang's position would not change (Borger, 2019). In March North Korea threatened to break off further negotiations with the United States and

resume missile and nuclear testing (Paris, 2019). Further, *CNN* reported that satellite images appear to show that North Korea has begun rebuilding a portion of a facility previously used to test long-range missile engines even though President Trump has said the United States and South Korea would not resume joint military operations (Berlinger, 2019).

Following the Trump administration's announcement in May 2019 that the United States would sell weapons to Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Jordan as well as deploying about 1,500 additional troops to the Middle East to challenge Iran, the rhetoric escalated to a new degree. Iranian Gen. Moreza Qorbani threatened the 10 US ships that had already deployed to the Mediterranean, saying, "If they commit the slightest stupidity, we will send these ships to the bottom of the sea along with their crew and planes using two missiles or two new secret weapons" (Karasz, 2019).

President Trump seemed at odds with his former national security adviser, John R. Bolton, label by many US media as a "hard-liner" or "hawk" who wants a regime change in Iran. President Trump pulled out of the Obama-era agreement with Iran to restrict nuclear weapon development in May 2018 because he did not think the agreement was strong enough. While visiting Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on May 27, 2019, Trump insisted, "We're not looking for regime change. I want to make that clear. We're looking for no nuclear weapons" (Kranish, 2019).

Discussion

The United States' deployment of MOAB never reached the level of concern that dropping the nuclear bombs Fat Man and Little Boy on Hiroshima and Nagasaki produced. Perhaps labeling it as non-nuclear dispelled long-lasting fear. MOAB also was perhaps the perfect weapon for the Afghanistan caves and tunnels that were shielding soldiers who were label as terrorists. The concussive nature of MOAB also worked more efficiently than traditional bombs to collapse the tunnels and kill the enemy without endangering American and Afghan soldiers.

Either the US military kept MOAB's transfer to Afghanistan a secret or journalists who cover the military agreed not to report it. No hints surfaced that the bomb might be used in Afghanistan for either political or military purposes.

Perhaps the most important part of the story is that no civilian casualties were reported from the action. If this is true, it likely was because the villagers in the area were warned repeatedly to leave. A few civilians who remained obviously did see the building damage that was done – but apparently news agencies and Afghan government officials were denied access to the area, limiting damage and civilian casualty assessments.

The American media covered the bombing but gave few details as to the aftermath. Gone are the days when American media have bureaus spread around the world – particularly in the Middle East – to provide ongoing, in depth reporting. The cost has become prohibitive as media revenues declined and as

protecting journalists from kidnappers and combat situations became more difficult and expensive.

The American media have also been completely absorbed with the Trump presidency and the investigations into Russian interference in the 2016 election. Perhaps because President Trump has not mentioned MOAB since the bombing and did not take credit for dropping it, the media stopped paying attention. Did the president authorize the bomb, or did he see how to capitalize on it to deliberately threaten North Korea? Iran? Russia? China? Why then, has he said he is pulling troops out of Syria and hinted at also abandoning Afghanistan? Is he oblivious to the new arms race that has begun? Or, has he talked with Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping about it?

The European and Middle Eastern media are not oblivious. But, although they did a much more in-depth job of covering the bombing, the event has largely faded without tracing links to the many renewed conflicts in various parts of the world. They have done a better job than the American media of reporting on the Russian and Chinese bombs and have been more aware of the changes in the American foreign policy than domestic media appear to be.

Conclusion

The void in coverage has left many unanswered questions. The speculation is that the United States has at least 20 MOABs in its arsenal, but no official number has been reported. Neither do we know whether MOABs are in the Middle East with US troops. The Nation reported on February 6, 2018, that the United States has eclipsed the GBU-43/B with an even larger non-nuclear weapon, the 30,000-pound GBU-57 Massive Ordnance Penetrator (MOP), dubbed by some the "father of all bombs" to distinguish it from the MOAB. The publication reported (without an identified source) that the FOAB was first prepared to bomb Iranian nuclear facilities but that it now was to be available to prevent North Korea from creating an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) capable of delivering nuclear warheads to the continental United States (Klare, 2018). Was it a bluff or did the military intend to use it? Did it cause Kim Jong-un to stop the development of his delivery system or even of his nuclear weapons? North Korea's threat to the United States largely faded from the news until the failed Vietnam summit between the two leaders. Has the adversarial relationship eased or is this just the lull before a much bigger and deadlier confrontation?

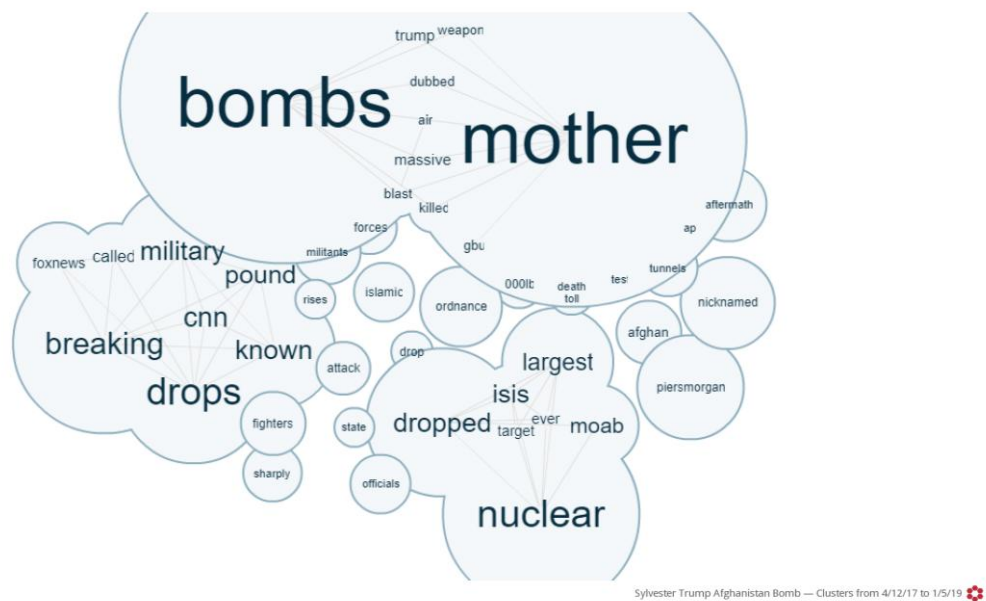
Leaders in Europe, Asia and the Middle East know this is not the true end of this story. They remember, if the US media do not, that the United States to date is the only country in the world to deploy both nuclear bombs and MOAB.

Appendix A

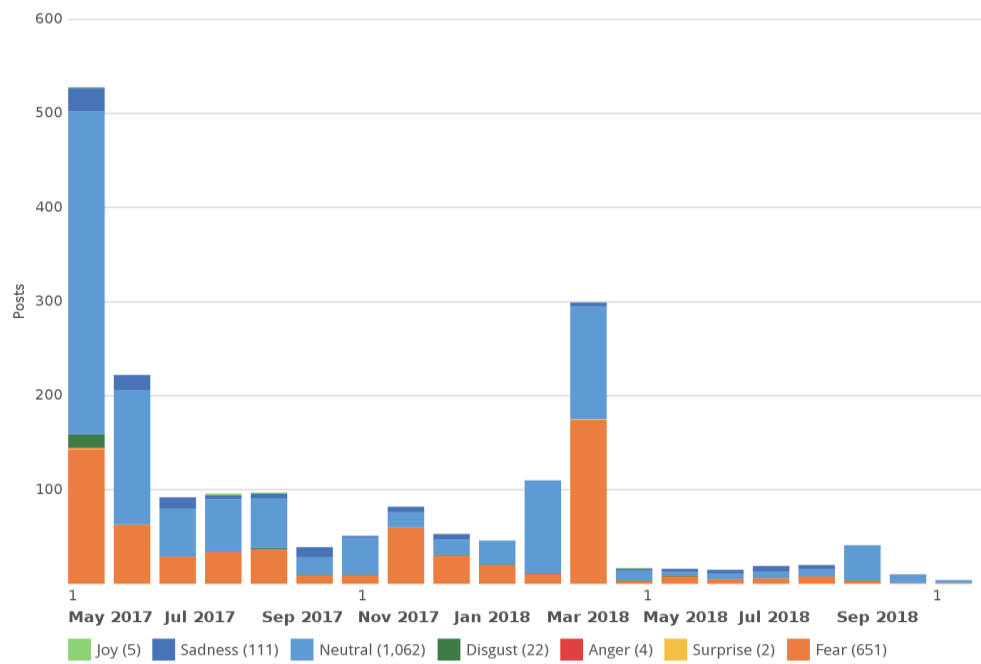


Source: Department of Defense.

Appendix B



Appendix C



Sylvester Trump Afghanistan Bomb — Volume of Posts (Emotion) from 4/12/17 to 1/5/19 🌸

Appendix D

#	Country	Posts	% of total
1	United States of America	27140	61.22%
2	India	2901	6.54%
3	United Kingdom	2367	5.34%
4	Canada	1090	2.46%
5	Pakistan	959	2.16%
6	Nigeria	651	1.47%
7	Indonesia	580	1.31%
8	Japan	491	1.11%
9	Brazil	451	1.02%
10	Mexico	415	0.94%
11	South Africa	399	0.90%
12	Australia	389	0.88%
13	Thailand	387	0.87%
14	South Korea	382	0.86%
15	Spain	365	0.82%
16	France	292	0.66%
17	Kenya	289	0.65%
18	Singapore	256	0.58%
19	Germany	254	0.57%
20	Malaysia	228	0.51%
21	Sweden	211	0.48%
22	Netherlands	202	0.46%
23	Philippines	188	0.42%
24	Russia	173	0.39%
25	Italy	164	0.37%
26	Ireland	156	0.35%
27	Venezuela	146	0.33%
28	Chile	130	0.29%
29	Colombia	122	0.28%
30	Saudi Arabia	121	0.27%
31	Argentina	110	0.25%
32	Turkey	107	0.24%
33	Afghanistan	105	0.24%
34	Belgium	103	0.23%
35	United Arab Emirates	99	0.22%
36	Ghana	80	0.18%
37	China	77	0.17%
38	Puerto Rico	76	0.17%
39	Egypt	74	0.17%
40	Jamaica	65	0.15%
41	Vietnam	63	0.14%
42	Ukraine	54	0.12%
43	Ecuador	52	0.12%
44	Israel	50	0.11%
45	Austria	49	0.11%
46	Portugal	48	0.11%
47	Norway	48	0.11%
48	Republic of Serbia	46	0.10%
49	Panama	45	0.10%
50	New Zealand	43	0.10%
51	Switzerland	39	0.09%
52	Peru	39	0.09%
53	Costa Rica	37	0.08%

54	Trinidad and Tobago	32	0.07%
55	Denmark	31	0.07%
56	Lebanon	30	0.07%
57	Dominican Republic	29	0.07%
58	Hong Kong S.A.R.	29	0.07%
59	Sri Lanka	27	0.06%
60	Czech Republic	27	0.06%
61	Maldives	27	0.06%
62	Zimbabwe	24	0.05%
63	Nepal	24	0.05%
64	Guatemala	24	0.05%
65	Uganda	24	0.05%
66	Finland	23	0.05%
67	Poland	22	0.05%
68	United Republic of Tanzania	22	0.05%
69	Paraguay	22	0.05%
70	Greece	20	0.05%
71	El Salvador	19	0.04%
72	Romania	18	0.04%
73	Mongolia	17	0.04%
74	Hungary	17	0.04%
75	Iran	16	0.04%
76	Kuwait	16	0.04%
77	Jordan	16	0.04%
78	Qatar	15	0.03%
79	Barbados	15	0.03%
80	Iraq	13	0.03%
81	Somalia	13	0.03%
82	Palestine	12	0.03%
83	Azerbaijan	12	0.03%
84	Latvia	12	0.03%
85	Uruguay	11	0.02%
86	Saint Lucia	11	0.02%
87	Yemen	10	0.02%
88	Malawi	10	0.02%
89	Iceland	9	0.02%
90	Syria	9	0.02%
91	The Bahamas	9	0.02%
92	Bahrain	8	0.02%
93	Tuvalu	8	0.02%
94	Honduras	8	0.02%
95	Botswana	7	0.02%
96	Bangladesh	7	0.02%
97	Myanmar	6	0.01%
98	Isle of Man	6	0.01%
99	Malta	5	0.01%
100	Montenegro	5	0.01%

Appendix E

(Examples of Crimson Hexagon Comments)

RT @Complex U.S. military drops 21,600 pound bomb—known as the "mother of all bombs"—in Afghanistan: <https://t.co/hVRwqoNNgz> <https://t.co/BmVFZ3870P>

RT @CNN BREAKING: US military drops 21,000-pound non-nuclear bomb -- known as the "mother of all bombs" — in Afghanistan <https://t.co/EOji2tjxzi> <https://t.co/VIQNjTRnqa>

Another Promise Kept: Trump 'Bombs the Sh*t' Out of ISIS - Drops 'Mother of All Bombs' on ISIS in Afghanistan <https://t.co/x9Ad6SOS8o>

RT @CNN BREAKING: US military drops 21,000-pound non-nuclear bomb -- known as the "mother of all bombs" — in Afghanistan <https://t.co/EOji2tjxzi> <https://t.co/VIQNjTRnqa>

RT @foxnewsalert 'MOTHER OF ALL BOMBS': US drops massive bomb in Afghanistan <https://t.co/ZCwe3oy1mG>




RT @CNN BREAKING: US military drops 21,000-pound non-nuclear bomb -- known as the "mother of all bombs" — in Afghanistan <https://t.co/EOji2tjxzi> <https://t.co/VIQNjTRnqa>

RT @FrancoandMarco The Mother of all Bombs. The perfect distraction from Chump's endless media embarrassments. Bomb an insignificant target in Afghanistan <https://t.co/LpNZBe9tuz>

RT @LawyerRogelio WTF R WE GOING 2 BOMB OUR WAY? US drops 'mother of all bombs' in Afghanistan, largest non-nuclear weapon - <https://t.co/6aCAI0DcBc> via @ABC

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/gbu-43b-mother-of-all-bombs-massive-ordnance-air-blast-afghanistan-isis-a7682996.html> Quote: The US has dropped the largest non-nuclear bomb in the countrys arsenal on an area of eastern Afghanistan known to be populated by Islamic State militants. The Pentagon said the strike was the first time the 21,000lb weapon had been used in combat operations. A spokesperson for the US Department of Defence confirmed to The Independent that a MC-130 aircraft dropped a GBU-43 bomb at 7pm local time. The weapon is known in the US Air Force by its nickname MOAB, or "mother of all bombs". MOAB stands for massive ordinance air blast. =====::=====

Normally I am against bombing other countries, though I make an exception for ISIS. I've heard tragically little up until now about ISIS setting up operations in Afghanistan, though.

RT @bfraser747    BREAKING N WS "U.S. drops largest non-nuclear bomb in Afghanistan; called "mother of all bombs" ~ VIA @FoxNews <https://t.co/lbs NIte09> <https://t.co/APriBhYrJc>

Afghanistan: US defends dropping 'mother of all bombs' #CongressionalAppr val? #Trumpinator @HRH_Sir_Loin <https://t.co/ls7AhvF6GM>

RT @AP Death toll in Afghanistan from "mother of all bombs" rises sharply. <https://t.co/lKFYII3oFU>

36 ISIS fighters killed by US 'mother of all bombs' <https://t.co/byywmNCQvi>

RT @piersmorgan BREAKING: US just dropped largest ever non-nuclear bomb on ISIS target in Afghanistan. A 21,000lb weapon dubbed 'Mother of all Bombs' - CNN.

Mother Of All Bombs- US Drops Largest Non-Nuclear Bomb In Afghanistan - YouTube <https://t.co/BB05683Sqb>

'Right weapon for right target': Top US commander defends use of 'mother of all bombs' <https://t.co/Cguel1e7zfJ>

RT @BNONews U.S. DROPS MASSIVE BOMB - Target: ISIS tunnel complex - Eastern Afghanistan - GBU-43 bomb (11 tons TNT) - AKA: MOAB/Mother of all

Bombs

RT @CNN BREAKING: US military drops 21,000-pound non-nuclear bomb -- known as the “mother of all bombs” — in Afghanistan <https://t.co/EOji2tjxzi>
<https://t.co/VIQNjTRnqa>

RT @CNN BREAKING: US military drops 21,000-pound non-nuclear bomb -- known as the “mother of all bombs” — in Afghanistan <https://t.co/EOji2tjxzi>
<https://t.co/VIQNjTRnqa>

RT @RT_com Internet erupts as Trump drops 21,000-pounds ‘Mother of All Bombs’ on #Afghanistan <https://t.co/8BLNu7FN3r> #MOABBomb <https://t.co/EOtC02pgAG>

“We have been waiting months to use it,” said an official in Afghanistan on the use of the “Mother of All Bombs” <https://t.co/r0v1H33xiP>

RT @AdityaRajKaul #BREAKING: US drops largest non-nuclear GBU-43/B Massive Ordnance Air Blast Bomb (mother of all bombs) on #ISIS hideout in #Afghanistan.

RT @CNN BREAKING: US military drops 21,000-pound non-nuclear bomb -- known as the “mother of all bombs” — in Afghanistan <https://t.co/EOji2tjxzi>
<https://t.co/VIQNjTRnqa>

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Gender Roles Representation in Television Advertisements: Implications for the Nigerian Girl-Child and Role Modelling

*By Grace Iember Anweh**

Gender roles portrayal in the mass media has been a contending issue among researchers in the academia, government and non-governmental bodies. Findings have persistently reflected the negative impact especially on the female gender. Due to the fact that some recent studies have reported the improvement in the representation of these gender roles as a result of the changing roles of males and females in societies in some countries away from Nigeria, this study was undertaken to unveil the current portrayal of gender roles in television advertisements and the possible implications on role modelling and the Nigerian Girl-Child. Content analysis of 114 advertisements from Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and Africa Independent Television (AIT) was conducted. In addition, data was collected through Focus Group Discussion (FGD) of 21 participants from three selected states within the north central zone of Nigeria comprising female primary school pupils between the ages of 7-10. Anchored on the social learning theory by Albert Bandura, the study found that males and females are still portrayed in stereotyped gender roles like the professional or career man and the effective house wife or mother respectively. The study conclude that, the persistence of gender roles in television advertisements can have adverse effects on the Nigerian girl - child, such as the lack of role models (except the perfect house wife and mother) this may hinder the process of role modelling and thus, her effective choices for self and societal development. The study, recommended that through research and other academic fora, advertisers should be sensitised to reflect the changing roles of males and females in the society in order to provide effective role models for younger girls. In addition, government is advised to enact laws and legislations that are favourable to women representation in the television.

Keywords: advertising, gender roles, role model, stereotype, television.

Introduction

As agent of socialisation, the mass media especially television are seen as an effective tool for radical and effective change. The media do not only play an important role in shaping the values of society, but also reflect those values, (Gallagher, 2005). The uniqueness of television, according to Obono and Madu (2010), is its ability to present audio, text and video at the same time as well as its characteristic of defined audience segmentation. This distinctiveness, the authors stressed, makes television stand out above radio, newspapers and magazines. The uniqueness of television as a demonstrative medium makes it an attractive and most desired medium for advertising purposes.

Advertising can reach geographically dispersed buyers efficiently (Kotler, 2003). From this angle, the concept of advertising becomes the lifeblood of many profit-oriented organisations including the mass media. In spite of these advantages, it has also attracted criticisms from scholars and activists due to its

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perceived adverse effects on society. One of the most emphasised issues is that of gender and gender roles representation and how it affects males and females but especially females (Brodolini, Giomi, Sansonetti & Tota, 2013; DiSalvatore, 2010; Gunter, 1995). The controversial representation of gender roles in the mass media formed one of the major reasons for the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) unanimously by 189 member states of the United Nations at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 (Gallagher, 2005). The platform, the author maintained, cited media as one of the twelve "critical areas of concern." The BPFA's section J is dedicated to Women and the Media with two strategic objectives, one of which is to promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media (Gallagher, 2005). But whether this declaration has been followed judiciously by member countries is a question begging for answer.

It is documented that, through advertising, television sells values and attitudes to its target audiences thus influencing their life choices (Dilogini & Shivany, 2015; Khandai & Agrawal, 2012). Women are often represented in traditional roles as social beings such as housewives/homemakers/mothers or general caregivers, clerks or receptionists, sex objects and objects for decoration while men are portrayed as authoritative figures, the bread winner, ultimate possessor of power and endowed with the ability to think logically etc. (Ngari, 2013; Espinar-Ruiz & González-Díaz, 2012; George & Uhlenbrock, 2010; Gunter, 1995). Other recent studies such as those of Moorthi, Subhadip and Pansari (2014) conducted in India have however reported improvement in the portrayal of gender roles. They observed that there is a deviation from the norms of traditional roles for men and women, to current images reflecting modern men and women in societies. Other studies such as those of Holtzhausen, Jordaan and North (2011) in South Africa found that women are no longer portrayed as sex objects.

While on the surface these images in advertisements may appear harmless, a critical analysis may prove otherwise. By implication, role modelling is necessary to facilitate children's advancement or integration into society. A child with an effective role model may grow up to be more useful to society than one lacking this. Some researchers such as DiSalvatore (2010) lent credence to this when they observed that the reinforcement of such stereotypical roles hinders the different sexes from nurturing and exhibiting inherent potentials that could be beneficial to society. The importance of role modelling prompted Ruth Sealy and Val Singh's (2008) conclusion in their study that "Organisations and those involved in preparing future leaders need to recognise the importance of role modelling as an integral process in the identity construction and development of both women and men leaders and in the women and men who follow after them."

With the above background situating the images of males and females as portrayed in television advertising with its ability to influence norms and values, and the importance of role modelling and identity formation especially for younger ones, we ask ourselves, what then is the situation in Nigeria? Most studies done are outside Nigeria, with those in Nigeria concentrating more on the images of women in the print media. Thus, this study investigates how gender roles are represented in television advertisements and the possible implications for the Nigerian girl-child and the place of role modelling.

The following are the specific objectives guiding the study.

1. To know the ways gender roles are represented in television advertisements.
2. To ascertain whether differences exist between the portrayal of males and females in television advertisements.
3. To establish the implications of television gender roles portrayal for role modelling and the Nigerian girl-child.

Research Hypothesis

Ho. There are no significant differences in the representation of males and females in television advertisements.

Concepts Clarification and Review of Literature

Gender Role/Stereotypes and Portrayal in Television Advertising

Bem (1981) in Chalabaev, Sarrazin, Fontayne, Boich'e, and Clément-Guillotin (2013) considered gender as the endorsement of traits and behaviours that characterise males (e.g., leadership, independence and aggressiveness) and females (e.g., sensitivity, sweetness, childcare). Roles become the specific activity(ies) assigned to a particular sex which they are expected to adhere to in order to be clearly differentiated from the opposite sex for example, the role of a woman is to be a wife and care for anything that has to do with the home. If a woman must work, then her duty is to be a receptionist or secretary in order to enhance the organisation's aesthetic image. This become stereotypes which Brodolini et al. (2013) defined as preconceived ideas, whereby males and females are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their sex thereby forcing individuals to adhere to predetermined gender roles just because of their sex and regardless of their natural predispositions.

While advertising is recognised for its prominent roles in boosting and oiling the wheels of the economies of nations, there has been a general outcry from some quarters regarding the harmful nature of advertising to the same environments it is making efforts to improve. Most prominent is the role it plays in reinforcing gender roles and stereotypes that result in harmful effects on some groups in the society especially the female gender. Representation of gender roles varies depending on the society and cultural norms, but there are particular themes that have similar description characterising the female and male gender. Holtzhausen, Jordaan and North (2011) outlined some of the commonest themes in advertising especially with regards to the female gender roles. These include: **Decorative** and **Homemaker**, **Sex object** and **Social being**, **Wife/mother** and **Product user**. Some recent studies indicate a representation of women more as housewives, and mothers whose role is specifically to raise children (Ngari, 2013) while a study by Ali and Shahwar (2011) on "Men, Women and TV Ads: The Representation of

Men and Women in the Advertisements of Pakistani Electronic Media" also showed an imbalance in the representation of males and females with the females on the negative side. A problematic aspect of advertising identified by Brodolini et al. (2013) remains the sexual objectification of the female body where more women than males are dressed in revealing clothing, with bodily postures or facial expressions that imply sexual readiness (Espinar-Ruiz & González-Díaz, 2012; Holtzhausen et al., 2011). These gender roles were reinforced by the media in line with cultural patterns of the society.

Over the years, however, women status's improved greatly in terms of education and work outside the home. More women are now in different kinds of professions including those once considered the strict domains for men. Consequently, it is expected that the trend in women's representation in advertising also reflects their new status in society. Yet, some authors have argued that women are still portrayed with emphasis on the traditional roles (Ali, Ali, Kumar, Hafeez & Ghufra, 2012). Even where women were featured in professional roles in advertising, it was rather in a negative than positive angle of uplifting women (Brodolini et al., 2013). Hence, with this recognition of the communication media as a critical area of concern in women's empowerment and societal development, it should be a thing of concern that the media in Nigeria may still be dominated by stereotyped portrayal of negative images of men and women which may hinder the development of insightful future leaders.

Television and Advertising in Nigeria: A Marriage of Convenience

The marriage between television and advertising is such that a break up or divorce will lead to the demise of both. While television needs advertising revenue to sustain broadcasting and daily operations of the stations, advertisers are also in business to sell. In other words, without the consumer, there would be no need for advertising. Yet, the consumers are scattered and heterogeneous with distinctive psychographic and demographics characteristics. Therefore, how will advertisers access these special consumers and beat competition? The answer lies in a medium which has the ability to influence convincingly. Research has established that television is the most viable medium transcending age, sex and literacy as well as other social/economic status. Accordingly, Miller (2003) observed that television is the first centralised cultural influence to permeate both the initial and final years of life as well as the years between. Advertising on the medium thus requires a huge budget.

Because advertisers are paying very high for television slots which usually range from 30 seconds to 60 seconds, they expect maximum result. For instance, NTA advertisement rate for a slot in prime time programme is ₦1, 750.000 (equivalent of \$4,861.50) for 30 seconds.¹ (NTA Network, 2014). The cost of an advertisement on any of the channels basically depends on the air time. Therefore, advertisers parting with these huge amounts for just a matter of seconds call for maximum results. Similarly, television channels cannot afford to relinquish this

¹NTA Network (2014). Retrieved from <https://ces.to/N4xsya>.

huge amount. The result, therefore is that such channels must dance to the tune of the advertisers.

Stressing this point, Moriarty, Mitchell, and Wells, (2009) aver that media selection and message frequency are some of the factors that determine the design and effective execution of an advertising campaign. They maintain that, to reach the target customer effectively, the advertiser needs to have a good understanding of the media habits of its customers. Once the right combination of media is found, the question has to move on to how often the company should expose the message to the target audience in order to achieve a certain level of awareness and attract consumers to the advertised product or message. This implies that the 30-60 second adverts on television are not enough to reach the target audience if the exposure is not repeated as many times as possible. Nielsen (2014) shows that when viewers are paying more attention to a programme, they will also pay more attention to the ads that air within that programme. Based on this, advertisers who can afford it make it a point of duty to target those hours when potential consumers are believed to tune in to television channels – most likely the prime time period. This is where and when the representation of gender roles through product advertisements is emphasised with its ominous consequences.

The Effect of Gender Roles Representation in Advertising

That advertising has effects on its consumers is incontestable. The bone of contention is the nature of effects in relation to the portrayal of women – positive or negative and to what extent. Over the years, many empirical researches based on the hypodermic needle theory established the powerful influence of television over audience. Evidence from counter studies indicated limited effects. Yet these research findings do not categorically eliminate the fact that the media constitute a certain amount of influence whether reinforced or cultivated over a period of time. It is from the foregoing that George and Uhlenbrock (2010, p. 7) averred that: "Media content may be based on what happens in the physical world, but it singles out and highlights certain elements over others."

In general, media advertising relies on and reinforces societal cultural stereotypes of women. Consumers are exposed to a wide variety of advertising in different media every day, and from these exposures, certain thinking patterns evolve. Male supremacy and female subordination are often propagated through gender differentiation in advertising messages. Supporting this assertion, Eisend (2010) viewed that even though it is possible that advertisements mirror societal ideals, gender role portrayals can still have consequential notions of reinforcement of social and gender stereotypes on society. Trailing the same opinions, McClure (1999) suggested that viewers see the world through a cultural lens, believing that behaviours, characteristics and attitudes are constructed by society. Stereotypical gender roles can guide and shape behaviour by affecting the audience's perception of social reality (Lafky & Duffy, 1996). Kolbert (1995) in Espinosa (2010) also observed the broad consensus among social scientists that there is indeed a connection between popular culture and behaviour, noting that among parents surveyed, they noticed direct evidence of the connection via imitated behaviour

and language from their children. This therefore underscores the fact that consistent exposure to gender role stereotypes can lead to imitation. The consequence can be dire on society when the copied behaviour is not beneficial to societal growth. For instance, Geis et al. (1984) cited in Shrikhande (2003) opined that women may perceive the happy housewife stereotype as a cultural directive which in turn may lead them to put aside their own desires regarding career and personal life and replace them with the ideal presented through popular culture including advertisements. Furthermore, when the masses are repeatedly shown images of women as victims, sexualised or in domestic roles, they might likely accept those images as normal and will build their beliefs and values on them.

In addition, society is generally affected when stereotypical gender roles hinder a great percentage of the population from contributing to economic development. For instance, when women are rarely portrayed in advertising doing masculine jobs, this can restrict their effort to participate in careers that will help boost the economy of the society. Media advertising reflecting these stereotypes could further hinder women's ability to climb the corporate ladder.

Health wise, research evidence suggests that exposure to thin-idealised media advertisements has a "small but consistent" effect on women's well-being (Groesz, Levine, & Murnen, 2002), by producing general declines in mood and body satisfaction and an increase in weight anxiety (Harper & Tiggemann, 2007). As predicted by Fredrickson and Roberts (1997), the process of viewing such advertisement will make women see their physical appearance as though looking at an observer thus making the body and its appearance become more salient points of reference for women in describing the self after this form of media exposure (Harper & Tiggemann, 2007). Some researchers believe that most advertisements prescribe female happiness and success to be tied to the normative constructions of the female body, which promote ultra-thinness as the preferred state of health and beauty as well as the most important form of self-improvement. Not only females suffer negative effects of gender roles representation in advertising in particular. Wood (1994, p. 3) captured the negative effect of gender roles stereotypes on even males from a respondent in a study conducted as follows:

I wouldn't say this around anyone, but personally I'd be glad if the media let up a little on us guys. I watch those guys in films and on TV, and I just feel inadequate. I mean, I'm healthy and I look okay, and I'll probably make a decent salary when I graduate. But I am no stud; I can't beat up three guys at once; women don't fall dead at my feet; I doubt I'll make 1 million bucks; and I don't have muscles that ripple. Every time I go to a film, I leave feeling like a wimp. How any of us guys would measure up to what's on the screen?

Providing emphasis based on the above submission, Pollack (1998) submitted that boys are confused by society's mixed messages and expectations for being male while Kimmel (2008) maintained that males feel the need to suppress their ability to express compassion and empathy in order to achieve society-appropriate masculinity and to not appear vulnerable or weak. Kimmel (2008) further averred that males do not necessarily maintain ideals sustained by society to impress

women, but rather "to be positively evaluated by other men." By suppressing feelings that already exist, boys are more prone to depression, suicidal behaviours, and fighting than girls are (Espinosa, 2010). Such views from such studies confirms the assumption that unfavourable role representation can impact society negatively.

It is the view of the researcher (subject to empirical testing) that one of the negative consequences of gender roles in advertising is the restriction of women in educational training in terms of courses of study as well as the eventual decision to avoid professions that are capable of upgrading their status in society. It is common to encounter higher educational institutions in Nigeria with overpopulated social sciences, humanities and art courses, while the science and technology faculties are practically empty of students. There is no gainsaying that a well-developed society is one in which qualified human resources man every section of the economy.

Theoretical Framework

This paper finds footing in Bandura's social learning theory which advocates that people learn as a result of their interaction within a social context. Nabavi (2012) notes that, by separately observing the behaviours of others, assimilation of behaviour observed is activated in the individual thus leading to learned behaviour especially if the observed behaviour is accompanied with reward. To Bandura, imitation is the actual reproduction of the observed behaviour. In other words, the principles of social learning are characterised by observation, imitation and modelling where the people being observed are models. Therefore, when observed behaviours from people considered models are imitated, learned behaviour has occurred (Newman & Newman, 2007). By implication, children's exposure to television images such as those portrayed in advertisements can result in a modelling process where the observer may want to imitate similar behaviour. This calls for effective images of such television models in order to enhance the modelling process for the upcoming child for informed decision towards self-identity.

Methodology

This research adopted quantitative Content analysis and Focus Group Discussion (FGD).

Content Analysis

Content analysis has often been used by researchers to examine message units (such as commercials) in studying advertising. Therefore, the researcher considered this design because a substantial part of data required to analyse the issue at hand involves critical insight into advertising contents for clear understanding of the messages.

The population of study for the content analysis otherwise called universe comprised of 472 advertisements recorded from Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and Africa Independent Television (AIT), representing public and private stations respectively. For the sample size, 114 advertisements representing one appearance were analysed. The advertisement samples analysed were those transmitted on prime time, which is the preferred segment for commercials by most advertisers. This period was considered because it is the time when most of the target audience retire from activities of the day to lounge before a television set in order to catch up with programmes. To arrive at this, the study looked at researches conducted regarding television advertising and viewership. Selecting the most popular channels and time to obtain samples is thus consistent with the research practices of other researchers (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Ibroscheva, 2007; Holtzhausen et al., 2011).

The procedure adopted is explained further below. First, the researcher purposively selected NTA and AIT stations which represent, public and private ownership. The reason for the choice of these channels was based on the desire for both private and public ownership to be represented. In addition, these channels were considered because they are widely viewed across the country as they have stations in majority of the states and their signals are equally accessible via satellite. The researcher then determined the period of coverage. Since most stations' programming is on quarterly basis, the first and third quarters which constitute a period of six months, spanning from January to March and July to September, 2017, were considered. The reason for the choice of these periods was that advertising is repetitive in nature hence choosing first and second quarters may result to duplication of the advertisements. However, with the selection of first and third quarters, more advertisements that were not placed in the first quarter were likely to be captured. Tuesdays and Thursdays were judgementslly selected for recording of advertisements on NTA channel while Mondays and Fridays were considered for AIT. This was to allow the researcher the opportunity to personally record such advertisements. Furthermore, each TV channel was watched within the time bracket of 7-10 p.m. considered prime time. This was considered the most ideal time since it is a period when most people retire from their various activities of the day to relax before the screens to catch up on programmes. The period is also one which advertisers manipulate to advantage. In total, 472 commercials were recorded, 168 from AIT and 304 from NTA with NTA airing more advertisements than AIT during the period of coverage. After excluding duplicates, public service announcements and those in which the main character was not identifiable, the final sample consisted of 114 commercials for coding purpose.

Coding framework for this study was adopted from a composite of previous studies in the area under focus (Ibroscheva, 2007; Mwangi, 1996; Nasif & Gunter, 2008; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Eisend, 2010). According to Kuhn (1970 as cited by Macnamara 2005), the scientific requirement for deduction should be based on past research, theories and bodies of evidence. By basing the adoption of coding framework on past research, this study adapts to scientific practices. The unit of measurement for this study was based on the appearances of male or female

characters in advertisements as the central character. Categories studied include collecting data on the central character playing a major role in a commercial by virtue of either speaking the longest in a commercial or having the most prominent visual exposure. The following variables were coded and are defined as follows:

- **Central figure:** This is the main character or protagonist in the advertisement. The review here is based on whether the character is male or female. It is classified as: 1 – Male and 2 – Female.
- **Voicing:** This variable has to do with the manner in which the central character was presented or appeared in the commercial – whether talking or not. The central character was categorized based on the nature of their appearance in the commercial: 1 – Voice over; 2 – Visually speaking; 3 – Visually not speaking.
- **Mode:** This variable was to help determine whether the central figure in the advertisement represented the product and the manner in which the representation occurred. This was coded as: 1 – Product user; 2 – Presenter; 3 – Product authority; 4 – Decorative; 5 – Other.
- **Product Type:** This had to do with the kind of product or service advertised. This variable was classified according to the following categories: 1 – Body/personal care (lotions, beauty products, perfumes, bathing soap, toothpaste, shavers, clothes etc.); 2 – Food; 3 – Households (cleaning products, medicine); 4 – Household appliances (fridge, microwave, furniture etc.); 5 – Telecommunication (communication networks, radio, television, etc.); 6 – Automobiles; 7 – Sports; 8 – Services (communication, bank, insurance, hotel, electricity); 9 – Leisure (alcohol, beverages and soft drinks); 10 – Other.
- **Setting:** This was to help determine the environment in which the central figure was portrayed in the advertisement. The central character was categorised according to whether he/she was depicted in: 1 – Home (living room, kitchen, bedroom, bathroom, home compound); 2 – Store (supermarket/market/shop); 3 – Workplace; 4 – Leisure (bar, restaurant); 5 – Outdoor (street; beach, field, forest, playground, sport); 6 – Other.
- **Role:** What specific role was the male or female playing in the advertisements? This was considered under the following codes: 1 – Parent; 2 – Household chores; 3 – Worker (informal jobs); 4 – Professional; 5 – Celebrity (popular musician, actor, sports star, comedian etc.); 6 – Spouse; 7 – Partner; 8 – Sports Person; 9 – Other.
- **Sexuality:** This had to do with whether the man or woman as the central character was portrayed in a suggestive manner that could be termed as objectification. Categories studied under this theme included: 1 – Common dressing (everyday dress excluding underwear and short skirts); 2 – Suggestive clothing (clothing which partially exposes the body such as tight skirts and trousers, unbuttoned blouses, and mini-skirts); 3 – Partially clad (underwear, bathing suits, workout

outfits); 4 – Nude (actual nudity, suggestive nudity – holding a cloth to conceal genitals or breast); 5 – Stance (suggestive posing); 6 – Intimate contact (kissing, embracing, general body language with implication); 7 – Other.

- **Age:** This variable means the age category within which the male or female central character falls. This was considered under the following: 1 – Young; 2 – Middle age; 3 – Old and 4 – Not sure.

The coding instruction guide was carefully prepared to give detailed information and guide to the coders to enhance their understanding of the recorded advertisements and what to look out for. Coding sheets were used to record themes observed from the recorded advertisements. This was done with the assistance of two trained coders with an adequate coding instruction guide to enhance ease of understanding. For Inter-coder Reliability, pilot coding was conducted using 10 local television commercials recorded from NTA Makurdi station. This was to help fine tune the variables studied. With adequate guidance by the researcher, two trained coders coded 10 advertisements in order to ensure the reliability of the instrument before the actual coding. It was important to conduct a pilot test to determine whether the coding sheet was perfect and able to capture the desired data required to address the key issues investigated (Pillay, 2008). The pilot test offered the needed opportunity to train the two external coders that were used in order to attain inter-coder reliability.

Furthermore, since there were categories with sub categories in them to be studied, the inter-coder reliability between the coders was determined using Scott's reliability (Scott's pi index) test as recommended in Krippendorff (2004) which, according to Holst, corrects not only for the number of categories in the category set, but also for the probable frequency with which each is used. Each coder coded a one-hour tape for advertisements that was equivalent to 10% of the total sample for inter-coder reliability. The coefficient calculation is as follows:

Percentage of agreement = $(\text{Total correct} - \text{Total incorrect}) / \text{Total number measured}$

The over-all number of advertisements coded by both coders from a one-hour tape was 10. The total number of categories for each advertisement was seven. Therefore, the total number measured becomes 10 times seven, which equals 70, $(10 \times 7 = 70)$. Conversely, both coders disagreed on three cases; hence the total number incorrect was three.

Percentage of agreement was calculated thus:

$$(70-3)/70=.96$$

Note: 0 (perfect disagreement) < pi > 1 (perfect agreement). Overall inter-coder reliability coefficient was between .96 which shows a near perfect agreement between the coders on the categories studied.

Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion (FGD) was also adopted as a method for this study to complement the quantitative content analysis. According to Collis and Hussey (2013), a FGD is a form of qualitative research in which a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes towards a product, service, concept, advertisement, idea, or packaging. With the nature of research objective three, which sought to establish the implications of gender roles portrayal in advertisements for role modelling and the Nigerian girl-child, the need for focus group discussion was imperative.

The population of the focus group method comprised primary school female pupils in the north central zone of Nigeria. A focus group comprising 7 participants each from three selected states of the north central zones of Nigeria totalling 21 represented the sample size. These states include Benue State, Plateau and Abuja. Reasons for this selection were based on the lean resources of the researcher. Hence, a selection based on proximity and convenience to the researcher was considered appropriate for ease and manageability. The selection of pupils at the primary level of education hinged on the fact that identity formation starts early in life but becomes more prominent when the child begins schooling. At this stage too, the need for a role model to help define self-identity becomes higher. Therefore, the researcher considered this factor apt for this study to obtain the views of the primary school pupils regarding the issue under discourse. Similarly, the choice of age falls within the primary school age category. However, the years 7 to 10 was in order to settle for respondents who were old enough to comprehend the issue under study when properly guided.

These children were selected purposively within the same area but distant enough from each other to avoid too much familiarity with each other which could have negative impact on the discussion. In addition, the selection of the participants was done with carefulness to ensure that there were no two children from the same families or schools.

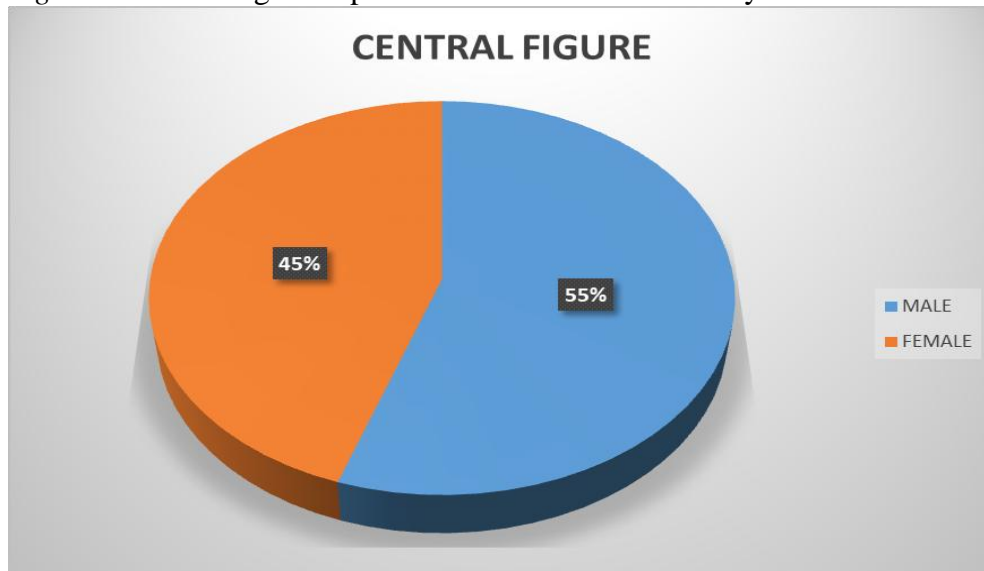
Consent was sought and obtained from parents of the selected children who were first given a recorded tape of some selected advertisements that were used for the content analysis to play for the children to watch as many times as possible. These advertisements include Mortem and Dettol. These products were considered because they had themes representing the traditional roles of males and females such as the mother or housewife/caregiver and the professional or career person. The main characters in these products represent the role models. In addition, each of the selected advertisements involved children who were basically participants in the advertisements as well as intended consumers for the advertised products. On the stipulated day for the sessions, the same advertisements were played for the children to determine their level of awareness and exposure before the discussion commenced. Two well trained research assistants and facilitators were employed and given well-structured scripts to facilitate the group discussions in Plateau State and Abuja while the researcher personally handled the group in Benue state.

Findings

A total number of 472 commercials were recorded from AIT and NTA channels. After the elimination of advertisements with inanimate figures, public service commercials as well as those without well-defined central figures, a total of 114 advertisements were coded for male and female if presented as the central figure. A total of 63 (55%) males were coded while 51 (45%) were females making up the total of 114 samples coded.

Out of the seven categories coded, some sub categories as originally captured on the coding sheet were collapsed into others to enhance ease of analysis and testing of hypothesis and also for the fact that most of them did not yield results during the coding. The following categories were collapsed: product type has the following collapsed sub categories – household products, automobiles, sports products and leisure. Role category has the following collapsed items: spouse, partner, sports person, entertainer. In sexuality, nude is collapsed into suggestive clothing.

Figure 1. Central Figure Representation in Advertisement by Gender



Source: Field work 2017.

Figure 1 indicates that, out of the total central figures coded for this study, males constitute 63 (55%) representing the highest, while female central figures follow closely with 51 (45%). The data is an indication that although more males than females are used as central figures in advertising products and services, the two genders are substantially used in television advertising unlike in the past when females were used only in decorating products and not as central figures.

Table 1. Distribution of Central Figure Representing Various Categories

Variable	Category	Male F (%)	Female F (%)	Total F (%)	Chi square
Product	Body/personal care	10 (38.5%)	16 (61.5%)	26 (22.8%)	
	Food	12 (35.3%)	22 (64.7%)	34 (29.8%)	
	Household appliances	8 (89%)	1 (11%)	9 (7.9%)	
	Services	9 (69.2%)	4 (30.8%)	13 (11.4%)	
	Telecommunication	19 (76%)	6 (24%)	25 (22%)	
	Other	5 (71.4%)	2 (28.6%)	7 (6.1%)	
	Total	63	51	114 (100%)	21.344 (df=5)
Age	Young	13 (31.7%)	28 (68.3%)	41 (35.9%)	
	Middle age	37 (80.4%)	9 (19.6%)	46 (40.4%)	
	Old	8 (53.3%)	7 (46.7%)	15 (13.2%)	
	Not sure	5 (41.7%)	7 (58.3%)	12 (10.5%)	
	Total	63	51	114 (100%)	3.148 (df=3)
Setting	Home	7 (17.5%)	33 (82.5%)	40 (35.1%)	
	Store/shopping centre	0 (0%)	7 (100%)	7 (6.1%)	
	Workplace	27 (100%)	0 (0%)	27 (23.7%)	
	Outdoor	9 (69.2%)	4 (30.8%)	13 (11.4%)	
	Leisure	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)	21 (18.4%)	
	Other	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	6 (5.3%)	
	Total	63	51	114 100	58.735 (df=5)
Role	Parent/house chores	12 (22.2%)	42 (77.8%)	54 (47.4%)	
	Worker	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	12 (10.5%)	
	Professional	28 (100%)	0 (0%)	28 (24.6%)	
	Celebrity	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	12 (10.5%)	
	Other	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	8 (7.0%)	
	Total	63	51	114 100	50.034 (df=4)
Voicing	Virtually speaking	13 (72.2%)	5 (27.8%)	18 (15.8%)	
	Virtually not speaking	8 (53.3%)	7 (46.7%)	15 (13.2%)	
	Voice over	62 (76.5%)	19 (23.5%)	81 (71.0%)	4.509 (df=2)
Mode	Product user	14 (37.8%)	23 (62.2%)	37 (32.5%)	
	Product presenter	17 (65.4%)	9 (34.6%)	26 (22.8%)	
	Authority	24 (82.85)	5 (17.2%)	29 (25.4%)	
	Decorative	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	16 (14%)	
	Other	4 (66.7%)	2 (33%)	6 (5.3%)	
	Total	63	51	114 100	23.591 (df=4)
Sexuality	Common	53 (62.4%)	32 (37.6%)	85 (74.6%)	
	Suggestive	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	
	Partially clad	2 (20%)	8 (80%)	10 (8.8%)	
	Intimate contact	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	8 (7%)	
	Other	4 (66.7%)	2 (33.3%)	6 (5.3%)	
	Total	63	51	114 100	14.143 (df=5)

Source: Field Work 2017.

From the data presented in Table 1 evidence from the product category indicates that, food represents the highest category of product advertisements on

television within the period studied at 29.8% (34) with the female gender constituting the major central figure in the category with 64.7% (22) while the male gender was used as the central figure 33.3% (12). This category is closely followed by Body/Personal care product at 22.8% (26). In this category, the female gender still constituted the highest percentage as the central figure at 61.5% (16) and male 38.5% (10). The rest of the products include, telecommunication with 22% (25) with 6 females representing 24% and 19 males (76%). Services has 13 (11.4%) with 4 (30.8%) females as central figures and 9 (69.2%) males as central figure. Household appliances is represented with 9 (7.9%) with males 8 (89%) as central figure while female central figure in this category is 1 (11%). The remaining 7 (6.1%) with 2 (28.6%) female and 5 (71.4%) males fell into the category whose product nature did not fall into any of the other categories presented above.

Table 1 shows more women in products like food and body/personal care products while the male gender was represented more for telecommunication, services and household appliances.

In the age variable as shown in Table 1, 46 (35.9%), 41 (40.4%), 15 (13.2%) represented the central figures in the age bracket of middle age, young and old respectively while the remaining 12 (10.5%) are those whose age bracket could not be ascertained. From these figures, the female gender was used the most as central figure at 28 (68.3%) in the young category to advertise products while males are 13 (31.7%). In the middle age category, the males constitute the highest percentage 37 (80.4%) with females taking the rest of 9 (19.6%). The rest making up 53.3% and 46.7% almost evenly distributed represented males and females in the "old" category. The rest of 7 (41.7%) for males and 8 (58.3%) for females were those whose ages could not be ascertained. Data here indicates that more females than males in the young age category are used, while for the middle age, more males than females are used. Only in the old category are males and females used almost at the same level.

Information conveyed under the 'Setting' variable shows advertisements presented in home setting or environment at the highest with 35.1% (40), workplace environment 23.7% (27), leisure 18.4% (21), outdoor 11.4% (13), store or shopping centre 6.1% (7) and other 5.3% (6). Arising from this result are 82.5% females and 17.5% males as central figures for the home setting. Workplace has 100% (27) males represented under this environment, with 71.4% males and 28.6% females portrayed as central figures in the leisure setting. In the outdoor category, males still outnumbered females as central figures with 69.2% and 30.8% respectively while females were represented at the store or shopping centre setting at 100% with no single male represented as central figure. The rest comprising 5 (83.3%) males and 1 (16.7%) female belonged to a category that was not specified. Therefore, more women than men were portrayed in the home and shopping centre environment while their male counterparts had more portrayal in the workplace, outdoor and leisure environments.

Commercials observed with regards to role played showed the sub categories of Parent/household chores as 47.4% (54), Professional 24.6% (28), Worker 10.5% (12), Celebrity 10.5% (12) and other 7% (8). The data indicate that under

the "parent" sub category, women were represented the most at 77.8% (42) while men constituted 22.2% (12). At the professional level, men were represented more at 100% (28) with no single female portrayed in this role. More males than females were represented as central figures in the worker category at 75% (9) and 25% (3) respectively. In the aspect of celebrity, the central figures portrayed are 66.7% males and 33.3% females while those whose roles were not clearly defined stood at 75% (8) males and 25% (4) females; 75% (6) males 25% (2) constitutes those whose role could not be ascertained. The implication of this data is that more women are represented as parents or doing house chores and shopping in advertisements while males are portrayed more as professionals and workers in different fields representing products.

Data acquired as represented in Table 1 also revealed that of the 81 (71%) of Voice Overs in the commercials observed, more men than women were used at 62 (76.5%) and 19 (23.5%) respectively while those who were observed as Virtually Speaking represent 15.8% (18) with 13 (72.2%) males and 5 (27.8%) females while the last category are those who did not speak in the advertisements at all. This stood at 13.2% (15), 53.3% (8) males and 46.7% (7) females. This result implies that more men are used in Voice Over in advertising and are seen to be virtually speaking while women are more often only used as those central figures that do not speak for the product or service.

The Mode category as shown in Table 1 comprises of Product User category 32.5% (37), Product Authority 25.4% (29), Product Presenter 22.8% (26), Decorative 14% (16) and "Other" 5.3% (6). From this data, more women are portrayed as central figures who are users of the product advertised. This is evidenced from the 23 (62%) representing females and 14 (37.8%) males. More men on the other hand than females are shown as representing the product advertised as authoritative figures at 24 (82.8%) males and 5 (17.2%) females. Product presenter and decorative has 17 (65.4%) and 4 (25%) males while females are 9 (34.6%) and 12 (75%) for the same categories. This entails that mostly, women are portrayed in advertisements as central figures who engage in the usage of the products with men closely following as central figures that act as authorities for the advertised products.

Sexuality as presented in Table 1 has other sub categories that include "Common" with the highest percentage of 74.6 (85), Partially Clad 8.8% (10), Intimate Contact 7% (8), Suggestive 4.4% and others 5.3% (6). From this data, it can be observed that, the males appeared mostly in common dressing at 53 (62.4%) and females at 32 (37.6%). Those who were partially clad constitute more females at 8 (80%) than males at 2 (20%). For engaging in intimate contact that emphasises a show of sexuality, the distribution is even between males and females at 4 (50%) respectively, while 66.7% males and 33.3% females sexuality play fell in the option of "other". Therefore, the result here indicates that sexuality is not displayed in advertising in a negative form as the common type of dressing is mostly used but with more men represented than the females while the smallest percentage of sexuality displayed still shows women in the lead.

Results

Research objective one aimed to establish how gender roles are portrayed in advertisements. As represented in table one under the "variable" column, data shows the different ways through which gender roles are played out in advertising. These include through the type of product advertised, age of the main character representing the product, the setting, the actual role played in the advertisement, the voicing, mode of representation and sexuality.

Research objective two sought to find out if differences existed in the way males and females are portrayed in advertisements. Table 1 shows seven categories and sub categories that were coded with Chi Square used to test each category to determine if there was any significant difference existing in the portrayal of the two genders.

In the product category, Chi Square (X^2) calculated of 21.344 with degree of freedom (df) as 5 at 0.05 level of significance with a table value of 11.07 confirms significant differences between males and females in the type of products they represent. The results show that women act more as central figures in food products and body/personal care products while the male central figures feature more prominently in telecommunication, household appliances and services. Similar differences were noted in the setting category. Data shows that advertisements portray women in the home as homemakers and people who do the shopping to keep the home. On the other hand, advertising portrays men as the gender that represents workplace, outdoor and leisure environments. Chi Square run confirms the result at 58.735 calculated against table value of p11.07 with d.f 5 at 0.05 level of significance.

For the **Role category**, we conclude that there is gender role play in television advertising since X^2 obtained = 50.034. d.f = 4 at 0.05 level of significance is greater than $p = 9.488$. Table 1 shows that advertisements portray more women as parents and engaging in household chores than males. On the other hand, more men than women are portrayed as professionals in various fields, as workers and even as celebrities. The data for mode category indicates that more women are portrayed as product users and as decorative images for products against men who are portrayed as authorities and product presenters.

Objective three aimed to ascertain the implications of television gender roles portrayal for role modelling and the Nigerian girl child. The responses from the participants showed that, the children were exposed to the advertisements and had a basic knowledge of the story line of the advertisements. In the case of Mortem, the discussants' responses showed a high preference for the woman (mother) who was the main character in the advertisement and also represented the role model. Asked the reason why most of the children preferred or liked the woman most, answers indicated the ability of the woman to kill the mosquito. One particular child went further to give a detailed description of why her favourite in the advertisement is the mother.

The father and the boy are pursuing the mosquito but they can't kill it. So the mother just carry that thing in that long bottle and sprayed shuuuuuuu, and the mosquito died

so they are clapping for her (referring to the man and two children clapping for the mum; giggles).

In the second advertisement on Dettol (two on same products but different scenarios and actors), majority of the children identified with the role played by the mother who was able to give the child a thorough bath with Dettol while also attending to his minor injuries with the same product. The reasons attributed to the preference emerged from mother's ability to clean the boy. A child said "That is how my mummy used to bath me and junior at home." **Pertaining to role model, the children's reaction and support for the woman and her super role in the advertisement is an indication that already, an identity formation process is established. In this case, the child sees the role of mother as care giver as the superior part to adopt or follow.** On the second advertisement on Dettol which had a man as the doctor and main character representing the product, conflicting answers were obtained from the discussants. The various answers and inability of the children to determine their most preferred actor showed a clear case of not being able to identify a role model in the advertisement, basically because the male as the main character and most prominent in the advertisement is not consistent with their sex and hence does not represent a role model. Because females have biological endowments that make them female, it is natural for them to identify with a similar sex. Hence a man representing a product as a professional (doctor) may not really mean much for the girl-child. This could be attributed to the crisis encountered by the participants in defining their favourite actor where a man was the main character in the advertisement.

Discussion of Findings

When advertisers set out to promote their products in order to attract consumers, several strategies are employed. Most prominent is the gender (male or female) that will represent the product more successfully. Unlike in years past when studies revealed underrepresentation of females as central figures, the situation is different now, including the Nigerian scenario. Both males and females are used extensively as central figures in product representation.

In line with most studies conducted in the past and present (Espinar-Ruiz, & González-Díaz, 2012; Holtzhausen et al., 2011; Shrikhande, 2003) regarding the representation of gender roles in product categories, there is evidence to prove that advertisers still persist in portraying women in food, body and personal care products while males are preferred choices for products such as household appliances, telecommunications and services. Type of product to a large extent determines the kind of appeals advertisers employ in order to sell goods or services. It will not be out of place to argue here that, body/personal care as well as food are major areas through which males and females are often stereotyped. For instance, it is considered a taboo in some traditions within African societies particularly in Nigeria for a man to be seen cooking for the family or doing other household chores such as cleaning especially when he is a married man. A man seen to be doing such chores is often tagged "woman wrapper," in other cases he is

said to be bewitched by the woman, or the wife is tagged as the "controlling" type who makes her husband do "woman chores." Advertisers capitalise on these stereotypes to reinforce these values, thus establishing that certain attributes must be consistent with males and others for females thereby setting the pace for gender role – play. It is no wonder that this study, like many others, has proven that women are still considered as lacking the thinking capacity to analyse and evaluate complicated products such as household appliances. As such, the role of logical thinking is assigned to men while women must concentrate on food, body and personal care that are considered less tasking and rely mostly on emotional traits like love, joy, happiness, beauty etc.

Gender stereotypes analysed in advertisements for the present study also hold that the place of the woman is the home and if outside the home, then she should be in the market or shopping centre making adequate preparation to cater for the home. In the same vein, the man is seen as the bread winner who must do the manly things such as socialising with friends outside the home at leisure joints or working. Similar findings were discovered by Ngari (2013) in his study. Needless to point out that a great difference in the portrayal of gender roles in this category still dominates television advertising even with the changing roles of women in society. One can conveniently say that advertising is not being fair to the two genders. Practical examples in today's societies show that most men take care of the home as much as most women are bread winners and sometimes work more than two jobs outside the home to keep the family going or complement the man of the house. Some women are single mothers or even unmarried who provide not just for themselves but for family and extended families and as such, have equal or even more responsibilities than the man who has been stereotypically assigned the role of the working bread winner.

In addition, most women are career working women combining their professions and family successfully to improve self, family and the society. It is therefore unrealistic to continuously emphasise the role of the woman as a mother or parent who does nothing but care for the home and family and looks good at all times to be devoured by a hardworking man. Only a few men are shown in this role even though the society in which we live is such that most men help their wives in these roles. Many studies have found support for this criticism (Ferrante, Haynes & Kingsley, 1988). In the aspect of professional career, not a single female is considered good enough to play this role as it has completely been assigned to the male folk. In a similar study by Allan and Coltrane (1996, p. 14), the authors concluded that, "even when women were pictured in a work activity, they were 12 times more likely to be shown displaying stereotypically masculine traits." One is tempted to ask, what happens to the present day society where many women are in professional careers such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, technologists etc.? The advertisements analysed revealed that even in products where women are considered major consumers such as cleaning detergents, cooking oil, body care products etc., the use of men as doctors or in other relevant professions to convey expert information about the product persists.

This study has also shown that more women than men are portrayed as product users and decorative protagonists. This finding was studied under the

mode of presentation category with three sub categories – product user, product presenter, decorative and product authority. While male central figures were preferred to show authority for the product as well as present the product, women were considered relevant only as product users and decorative objects for products. This finding is also consistent with cultural beliefs that a woman is incapable of thinking logically the way a man does and therefore, she has to rely on the man. All a woman is good at is consuming the products, but when it comes to thinking and analysing the products to determine the beneficial attributes of the product, the male is the best option. The best a woman can achieve is using her beauty or sexuality to decorate the product or service advertised.

As appropriately captured by Bandura's social learning theory that people learn by imitating the actions of others in a social context, the portrayal of images of women and men in television which is a social medium that allows for learned behaviour, can lead to learned behaviour by younger females. It is thus no wonder that findings from the focus group discussion showed majority of the female children having a preference for the super women (role model) who were able to solve noticeable problems in the studied advertisements. This leaves the observer in no doubt that when presented with options of self-identity or other choices to be made, the girl child will not hesitate to consider the images of the "effective mother" observed in television. While being an effective mother is not a crime, it would be ideal if these role models in advertisements represent divergent roles such as career or professional women, performing duties considered to be in the male domain and so on. These should give the learning child various choices of role models and enable her make informed decision about who she may want to be when the need arises.

Conclusion

Arising from the findings, the study concludes that differences still exist in the representation of gender roles in television advertisements. Women are viewed as mothers and caregivers who should model for products like food and cleaning or other household chores while the males are professional career people, independent, working outside the home bread winners. The researcher believes that the persistence of these gender roles portrayal can have a negative impact on the Nigerian girl – child as a result of lack of role model figures to choose from except those conveying these traditional roles.

The study thus recommends that scholars, through incisive research articles and other relevant academic writings, should prevail on advertisers to reflect the changing roles of males and females in societies in the promotion of their products and services. This would provide options to young girls in need of role models for identity formation. It is also imperative for government to encourage favourable laws and legislations favouring women. Such laws will discourage television programmers as well as advertising regulatory bodies from allowing unfavourable images of women in advertisements on television.

We believe that this study by its findings has contributed to the body of knowledge and literature by uncovering that in Nigeria, gender roles portrayal in television advertisements still emphasise traditional roles in line with findings from some countries and divergent from others which see advertisements in other countries as representing the current image of males and females in society. Notable also is the fact that little or no literature exists in Nigeria showing studies relating to analysis of contents of advertisements in television to establish the portrayal of gender roles. This study has therefore contributed to this area in addition to showing that emphasis on traditional stereotyped roles can lead to lack of role models thus hindering the girl - child from realising her potentials.

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How Vietnamese Stakeholders View Current SocialMedia Use in Crisis Communication in Vietnam

By Tuong-Minh Ly-Le^{*}

Little research has explored the use of social media in PR or crisis communication in a Vietnamese setting, and even fewer studies were dedicated to exploring the stakeholders' viewpoint. Nonetheless, social media for the Vietnamese people has gained growing importance, and in the past 5 years, Vietnam has seen many company- or brand-crises that started on social media, and some organizations have begun to use social media for crisis response. Therefore, this research examines the use of social media for crisis communication in Vietnamese organizations from a stakeholder's viewpoint. By using the networked crisis communication theory (NCCT) and through a survey with 370 people in Vietnam, this research aims to understand how Vietnamese stakeholders perceive the organizations' effort of using social media in crisis response and what the stakeholders think the organizations should have done with social media during crises.

Keywords: crisis communication, crisis response, social media, stakeholder communication, Vietnam.

Introduction

In Vietnam, social media has become one of the most popular communication platforms. It is noteworthy that Vietnam is one of the fastest digital-growth countries and the social media penetration rate in the country is more than 43 percent with more than 40 million social media active users (Kemp, 2016). In the past 5 years, Vietnam has witnessed many organizational or brand crises that started on social media platforms. In such instances, through extensive online sharing of a single stakeholder post about an organizational issue, social media users attracted enough attention to the issue to turn it into a full crisis.

To date, little research has explored this topic on the use of social media in public relations (PR) or crisis communication in a Vietnamese setting. To address this gap, this study aims to explore how Vietnamese stakeholders perceive the organizations' effort of using social media in crisis response and what they think the organizations should have done with social media during

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crises. The results of this study are expected to contribute to Vietnamese current PR practice, to help Vietnamese PR practitioners understand their stakeholders better, and to understand whether social media should be used in crisis responses.

Literature Review

Defining a Crisis

According to Coombs (2014), a crisis is the perception of an abrupt incident that impacts stakeholders' perceived interest in an organization and requires immediate attention and reaction. Since it is perceptual, if a stakeholder thinks an event is a crisis, organizations should deal with it as if it is a crisis; if the event is left untreated, stakeholder expectancies will be breached. To help organizations recognize a crisis, assess the level of perceived responsibility and prepare accordingly, and to make the crisis communication effort easier, researchers have developed categorization systems of crisis types. Coombs (2014) has provided the most recent way to categorize a crisis, which is whether it primarily concerns "public safety and welfare," and thus can be managed using traditional PR practices, or whether it begins or grows in social media and therefore primarily involves reputation management (p. 22). He defined these two categories as traditional and social media crises. Traditional crises are typically concerned with the wellbeing and safety of the public as well as disturbances to organizational operations. The practice of crisis management developed around traditional crises (Coombs, 2014). In contrast, social media crises are crises that begin or grow larger through communication on social media. These crises are generally aimed at damaging an organization's reputation, although they may also concern the same issues as traditional crises. Conway, Ward, Lewis, and Bernhardt (2007) used the phrase "Internet crisis potential" to describe social media crises (p. 214). These researchers saw such crises as arising out of stakeholder concerns regarding ethics and corporate social responsibility along with features of the Internet that allow stakeholders to raise their voices.

Coombs (2014) further separated social media crises into three types. A social media crisis could be an *organizational misuse social media crisis* (when an organization breaks existing, acceptable communication on social media), a *dissatisfied customer social media crisis* (when a customer's complaint on social media is amplified), or a *challenge* (when an organization is perceived as irresponsible or inappropriate by its stakeholders). This research considers all types of social media crises but especially social media challenges when the responsibility is perceived to belong to an organization.

Social Media Crisis in Vietnam

In Vietnam, social media are popular communication channels in which people can discuss nearly anything, including issues with organizations that may turn into crises. Two examples of crises involved the Danlait company and Red Bear Noodles. In 2013, Danlait's crisis began when a mother's comment on a forum about her baby's reaction to Danlait's formula milk led to the fining and closure of the Danlait company. The Red Bear Noodles' crisis occurred in 2012 when a journalist's note on his personal Facebook page about Red Bear's

misleading TV commercials gathered enough attention to turn into a massive boycott of the product.

Despite the powerful effect of social media in conditioning a crisis, and the trend to integrate social media into crisis management strategies in many countries, research indicates that Vietnamese companies have often ignored or underutilized these channels. Through a preliminary analysis of the stories on crisis response of Vietnamese companies to the media from 2010-2015, the author noticed that all analyzed companies placed their crisis responses in traditional media (i.e., press releases or press conferences) and paid little to no attention to social media, even if a crisis had started on social media.

Not only have social media in Vietnamese crisis communication received little attention, but so has research in PR in the country in general. Scholars (i.e., Van, 2013; Mak, 2009) had studied to understand PR in Vietnam and how the economic development, political system and culture of Vietnam affect the PR industry. However, no study had dedicated to exploring the use of social media in PR or crisis communication in the country.

Current Use of Social Media in Crisis Communication

The business environment is increasingly competitive. Organizations thus should constantly communicate to reinforce trust and reputation among stakeholders. Several researchers have found that organizations are showing more effort to actively engage in dialogue with their stakeholders during crises now than in the past (Diers & Donohue, 2013; Kerkhof, Beugels, Utz, & Beukeboom, 2011). In the past, from the organization's side, traditional PR tactics, such as traditional press releases and press conferences, were the most prevalent choices for crisis management; however, research has shown that organizations are now adopting social media and 2-way communication. In this digital age, social media channels have dramatically changed the way people seek and share information, and have changed stakeholder communication practice in many ways. These changes also apply to Southeast Asian and Vietnamese PR practice. According to Domm (2015), in the ASEAN region, local technology use and communication practice is a major factor in decision-making about organizational PR strategies and tactics. When mentioning communication technology, Domm observed that Vietnamese PR practitioners think of social media first and consider these channels as a must-use in PR practice.

Social media, unlike traditional media, can bypass the journalistic gatekeeping process, and thus has the unique capability to disseminate information quickly and directly to individual audience members. This characteristic matches Coombs's (2014) notion of effective crisis communication, which is providing stakeholders with accurate, timely, consistent and relevant information (Coombs, 2014). Coombs further noted that if provided frequent information about a crisis, stakeholders can feel assured and less likely to have impractical expectations.

Besides speed, social media is also praised for its interactivity and participatory nature. Since social media content is collectively sought and created, many online news readers now consider it more relevant, interesting and credible

than traditional media (Siah, Bansal, & Pang, 2010; Sutton, Palen, & Shklovski, 2007). This content is now used as an additional news source. Further, social media channels have not only begun contributing to an organization's crisis communication effort but also to stakeholders' crisis information-seeking activities.

According to Siah et al. (2010), people have trusted and adapted to social media so well that when a hint of crisis sparks on social media, it can easily gain momentum and perpetuate a large audience in very little time. Several researchers (e.g., Austin, Liu & Jin, 2012; Procopio & Procopio, 2007) have found that during crises, stakeholders perceive social media channels to be news sources as credible as traditional mass media because social media provide up-to-date, unfiltered information and peer-support to crisis victims. Additionally, when a crisis is over, the information, discussions and comments on a crisis and an organization still linger online, even after the traditional media stop reporting about it. Hence, social media are not only channels that can be used for responding during crises but are also considered to be crucial elements in escalating and following up after crises (Siah et al., 2010). Social media have empowered stakeholders in both engaging in a crisis and replying to an organization's crisis communication processes.

Sherman (2010) expressed that the main uses of social media in crisis communication are to monitor social posts and conversations about a company to discover stakeholders' insights, anticipate possible threats, and communicate with stakeholders during the crisis. Social media could also help an organization during precrisis to determine who the key stakeholders are (Benoit, 1997) and prioritizing issues for proactive communication (Jaques, 2014). Since social media channels empower anyone to make a widespread and impactful crisis (Ly-Le, 2014), research on social media messages can help to determine who is shaping public opinion or drawing attention to topics.

The Networked Crisis Communication Theory

This research looks at this adoption from the Vietnamese stakeholders' point of view. To define, the stakeholders are organizations' customers, crisis victims or their associates, as well as general audiences who care about the crisis and its outcome. Using the lens of the networked crisis communication theory (NCCT) proposed by Schultz, Utz and Göritz (2011) and extended by Schultz, Utz and Glocka (2012), this study examines stakeholders' expectations of an organization's social media usage in the crisis information seeking and sharing process. The theory challenges the older sole focus on the message during crisis communication by showing the effects of media type on crisis communication and how the public responds to the same messages distributed on different media channels.

Comparing the influences of the communication medium and message on organizational reputation during crises, NCCT argues that in crisis communication, the choice of medium matters more than the message (Schultz et al., 2011). As social media allows organizations to communicate in real-time, the stakeholders are not left worried and stressed due to lack of information.

Compared to communication via traditional media, crisis communication through social media channels shows that an organization commits more to its stakeholders, wants to inform them more quickly and directly, and is willing to engage in dialogue with them, thus showing the organization to be more sincere and caring (Schultz et al., 2011; Schultz et al., 2012). Another advantage of social media is that organizations can communicate directly with their stakeholders, skipping the step of journalistic gatekeeping to deliver personalized messages (Schultz et al., 2012). Although traditional media channels might be more mainstream and credible, information delivered on social media can project a perceived human voice and communicate an organization's commitment better (Schultz et al., 2011). Social media thus offers the possibility of building trust and satisfaction among stakeholders better than its traditional counterparts. Additionally, Schultz et al. (2011) noted that positive post-crisis reputation is highest when multiple social media channels are used together. For example, in their study, Twitter and blogs were both employed. Schultz and colleagues argued that since the stakeholders were exposed to the message more frequently, they could process it more thoroughly. Altogether, NCCT demonstrates that crisis communication on social media can lead to a higher reputation of an organization than crisis communication via traditional media (Schultz et al., 2011; Utz, Schultz & Glocka, 2013).

The second aspect considered in NCCT is secondary crisis communication, which is the stakeholders' willingness to tell their friends about a crisis, share information about it and leave comments (Schultz et al., 2011). According to NCCT, the choice of media strongly influences secondary crisis communication. Contrary to the common belief that social media allows easy information sharing with only a mouse click, secondary crisis communication occurs more in the traditional media condition of NCCT studies (Schultz et al., 2011; Utz et al., 2013). Stakeholders tend to talk mainly about the information they received through traditional media. Moreover, even though the channels they use to pass information along may be social media (i.e., retweet a piece of news or hit "share" to an article), people are more likely to share with their acquaintances a traditional media article that is posted online than a post written purely for social media (Schultz et al., 2011). Utz et al. (2013) explained that this tendency is because of the higher credibility of traditional media; stakeholders thus depend more on traditional media for crisis news. On the other hand, the final factor of secondary crisis communication, leaving comments, is more likely to happen on social media (Schultz et al., 2012), as social media is not meant to create news, but is rather a platform for people to read news and share opinions.

The remaining aspect examined in NCCT is secondary crisis reactions, which are the acts of judging a crisis communication effort, talking badly about an organization, or boycotting an organization. The results from Schultz and colleagues' (2011) study showed that participants in the social media condition made fewer secondary crisis reactions than those in the traditional media condition. As mentioned previously in secondary crisis communication, people who receive crisis information from traditional media tend to share or speak about it more often. Moreover, these people are also more likely to talk badly or boycott

an organization, compared to those who read information on social media channels (Schultz et al., 2011; Utz et al., 2013). This result indicates that sharing information and acting on that information are two different things to consider (Schultz et al., 2011). Utz et al. (2013) explained that the conversational and transparent characteristics of social media fulfill stakeholders' demand for timely and accurate information; therefore, stakeholders will not engage in unfavorable behaviors toward an organization. NCCT concludes that crisis communication through social media upholds an organization's reputation and reduces negative secondary crisis reactions (Schultz et al., 2011). Therefore, crisis managers should pay more attention to the effects produced by the chosen medium.

According to Liu and Fraustino (2014), a limitation of NCCT is that it only passively reports the impact of social media use. The theory lacks suggestions or observations about how organizations could use social media to strengthen crisis communication and mitigate negative outcomes.

This study applies NCCT to explore the use of social media in crisis communication from the stakeholders' viewpoint. The study seeks to understand whether Vietnamese stakeholders prefer organizations to utilize social media in their crisis response efforts, if social media has an influence on the stakeholders' perception of the crisis information and their reactions to the organizations' responses, and if there is any other influence on stakeholders' perception besides the use of social media platforms.

Methodology

The survey examined two dimensions, which were stakeholders' current preferred communication channel during crises and stakeholders' expectations of an organization's social media usage in crisis communication. Accordingly, the survey contains the following measures: preference of timeliness and responsiveness in organizations' crisis response, and perception of organizations' crisis response on social media and reactions to organizations' crisis response on social media. There are two mandatory sections that ask for respondents' demographic information and preference and evaluation of an organization's social media usage in crisis communication. Additionally, respondents can freely express their expectations of an organization's crisis communication in Vietnam in the final open-ended section. The measuring items were randomly mixed together. The items employed in the survey for group 2's participants are described in Table 1.

The survey was administered to the Vietnamese stakeholder group. It employed a quantitative approach to quantify the respondents' opinions on the research topics. Using a three-point Likert scale ("always," "occasionally," and "never") and a five-point Likert scale ("strongly disagree," "disagree," "neither disagree nor agree," "agree," and "strongly agree"), the survey was designed to capture the various degrees of agreement with the provided statements. The survey was distributed online. The main purpose of the surveys was not to increase the generalizability of the results but to test the variables with a large sample, to

confirm the findings from the in-depth interviews with statistical results.

The target participants for this survey are members of the general public who care about social issues and corporate ethics. Since this target group is the majority of the Vietnamese internet population, which is 47.3 million people (Kemp, 2016), the researcher based the sample size on the required size for large populations at 5 percent confidence interval, which is 384 (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970).

Table 1. Measures for Survey

Role	Item
Preference of timeliness and responsiveness in organizations' crisis response	1. You believe traditional media is a credible channel for organizations to share crisis information. 2. You believe traditional media is a quick channel for organizations to share crisis information. 3. You believe traditional media is a convenient channel for organizations to share crisis information. 4. You believe social media is a credible channel for organizations to share crisis information. 5. You believe social media is a quick channel for organizations to share crisis information. 6. You believe social media is a convenient channel for organizations to share crisis information.
Dimension of stakeholders' expectations of an organization's social media usage in crisis communication (from NCCT)	
Role	Item
Perception of organizations' crisis response on social media	1. If an organization responds quickly and directly through social media, you'd think the organization is sincere. 2. If an organization responds quickly and directly through social media, you'd think the organization is caring about its stakeholders. 3. If an organization responds quickly and directly through social media, you'd think the organization is willing to have a dialogue with the stakeholders.
Reactions to organizations' crisis response on social media	1. If an organization responds quickly and directly through social media, you would be more likely to stop sharing bad news or talking badly about the organization. 2. If an organization responds quickly and directly through social media, you would be more likely to support the organization after the crisis.

The survey for this group used the snowball sampling technique to get as close as possible to that number. Since Ho Chi Minh and Ha Noi represent the southern and northern parts of the country, respectively, and the researcher wanted to ensure the diversity of the participants demographically, initial participants were from both cities. The initial participants were members of the general public who expressed care about social issues and corporate ethics, who took an active part in a recent social media crisis in Vietnam. The initial

participants were asked to forward the survey to whomever they considered qualified. Additionally, the link to the survey was posted on the author's Facebook page to target the professional network as well as the social media-savvy groups on Facebook.

After distribution, respondents in this survey were 370 individuals who have lived and worked in Vietnam in the last two years. The ages ranged from 18 to 63 (mean: 29, standard deviation: 9.2). The respondents were 64.3 percent female and 35.7 percent male. The paired Wilcoxon test was used to test for differences in overall scoring between the perceptions of using traditional media and social media in crisis communication.

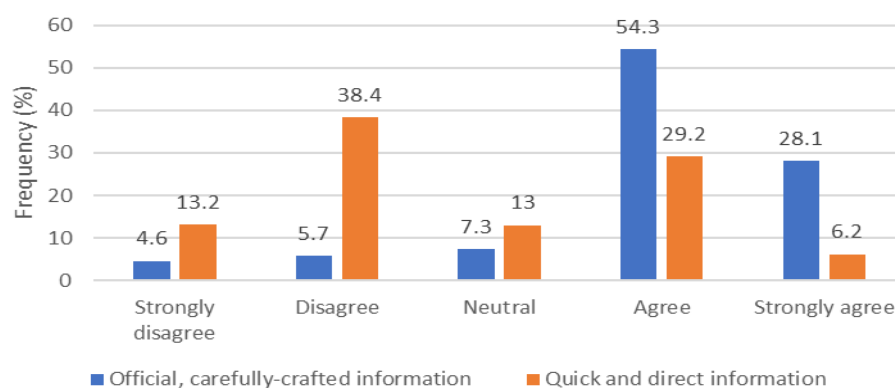
Results

During Crises, Vietnamese Stakeholders Expect More Timely and Responsive Actions from Organizations on Social Media Channels

In the first set of questions, the respondents were asked for crisis response, if they "expect organizations to make the initial crisis response official and carefully-crafted, even if it takes more time" (characteristics that are usually displayed in traditional media responses) or "expect organizations to make the initial crisis response quick and direct, even if the information may not be official or verified" (characteristics that are usually associated with social media responses). The assessment was on a scale of 1-5 (1: strongly disagree, 5: strongly agree).

Figure 1 shows the overall preference of crisis information across all age groups. 82.4 percent of the respondents at least agreed that they prefer official and carefully-crafted crisis information, and only 35.4 percent agreed that they prefer quick and direct information. Further, a remarkably high 51.6 percent of the respondents indicated disagreement in quick and direct crisis information. It was found that the respondents significantly preferred an organization to share official and carefully-crafted information during crises ($p < 0.001$) to quick information.

Figure 1. Levels of Agreement to the Stakeholders' Preference of Crisis Information



The survey also included an open-ended section to discover whether the respondents had any other opinions about crisis communication in Vietnam that they had not shared in other questions. Providing more details to the previous question on stakeholders' preference for crisis information, most respondents expressed that they do not ask for quick crisis response.

"Being responsive during a crisis is important, but it is more important to provide accurate information and evidence that an organization is investigating the issue and will take responsibility for a crisis." – A 22-year-old female respondent.

"I'd like both speed and accuracy in crisis response, but more on the accuracy side. When a response appears across channels, information on traditional media and social media should all be accurate and consistent. It makes me more confused if I receive a quick response on social media that does not agree with information provided later on other channels." – A 27-year-old female respondent.

In brief, the results showed that while a timely response is expected during crises, Vietnamese stakeholders prefer organizations to make an official and carefully-crafted crisis response. The participants would rather wait for the unofficial, credible and acceptable response from the responsible organization.

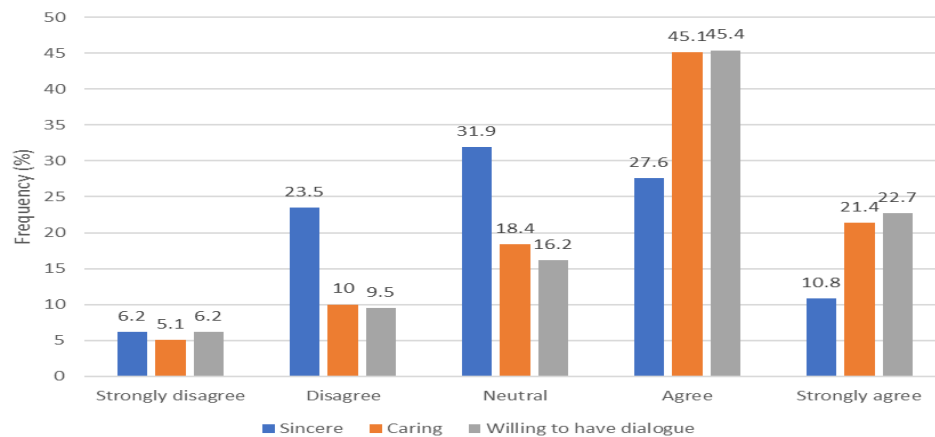
In Vietnam, Crisis Response on Social Media Leads to Better Evaluation and Perception of an Organization

The respondents were then asked how they would perceive an organization's effort if it responded to a crisis on social media. Suggested perceptions were that the organization would be sincere, caring, and willing to have a dialogue, and the answers are presented in Figure 2. On a Likert scale from 1 to 5 (strongly disagree to strongly agree), the respondents expressed the agreement to the choices of perception.

Assessing the overall results, respondents were generally positive toward organizations that used social media for crisis response. About two third (66.5 percent) of the respondents at least agreed that they would perceive the organization caring and 68.1 percent at least agreed that they would perceive the organization as willing to have a dialogue. On the other hand, the "being sincere" perception did not receive much agreement. Only 37.4 percent of the respondents at least agreed that they would perceive the organization as sincere. Nonetheless, the results overall indicated that respondents favored organizations using social media and welcomed organizations' efforts to solve issues. Details on each perception are presented in the following figure.

The survey showed that Vietnamese stakeholders hold better evaluation and perception towards organizations that use social media for crisis response. Most respondents expressed that organizations responding on social media are caring and willing to talk with stakeholders.

Figure 2. Levels of Agreement across Age Groups that Stakeholders would perceive an Organization to be Sincere, Caring, or Willing to have a Dialogue if it used Social Media for Crisis Response

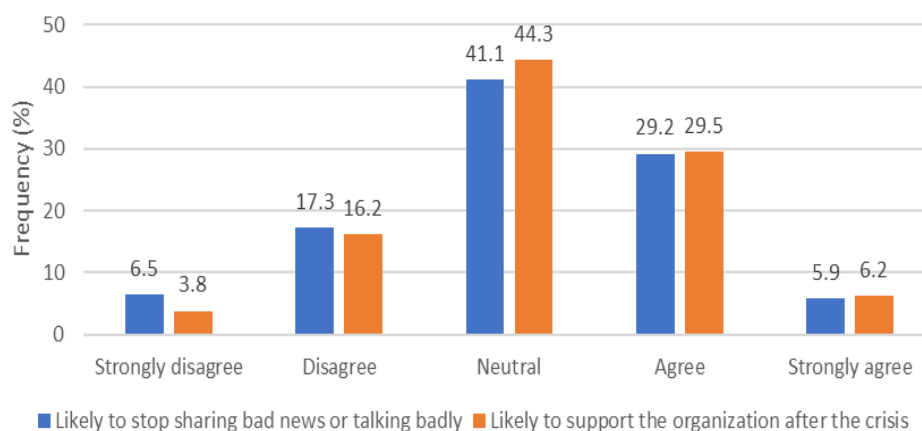


In Vietnam, Crisis Response on Social Media does Not Lead to Fewer Secondary Crisis Reactions than Crisis Response on Traditional Media or No Crisis Response

In the next questions, respondents were asked how they would react to organizations that use social media for crisis response. The assessment is on a 5-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

Figure 3 presents overall reactions to an organization that uses social media for crisis response. For the "stop sharing bad news or talking badly" dimension, only 35.1 percent of the respondents at least agreed, while 41.1 percent were neutral and 23.8 percent at least disagreed. Similarly, for the "support the organization after the crisis" dimension, only 35.7 percent of the respondents at least agreed, while 44.3 percent were neutral to the statement, and 19.0 percent at least disagreed. Details of the answers to each reaction are presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Levels of Agreement regarding Stakeholder Secondary Crisis Reactions if an Organization used Social Media for Crisis Response



The survey showed that most respondents would not expect stakeholders to provide any supportive reactions towards organizations that use social media for crisis communication. Compared to organizations that respond on traditional media or provide no response, they also would not expect a reduction in secondary crisis reactions.

Organizations Usually Solve Crises with Silence or Hide the Truth

In the open-ended section, some respondents said that they prefer organizations to offer an apology and a solution, rather than trying to buy time or to temporarily calm stakeholders. At the same time, they also indicated that most organizations are not willing to solve their crises. Specifically, some respondents indicated that organizations try to hide their crises and make stakeholders think that the crisis has gone away.

"I think organizations always solve crises with silence, no matter how big or serious a crisis is. There usually is no one from a company to admit responsibility or extend an official apology. Vietnamese people tend to be forgetful, as we are exposed to too much information in any day. Thus over time, we can forget about a crisis, and that's what the company is waiting for." – A 32-year-old male respondent.

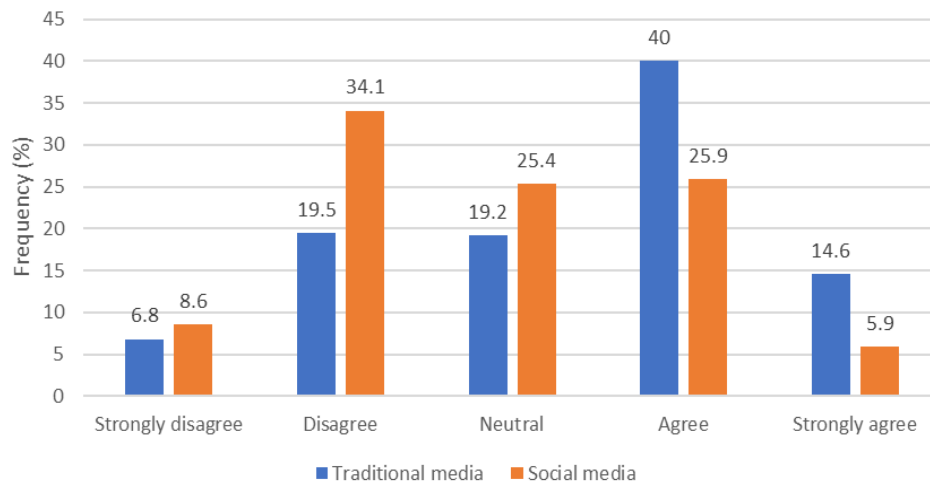
"If an organization is found responsible for a crisis, it usually hides the truth and only provides minimal information, just enough to make the impression that they responded." – A 27-year-old female respondent.

In conclusion, 6 of 17 respondents of the open-ended section showed their discontent of current crisis communication practice in Vietnam, mentioning that most organizations are unwilling to solve a crisis properly.

While Traditional Media is regarded as More Credible than Social Media, Stakeholders Still Lack Trust Regarding Traditional Media News

Figure 4 presents the answers to the questions whether respondents "believe traditional media is a credible channel for organizations to share crisis information" and whether they "believe social media is a credible channel for organizations to share crisis information." More than half (54.6 percent) of the respondents at least agreed that traditional media is a credible channel for communicating crises, while only 31.8 percent agreed that social media is credible. Moreover, the respondents' perception of social media's credibility was not neutral, as 42.7 percent thought it is not credible. To conclude, the respondents significantly regard traditional media as a more credible channel for sharing crisis information than social media ($p < 0.001$).

Figure 4. Levels of Agreement to the Credibility of Traditional Media and Social Media in Sharing Crisis Information



In the open-ended section, another theme emerged regarding the credibility of communication platforms. Three respondents elaborated upon this unreliability in the open-ended section.

"Crises on social media usually start with someone claiming him- or herself as an industry insider and wanting to whistle-blow. The information then is shared here and there, and accumulatively added by who-knows-who, making the whole issue somewhat of a mess. I think this uncontrolled news flow makes the news receivers more superficial and passive, as they cannot trust what they see or hear." – A 21-year-old female respondent.

Similarly, while traditional media is regarded as more credible than social media, 10 of 62 respondents who replied to the open-ended question expressed disappointment in the ethics and current practice of traditional media agencies.

"Crisis information in Vietnam is biased. Those with money can somehow manipulate [traditional] media. Even if a crisis is disclosed by the media, the company can use its money to stop the story." – A 24-year-old male respondent.

"[Traditional] media nowadays focuses on scandalous news. News like that is aired too frequently, too fast, and sometimes the information is misleading or unverified. The news receivers can't recognize which piece of news is truthful and which piece is fabricated. Some people think that media is in a setback and reading news is nothing more than a daily routine." – A 21-year-old female respondent.

"[Traditional media] is government-owned and heavily censored and directed. Thus, information on traditional media only reflects part of the story." – A 37-year-old male respondent.

In general, most respondents expressed their general unease about crisis communication ethics and news channels in Vietnam, and expressed that there

should be a drastic change in Vietnam's communication practice during crises. Respondents did not offer a preference regarding news channels.

Conclusion

This study concluded that while a timely response is expected during crises, Vietnamese stakeholders prefer organizations to make an initial crisis response official and carefully-crafted. Previous studies (e.g., Schultz et al., 2012; Coombs, 2014) indicated that crisis communication needs to be quick, swift and immediate to avoid speculations and lead to a caring, positive organizational image during a crisis. However, this study found that an official and carefully-crafted crisis response is more expected and preferred. A possible explanation is that in sensitive times like during crises, stakeholders want to know how the organization responsible will react and resolve the situation. While timeliness is appreciated, officialness makes a crisis response more credible, accountable, offsets any rumors and assures stakeholders.

This study also confirmed that in Vietnam, crisis response on social media leads to better evaluation and perception of an organization. This result agrees with previous studies on crisis communication via social media (e.g., Schultz et al., 2011; 2012), which stated that crisis responses on social media can persuade stakeholders to be in favor of an organization and strengthen organizational reputation among stakeholders.

Lastly, the current study concludes that Vietnamese stakeholders do have any supportive reactions to the organizations using social media for crisis communication, and social media does not lead to fewer secondary crisis reactions than crisis response on traditional media or no crisis response. This finding is inconsistent with Schultz and colleagues' (2011) assessment, which stated that using social media for crisis communication can lead to more support and fewer secondary reactions from stakeholders. A possible explanation for this is that stakeholders do not consider only the communication platform in crisis response but also the message content. This indicates that the choice of medium is not the only factor that matters in crisis communication as Schultz et al. claimed.

This study has an inherent limitation due to its nonprobability (snowball) sampling approach. The sampling techniques suggest the shortcoming of representativeness and generalizability. Further, the results do not indicate causation; they simply state the correlations of the variables from the respondents' perspectives. Future research should consider probability sampling techniques to overcome the limitations of this study and create broader generalizations of the results.

Nonetheless, despite the limitations, this study shed lights on how organizations should communicate a crisis in this social media age. In brief, although Vietnamese stakeholders use social media to communicate and find information during crises, this platform is not as highly regarded by stakeholders as organizations expect. Stakeholders appreciate social media for its quickness and convenience, and organizations responding on this platform can gather more

positive evaluation. However, stakeholders think the information on social media is not trustworthy and organizations responding on this platform do not automatically receive more supportive reactions or fewer secondary crisis reactions. As crisis will not disappear from organizational settings, and social media will become even more important, exploring the connections between crisis communication and social media is and will be an imperative focus of public relations field, not only in the academia or in Vietnam, but also in business practice.

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