

Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications



Quarterly Academic Periodical, Volume 7, Issue 3, July 2021
URL: <https://www.athensjournals.gr/ajmmc> Email: journals@atiner.gr
e-ISSN: 2407-9480 DOI: 10.30958/ajmmc



Front Pages

MICHAEL NDONYE

Media, Elections, and Ethnopolitics in Kenya: In the 2017
Elections Reportage, Ethnicity still Mattered

HAWRA ABDULRAHMAN JUMA AL-MAIMANI

Online versus Offline World: A Thematic Analysis of Arab
Women's Empowerment via Social Media

AYELE ADDIS AMBELU

African Form of Indigenous Mass Communication in the Case
of Ethiopia

GÜLHAN GÜNDOĞDU

From Dominant Perspective to Critical Perspective in Health
Communication: Analysis of Turkish Television Health
Programs in terms of Critical Health Communication

Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications

Published by the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER)

Editors

1. Dr. John Pavlik, Head, Mass Media and Communication Unit, ATINER & Professor, Journalism and Media Studies, School of Communication and Information, Rutgers University, USA.
2. Dr. Yorgo Pasadeos, Ex-Associate Dean, College of Communication & Information Sciences and Professor Emeritus, Department of Advertising and Public Relations, University of Alabama, USA.
3. Dr. Patrick Vyncke, Professor of Communication Management, Department of Communication Sciences, Ghent University, Belgium.

Editorial & Reviewers' Board

<https://www.athensjournals.gr/ajmmc/eb>

Administration of the Journal

1. Vice President of Publications: Dr Zoe Boutsoli
2. General Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications: Ms. Afrodete Papanikou
3. ICT Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications: Mr. Kostas Spyropoulos
4. Managing Editor of this Journal: Ms. Eirini Lentzou

ATINER is an Athens-based World Association of Academics and Researchers based in Athens. ATINER is an independent and non-profit Association with a Mission to become a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet in Athens, exchange ideas on their research and discuss future developments in their disciplines, as well as engage with professionals from other fields. Athens was chosen because of its long history of academic gatherings, which go back thousands of years to Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum. Both these historic places are within walking distance from ATINER's downtown offices. Since antiquity, Athens was an open city. In the words of Pericles, Athens "...is open to the world, we never expel a foreigner from learning or seeing". ("Pericles' Funeral Oration", in Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War). It is ATINER's mission to revive the glory of Ancient Athens by inviting the World Academic Community to the city, to learn from each other in an environment of freedom and respect for other people's opinions and beliefs. After all, the free expression of one's opinion formed the basis for the development of democracy, and Athens was its cradle. As it turned out, the Golden Age of Athens was in fact, the Golden Age of the Western Civilization. Education and (Re)searching for the 'truth' are the pillars of any free (democratic) society. This is the reason why Education and Research are the two core words in ATINER's name.

The *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications (AJMMC)* is an Open Access quarterly double-blind peer reviewed journal and considers papers from all areas from mass media and communication. The Journal encourages the submission of works that engages issues of international scope and that explore matters of theoretical importance across a diverse range of topics from journalism, to strategic communication, to economics, public policy, politics and technological change as they relate to media and society. Many of the papers published in this journal have been presented at the various conferences sponsored by the [Mass Media & Communication Unit](#) of the [Athens Institute for Education and Research \(ATINER\)](#). All papers are subject to ATINER's [Publication Ethical Policy and Statement](#).

The Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications

ISSN NUMBER: 2407-9677 - DOI: 10.30958/ajmmc

Volume 7, Issue 3, July 2021

Download the entire issue ([PDF](#))

Front Pages i-viii

Media, Elections, and Ethnopolitics in Kenya: In the 2017 Elections Reportage, Ethnicity still Mattered 151

Michael Ndonye

Online versus Offline World: A Thematic Analysis of Arab Women's Empowerment via Social Media 165

Hawra Abdulrahman Juma Al-Maimani

African Form of Indigenous Mass Communication in the Case of Ethiopia 183

Ayele Addis Ambelu

From Dominant Perspective to Critical Perspective in Health Communication: Analysis of Turkish Television Health Programs in terms of Critical Health Communication 205

Gülhan Gündoğdu

The Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications

Editorial and Reviewers' Board

Editors

- **Dr. John Pavlik**, Head, Mass Media and Communication Unit, ATINER & Professor, Journalism and Media Studies, School of Communication and Information, Rutgers University, USA.
- **Dr. Yorgo Pasadeos**, Director, Social Sciences Division, ATINER & Professor Emeritus, University of Alabama USA.
- **Dr. Patrick Vyncke**, Professor of Communication Management, Department of Communication Sciences, Ghent University, Belgium.

Editorial Board

- Dr. John Pavlik, Head, [Mass Media and Communication Unit](#), ATINER & Professor, Rutgers University, USA.
- Dr. Burak Dogu, Academic Member, ATINER & Vice Dean, Izmir University of Economics, Turkey.
- Dr. Andzela Armoniene, Head of The Fund Young Researcher, Lithuania.
- Dr. Mariam Gersamia, Professor & Head, Division of Journalism and Mass Communication, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia.
- Dr. Egle Jaskuniene, Associate Professor & Vice Dean for Research, Faculty of Creative Industries, Vilnius Gediminas Technical University, Lithuania.
- Dr. Berrin Yanikkaya, Academic Member, ATINER and Professor & Head, School of Communication Studies, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.
- Dr. Dali Osepashvili, Professor, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia.
- Dr. Walter Wymer, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor of Marketing, University of Lethbridge, Canada.
- Dr. Alan Albarran, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, The University of North Texas, USA.
- Dr. Patricia L. Dooley, Elliott Distinguished Professor of Communication, Wichita State University, USA.
- Dr. Catherine Ann Collins, Professor, Department of Rhetoric, Willamette University, USA.
- Dr. Pamela Doyle Tran, Professor of Electronic News, University of Alabama, USA.
- Dr. S. Andrews, Professor, Department of Information Technology, Mahendra Engineering College, India.
- Dr. Emmanuel Ngwainmbi, Department of Communication Studies, The University of North Carolina, USA.
- Dr. Zsolt Alfred Polgar, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor,

Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

- Dr. Margaret M. Cassidy, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, Adelphi University, USA.
- Dr. Baris Coban, Associate Professor, Communication Sciences Department, Dogus University, Turkey.
- Dr. Ulas Basar Gezgin, Associate Professor of Applied Communication, British University Vietnam, Vietnam.
- Dr. Anya Luscombe, Associate Professor and Head, Department of Academic Core, University College Roosevelt, The Netherlands.
- Dr. Charles Obot, Academic Member, ATINER & Associate Professor, University of Uyo, Nigeria.
- Dr. Ceren Sozeri, Associate Professor, Faculty of Communication, Galatasaray University, Turkey.
- Dr. Matthew D. Matsaganis, Assistant Professor, Department of Communication, State University of New York (SUNY), USA.
- Dr. Geneviève A. Bonin, Assistant Professor, University of Ottawa, Canada.
- Dr. Klarissa Lueg, Assistant Professor, Aarhus University, Denmark.
- Dr. George Pavlou, Assistant Professor, European University, Cyprus.
- Dr. Yolandi Slabbert, Senior Lecturer, Department of Communication Science, University of South Africa, South Africa.
- Dr. Daniel Binns, Academic Member, ATINER & Lecturer, RMIT University, Australia.
- Dr. Binoy Kampmark, Lecturer in Social Sciences, School of Global, Urban and Social Studies, RMIT University, Australia.
- Dr. Sarah Sparke, Academic Member, ATINER & Research Associate, CMIR, University of the West of England, UK.
- Dr. Vittoria Sacco, Postdoctoral Assistant, Neuchatel University, Switzerland.
- Ms. Mania Alehpour, PhD Candidate, University of Tehran, Iran.

- **General Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Ms. Afrodete Papanikou
- **ICT Managing Editor of all ATINER's Publications:** Mr. Kostas Spyropoulos
- **Managing Editor of this Journal:** Ms. Olga Gkounta ([bio](#))

Reviewers' Board

[Click Here](#)

President's Message

All ATINER's publications including its e-journals are open access without any costs (submission, processing, publishing, open access paid by authors, open access paid by readers etc.) and is independent of presentations at any of the many small events (conferences, symposiums, forums, colloquiums, courses, roundtable discussions) organized by ATINER throughout the year and entail significant costs of participating. The intellectual property rights of the submitting papers remain with the author. Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets the [basic academic standards](#), which includes 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, and in so doing produce a top-quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER will encourage the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue is the third of the seventh volume of the *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications (AJMMC)*, published by the [Mass Media & Communication Unit](#) of ATINER.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER



Athens Institute for Education and Research

A World Association of Academics and Researchers

19th Annual International Conference on Communication and Mass Media, 10-13 May 2021, Athens, Greece

The [Mass Media & Communication Unit](#) of ATINER organizes its **19th Annual International Conference on Communication and Mass Media, 10-13 May 2021, 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/2021/FORM-MED.doc>).

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **29 March 2020**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **12 April 2021**

Academic Members Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. John Pavlik**, Head, [Mass Media and Communication Research Unit](#), ATINER & Professor, Rutgers University, USA.
- **Dr. Yorgo Pasadeos**, Director, Social Sciences Division, ATINER & Professor Emeritus, University of Alabama USA.

Social and Educational Program

The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

- Greek Night Entertainment (This is the official dinner of the conference)
- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: <https://www.atiner.gr/2019fees>

Media, Elections, and Ethnopolitics in Kenya: In the 2017 Elections Reportage, Ethnicity still Mattered

*By Michael Ndonge**

This study examined the value of ethnopolitics during media reporting of the 2017 electoral process in Kenya. The study relied on the political economy of media theory by Vincent Mosco the propaganda theory by Herman and Chomsky and the theory of agenda-setting by McCombs and Shaw. The study used descriptive research design with the population of the study drawn from Nakuru Town Sub-County. Our research relied on observation schedules to obtain data from the televised political analyses shows and propaganda political videos clip. Interview schedules were used for media practitioners (editors, reporters and media sellers) and politicians (MPs and MCAs), while unstructured questionnaires were used for the media consumers (audience). All qualitative data were processed and analysed using the critical interpretative approach, while the quantitative data were presented descriptively in tables, graphs, charts and percentages generated using SPSS software. The study findings indicated that during the 2017 electoral process in Kenya, political players used ethnopolitics to capture extensive media coverage. Similarly, there was a direct influence of ethnopolitics and ethnopolitical journalism on the media consumer knowledge and ethnopolitics normalisation. The study recommends that media, being the most influential cultural institution and player in the political economy, self-regulates to minimise ethnopolitics dissemination. The output of this study adds to the existing knowledge in communication and media studies and the political economy of mass media. The findings should be able to inform policy formulation among the mass media industry and media regulatory bodies in Kenya.

Keywords: ethnicity, ethnopolitics, ethnopolitical oligarchy, political economy of communication

Introduction

Ethnicity in Kenya is a divisive factor in politics. Political players use it to gain mileage and relevance in their ethnic constituencies and regions, while cultural institutions like media exploit it for economic gains (Ndonge et al., 2019a). The bitter truth is that ethnic consideration in elections coverage in Kenya cannot be erased with the stroke of a hand. For the purpose of this analysis, ethnopolitics is used to refer to the use of ethnicity as a resource for political behaviour manipulation and or for political entrepreneurship by politicians and media alike. The consequent end of ethnopolitics undoubtedly is domination of populous ethnic groups over others and conspicuous exclusion of minority groups from national politics. Ndonge et al. (2019b) argue that ethnopolitics is indubitably

*Head, Department of Mass Communication, Kabarak University, Kenya.

responsible for ethnopolitical oligarchy establishment and sustenance going by its culturally hegemonic ability to empower a few ethnic groups and isolate others for oblivion.

The phenomenon (ethnopolitics) ensures that national resources are concentrated within a few ethnic groups. However, the gladiators of ethnopolitics are the implicit beneficiaries of the same where the media is found to be at the fore. In their quest for mass audience consolidation for sale, the mass media become direct partakers in the league of organisations that ensure institutionalisation and sustenance of ethnicity.

What is the Value of Ethnopolitics?

In the political economy of communication, the media transforms their news into services of exchange value as foregrounded by many scholars (Golding and Murdock, 2000; Mosco, 2008; Hardy, 2014) but this treatment of news is different in privately and publicly-owned media. This study recognises that private and public broadcasters, because of their different economic pursuits have varied financial cultures. A solid source to elucidate the difference is Moehler and Singh (2011), who submit that public broadcasters are not to operate like private media because of the nature of their funding because, for example, the state owns and finances the public service broadcasting. Conversely, a person owns a private broadcaster and therefore, it is through personal initiatives such as advertisements and promotional selling that they get funding (Arens et al., 2012). This financing model makes the private broadcasters to work harder and broadcast while employing many creative strategies to maximise profit through advertising.

Moehler and Singh (2011) demonstrate that the normative roles of the public broadcaster are to educate, to inform and to entertain, which are basic human needs. This justifies why public money is used to fund a state-owned broadcaster. On the contrary, private broadcaster has the freedom to expand these roles to survive in the industry (Arens et al., 2012). There are commercial establishments whose big exploit is the preferences of the public, including investigating allegations of corruption, theft, and election fraud (Oberiri, 2016). The public broadcasters give society what they need while the private broadcasters give them what they want under all costs (Oberiri, 2016). This study postulates that private media is sustained by offering more entertainment and leisure programming than the public broadcasters, which major on informational and educational roles. This nature of information, since it denoted the wants of the audience is usually expanded to other contents that the audience demands such as ethnopolitics during the electioneering period.

Since information is a driver of democracy, there is a need for multiple sources of news. Although media history shows that private media played a significant role in African independence movements, post-independent governments suppressed and literary killed private media because they aired alternative voices from the governments (Hayes and Lawless, 2015). The position is backed by Biocca (2013) who avers that most governments established monopolies in public broadcasters and used them to speak for the authoritarian governments and as a

result, the public developed a low trust for the public broadcasters because of their relationship with the oppressive regimes. This study argues that when the public lost confidence with the public broadcasters, the government turned to public broadcasters and treated them as they wanted but manufactured consent in collaboration with the political elite to continue controlling the audience preference, tastes and opinion. The study finds the development of private broadcasting and programming interesting.

This study notes that the proliferation of privately-owned media in Kenya starting in the early 1990s (Moehler and Singh, 2011) and throughout the clamour for democracy, expanded the private media's role in the democratisation process. At this time, the private newspaper, radio and television were more vocal than the highly controlled public media. Literature shows that there was demand for greater political and civil freedoms and the governments allowed private broadcasters and airwaves to be easily accessible. Lievrouw (2011) is of the view that private media proliferates in such a milieu because they offer a rare alternative voice to the people. For example, historical accounts show that in post-independent Africa, the media industry investors avoided controversy, especially political issues, in favour of other programming such as entertainment. Later they started to allow heated political debates in their platforms. Today, private media are expected to carry more roles as outlined by Moehler and Singh (2011):

Promotion of tolerance and reconciliation in the society; provision of inclusive discussion platforms; educating citizens about their civic rights and responsibilities; mobilising; monitoring government and exposing malfeasance; informing the public about government performance; and informing policymakers about citizen interests and policy outcomes (Moehler and Singh, 2011, p. 288).

It is the view of Moehler and Singh (2011) that private media are expected to play a critical role in ensuring political and human development. He argues that with democratic regimes and relatively free press, there is a reduction of human suffering primarily through famine and other natural calamities. This way, the private media has thrived in Africa and some countries such as Kenya, private media constitutes over 90 per cent of the industry. However, it is the position of this study that the private media, as demonstrated by the televised political analyses, are today havens of ethno-political journalism and ethno-politics because of the power the two have in media consumer consolidation.

More literature also shows that there have been concerns over the burgeoning of private media, especially the dramatic change of the industry's landscape from highly public to highly private dominated sector because it has come with drastic changes in the way the content, quality, distribution and ownership of media are designed (Asogwa and Asemah, 2012). Particularly, Hardy (2014) and Roush (2016) raise concern over the poor quality of information by the private media whose priority is entertainment and sensational content that has a huge following. The study also came across other scholars in the same line of argument such as Clay (2012), Cissell, (2012), Velarde (2013) and Aruguete (2017) who come to an agreement that private media have a poor quality of information content. However, this study contends these positions arguing that today, private media have high

technology adoption, highly qualified and competent professionals unlike the public broadcasters, who suffer low innovation, minimal creativity, and thus the low quality of their output going by the situation in Kenya. The market freedom and competitive products offered by private media not only enables them to amass a strong public following and trust but also sizeable returns that have made them survive economic torrents. Since they have to compromise a lot to please the public, they appropriate the publics want and deliver content with dire consequences such as the sensational ethnic content. This background was significant in this study because it accorded the understanding of private media, where they come from, and why they operate the way they do in the industry compared to public broadcasters. It is crucial to explore then; how private media relates to the advertiser and the value, they draw from not only ethnopolitics but also from ethnopolitical journalism.

In the argument conceded by Owen (2018) and McIntosh and Shawn (2017), the media are communication bridges and sources that can reach a broad audience; and as Sonderman (2014) argues, they are mass communication outlets exemplified by radio, television, magazines and newspapers and lately all new media tools housed by the internet and all internet-enabled gadgets. This study avers, from foregoing that, connecting with a media outlet is the best way to attract customers and develop a brand in the corporate world and other circles such as politics and cultural change platforms. According to Bagdikian (2014, p. 185), "Advertising is the art of arresting the human intelligence just long enough to get money from it". Indisputably, since media became "mass media", it has become the most sought-after highway for companies to let their target audience know about their products and services. Arens, Schaefer and Weigold (2017) concede that advertising advanced so quickly and the techniques involved enticing and shaping ideas for consumerist ideals and turning luxuries into necessities.

The utility the media draws from the content they disseminate; this study comes from the critical recognition that free media is not free because advertising subsidises it to be able to foot their bills. Stiglitz (2017) and Stroud (2011) agree that as the market competition increases, there is motivation in the mainstream media for massive expenditures on advertising. This study hypothesises that, if the above position is to go by and learning from the situation in Kenya during elections, the mainstream media is highly motivated, prepared and ready to invest massively in their content search in order to catch the massive expenditures from political advertisers. Many companies spend millions to win the hearts of the people and influence their choices towards the ideas and products. This study found that during the elections period, giant political coalitions in Kenya, such as NASA and Jubilee are ready to spend billions to influence votes and consolidate their ethnic bases. This study also argues that private media outlets attract significant political advertising because of the control of programming and coverage of critical political events and programmes that attract a mass audience.

Outstandingly, since media depend on political advertisers during the electoral period, politicians and political parties are able to exert undue influence on journalism (Cawley et al., 2011). In political advertising, the media covers the interests of the political advertiser, and they cannot ignore their preferences or

damage the image of their advertiser. Moreover, the media considers the audience as a product for sale. In the argument of Cissell (2012), and later supported by others (Clark and Vinish, 2014; Fotis, 2015), the products that the media sells to their advertisers are the audience. This study, therefore, hypothesises that due to the power structure and relation during the electoral period, the media in Kenya where ethnicity is used for political consolidation, finds itself coming up with a kind of journalism to fit in the frame; the so-called ethnopolitical journalism that benefits both the politician and the media industry.

Exploring more of Cissell's (2012) argument, the study agrees with his position that the mass media sells space to the advertisers based on the audience they can reach and this means the more the audience you can cover or reach, the more the advertisers is willing to pay for their advertisements in a medium, and this means more revenue for the media houses. The media houses do not make money by selling newspapers or by subscriptions only. Chomsky expounds this position by asserting that:

Media corporations sell a product...They do not make money when you buy the newspaper. They are happy to put it on the World Wide Web free of charge. They actually lose money when you buy the newspaper (Chomsky, 2013).

From this, Chomsky is outright that in the business world, there must be buying and selling. That means, especially in our political scenario, if the political advertiser is the buyer, they must be buying some product and that the audience is the product. However, a deeper analysis of the literature discovers that Bagdikian (2014) treats the audience as both the consumer and the product. He argues that media is always under pressure to change content by dumping and shaping content to fit the interest and the expectations of a defined audience demographically. According to Bagdikian (2014), the content of the media is not treated as importantly as the target person. Hague (2016) has argued that this is where the philosophy of giving the audience what they want may not be the end because the media houses target the audience who can afford the advertised products. In this study, this line of thought applied to the mass media giving the political audience information that appeases their political aspirations; but as Hague (2016) argues, this may not be the case because the media will target what the political audience can afford to handle and therefore accounting for the political advertisers' money. In this line of thought, Bagdikian (2014, p.133) concludes, "Programming is carefully noncontroversial, light, and non-political". Bagdikian conclusion is not exclusive to the United States; it is what has been experienced in Kenya and the reason for private media business success. In this study, therefore, drawing from the foregoing lines of thought postulates that if that is how corporate world works and is the foundation of political advertising, media during the electoral period have no option but to be mouthpieces for the political advertiser.

Critics of media advertising (Bartman, 2016; Robinson, 2007; Schudson, 2002) agree that the influence of advertising on media content is largely seen when editors select articles on the bases of their influence to advertisements instead of the interest of the readers. This way, media houses shelve credible content and programmes because they do not support advertisements, which require a less

framed mind full of fantasy and trivial product promotion strategies. In line with this, Bagdikian (2014) proposes that an article on social suffering; for example, interrupts and kills the buying mood on which most luxury articles rely.

Belch and Belch (2014) demonstrate that advertising falls into two categories: the paid and earned advertisements. However, these two can only apply to mainstream media advertising because the rise of the internet has led to the adoption of engine optimisation (Mendez, 2010), Facebook placement advertising and pay-per-click advertising and YouTube advertising. The internet has also provided a platform for traditional media to be online; for instance, online radio, online television, online newspapers, and online magazines (Bartman, 2016). In earned advertising, there is involvement of the word of mouth, consumer reviews, and free spots with media outlets. This is done through; for example, placements during local programs or a mention in a newspaper article. A more critical analysis of the value of paid and earned advertising can be traced to the argument of McChesney and Schiller (2003) that promotion in non-competitive markets provides a way to protect and expand commercial institutions without relying on demand and supply laws.

Reviewed literature in this study noted that Belch and Belch (2014) posit that paid advertising has both positive and negative impact. On the positive, Roush (2016) argues that through mass media, paid advertising to enable small businesses commercials to be disseminated to the mass audience within a limited time. In political advertising, branding and advertisements allow the politician or political party to attach an image or a phrase that can stick with the prospective voters for a long time. This becomes more appropriate given that, today, most media houses carry their independent research or rely on political polling reports on the voter demographics thus giving the political advertiser a better choice for their specific placements (Belch and Belch, 2014). The paid advertising is costly to place on television or other media, and in case the advert is not effective, the political advertiser suffers losses (Sachdeva, 2015). On the other hand, earned advertising is free because it depends on consumers for spreading information regarding the political product or service. This is done by word of mouth, through internet sharing and reviews on blogs. Earned advertising can go beyond the political advertiser's expectations in the form of what is said because (Ambarish and Kaiser, 2014). Politicians in Kenya depend on both but do everything to attract the free earned promotion because of their prominence. They care less about the limitation of a bad reputation in case earned advertising flops; politics is a dirty game anyway. In order to attract free media coverage, they tend to produce odd news, and this is where ethnopolitics comes on board.

The endurance of media advertising becomes more real, considering that media has devised strategies where they combine advertisements and disguise them as news (Murdock and Gripsrud, 2015; Peters, 2016). In the United Kingdom, the 2007 BBC's documentary, the *Century of the Self* explored the rise of consumerism in the 20th century and argued that journalism had changed into a big business where corporations edit stories to give them more influence on the products (Ray, 2014). Many media houses would agree to editorial policies and content dictated

by the corporate customers, including the placement of pictures, phrases and paragraphs and mention of crucial products in stories.

In addition to advertorials, Oberiri (2016) observes that the convergence between advertisement and entertainment is a more sophisticated way of doing subtle placements in some media such as films and drama. It involves bringing the promotion of a particular product as the central theme; just like the political advertiser would prefer promoting a political icon as a product. Television was an invention meant to sell to people products at the comfort of their homes, and any other role was an afterthought (Hague, 2016; Oberiri, 2016). An example was the show that gave a name to soap operas in which the main sponsors were hawking soap and had great control over the show. Likewise, this study discovered that during the 2017 electoral process in Kenya, the mainstream media especially television, was full of political operas which were driven by ethnopolitics and ethnopolitical journalism.

Results and Discussion

The section presents data from media practitioners on the value of their preference of ethnicity as a news resource even though the practice empowers dominant ethnic groups while excluding minority groups from national politics. The responses are summarised and discussed in the next sections.

Preferred Media during Electoral Period

The research sought to find out from the media sellers, the media that advertisers prefer during elections. The results are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Respondents' Preference for Media by Advertisers during Election

Media	Frequencies	Percentages
Newspaper	6	85.7%
Radio	4	57.1%
Television	7	100.0%
Others*	1	14.3%

Table 1 shows that 85.7 per cent and 57.1 per cent preferred newspapers and radio, respectively. Since the question was open for multiple choices, all (100 per cent), the respondents said most advertisers would prefer placing their adverts on television. 14.3 per cent of the respondents indicated that advertisers prefer other media, and this includes the online platform such as social media. These findings are in line with the declaration of the power wielded by the mainstream media and the alternative media during the electoral period; as exemplified by the 2017 period in Kenya and elsewhere. This also explains the synergy that both mainstream media and the alternative media produce in agenda-setting and propaganda modelling. Through this synergy, it is easier to dissect the mass media's political economy in reporting elections and campaigns.

During the electoral period, advertisement falls in the two traditional categories; paid and earned advertisement (Belch and Belch, 2014). Small parties and candidates are subjected to paid advertisements which in the argument of Biocca (2013) have a positive and negative impact. According to Belch and Belch (2014) and Roush (2016), paid advertising in politics has the same effect as in the business promotion of disseminating information to the mass audience within a limited time and space. Earned political advertising, which is free, favours the parties and candidates with massive following such as Jubilee (with Uhuru Kenyatta) and NASA (with Raila Odinga). In the case of Kenya in 2017, the media gave the followers of the two political blocs unsolicited information from their political sides (Ndonye et al., 2019a; 2019b). This way, the audience acts as the agenda setter, given that the media goes for the highest good to the highest number of people — the utilitarian ideal. However, earned advertising must raise their bar above political players' expectations because if the players are not pleased, their followers will not either; and this could damage the reputation of the media and thus lose their audience base and business (Ambarish and Kaiser, 2014; Balmas and Sheafer, 2010). However, on the side of paid political advertising, in case the advertising is not effective or turns to be destructive (Sachdeva, 2015), they suffer loss and have no negotiating numbers to sanction media. This capitalist model alone works against the political lightweights in terms of cost and outcome while for political heavyweights; the capitalist system brings massive political mileage.

Metrics Used to Sell Media Space and Airtime

Our research sought to find out the system of measurement that media sellers use for advertisement space and airtime, and if the advertisers demand specific metrics before buying media space and airtime. The research captured the following three responses (coded as MR1, MR2 and MR3) whose perspective is representative of:

***MR1:** As for radio, most advertisers want to know the coverage areas and the number of viewers we have at specific times. The programme under which the advert is to feature is also a concern of experienced media buyers. This is important to them because it helps them compare our price scorecard with others against benefits. (Respondent, 2017)*

***MR2:** The newspaper is static but expensive. The advertisers consider the circulation and placement of their promotional item, i.e. the page where the advert is published. (Respondent, 2017)*

***MR3:** As for the television, it matters when and who is viewing. Since television viewership is clustered at specific times, advertising in such prime times is costly, but advertiser researches the viewership at a certain point when their promotional adverts are aired. (Respondent, 2017)*

The responses MR1, MR2 and MR3 above show that audience base, circulation (for newspapers), listenership (for radio), viewership (for TV) need for

programmes that target particular audience and the number of times that the promotion should appear are the metrics that matter for media to do business according to the media sellers engaged in this study. The respondents reported that these metrics are aligned with the advertiser demands over time, and they provide them to clients' on-demand or do the pricing. The metrics act to push media to the corner to achieve them as the mass media life lies on these market structures and commercial ideals. The pressure from the political advertiser to provide such metrics forces media houses to carry their independent research on the consumer demographics to provide the political advertiser with a better choice for their specific placements (Belch and Belch, 2014). In Kenya and Africa, the media usually hire *Geopoll*, which does research and provide metrics on media consumer demographics. It is for this reason that McChesney (2008, p. 3) enlists specific metrics in the political economy of media and communication systems as "shaped by ownership, market structures, commercial support, technologies, labour practices, and government policies". This was found to be true in the analyses of the Kenyan situation in the 2017 general elections reporting.

The technological advancement supplies an alternative outlet for surplus commercial inflow in mass media and provides a spillway for excesses that the mainstream media cannot handle, including extreme propaganda, political spin, and explicit ethnic innuendoes (McChesney, 2015; McChesney and Schiller, 2003). The mainstream media is supposed to self-regulate when it comes to these excesses. The reason why all television shows were uploaded on YouTube was not only for archiving purposes but to widen the audience base on which the media negotiation power can be boosted (Mendez, 2010). The two forms of advertising apply only to mainstream media because the rise of the internet and related new media such as YouTube generates the pay-per-click advertising (Bartman, 2016) thus providing a platform for the traditional media such as radio, television and newspaper to be online.

Electoral Period and Prime Time in the Media Industry

The study sought to find out whether electioneering time is prime time for business, and the responses were summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Electoral period and Prime Time in Media Industry

Response	Frequencies	Percentages
Yes	4	57.1%
No	3	42.9%
Not sure	0	0%
Total	7	100%

Table 2 data summary indicates that 57.1 per cent of the responses were in agreement that during elections campaigns, there is a lot of business for media. One respondent said:

MR4: *There is a lot of news content. The period is peak since the audience needs most of the news/updates. The public is in high demand for political updates. At this time, viewers look for information about their preferred candidates. The political temperatures usually are very high. (Respondent, 2018)*

However, there was no much significant deviation from those who said that the elections period is not prime time for the media houses citing that:

MR5: *Most politicians ride on free publicity we give them because of what they say, to whom, with whom and whom they associate with. For example, most politicians benefit from party ads and promotions by affiliation. (Respondent, 2018)*

Asked how they determine their charges in case the metrics change, the respondents gave various responses ranging from reducing the prices to encourage more viewers given the fact that a fall in demand calls for a drop in prices. A respondent reported that: *In most cases, a decline in metrics usually is due to competitors' strength, and therefore prices must be dropped to cope with such a situation.*

The responses to the question indicate that the electoral period is a peak time for mass media industry with 57.1 per cent of the respondents reporting that the advertising business increased during elections campaigns and towards elections day. During elections, there is a lot of political content for political parties and contestants to clarify, fake news and propaganda to counter, and many promises to make and outdo. Since the majority of politicians and political parties opt for mass media, political advertising and promotion is the big onetime harvest for the media all over the world. This is because, within a short time, destinies are shaped, power is exchanged, and influence transferred.

Strategies used to Ensure Audience Base Stability

The research inquired from the respondents the strategies they used to ensure their audience was stable and consistent, and they gave various responses. Audience base is the number of people devoted to media as listeners, viewers or readers and is established through research. The strategies mentioned by each of the respondents listed without repetition are:

- i. Provision of competitive programming.
- ii. Having credible content.
- iii. Having contents required by the audience.
- iv. Creative programming that attracts more viewership.
- v. Having credible, trusted, and reliable new sources.
- vi. Ensuring there are appealing programmes.

The strategies are a normative function of the successful media business, and they apply across media as observed by Tsimonis and Dimitriadis (2014). The research sought to establish some facts regarding media content, audience

preference and advertiser demand and the results are as shown in Table 3 where SD=Strongly Disagree; D=disagree; N=Neutral; A=Agree; SA=Strongly Agree.

Table 3. Statements Regarding Broadcast Content

Statements	SD	D	N	A	SA	Total
The audience tends to like news/content related to ethnicity during election campaigns	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (14.3%)	2 (28.6%)	4 (57.1%)	7 (100%)
We tend to give the audience what they like to consume	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (14.3%)	6 (85.7%)	7 (100%)
During elections, the political advertisers demand implicitly some form of coverage and preference	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	7 (100%)

Table 3 shows that 57.1 per cent of the respondents strongly agreed that the audience tends to like news/content related to ethnicity during election campaigns. Another 85.7 per cent strongly agreed that media tend to give the audience what they want to consume. 57.1 per cent strongly agreed that during elections, the political advertisers demand, rather implicitly, some form of coverage and preference. Given these responses, there comes a time when the audience and the advertiser set the agenda for the media instead of the other way round. This means, if ethnicity is normalised and accepted by the electorate, they demand ethnic content from the media. Since the advertisers prefer advertising on the media, which has more audience, the media will supply ethnic content to their audience to keep them. This way, the media is caught without options but to look for what the audience demands and wants. Moreover, given that the media tends to give the audience what they wish to have, the findings indicate that the mass media supply to the audience what they like to consume, which during the electoral period is ethnopolitical content. Given the traditional wisdom that the customer is to be treated like a king, the media consider the audience as their product (commodity) and customer at the same time and are thus, highly valued. Clark and Vinish (2014) posit that the products that the media sells to the advertiser are the audience and the product that it gives to the audience is the content. The position supports Cissell's (2012) observation that the media sells space to the advertisers based on the audience they can reach; meaning, the more the audience the media can reach, the more the advertisers are willing to pay for promotional placement.

The findings further show that it is not only the audience who determine, albeit implicitly, the type of content; the political advertisers (political parties, coalitions, alliances and individual candidates) demand some form of coverage and preference implicitly. The finding concurs with scholars such as Bartman (2016), Robinson (2007) and Schudson (2002) who agree that editors select

articles based on the influence they will have on the advertising section. Thus, the media must give content favouring their target advertiser; in this case, the political advertiser because from them, they expect business deals.

Conclusion

Given the agenda-setting theory, sometimes considering the interest of the advertiser over that of the audience has positive effect because once the media filters what interests their political advertiser, the audience takes it as what matters and they will be comfortable with it provided the content resonates with their interests. In Kenya, the media targets stories that favour the political sides with the majority of the following, they are assured that the majority audience will form their audience base. Seen in this interplay is the synergy that the media, audience, and advertiser have on the construction and sustenance of ethnopolitical oligarchy of the majority five ethnic groups, which mostly form binary political coalitions.

As also postulated by Messing and Weisel (2017), it is noted in Kenya that the mainstream media, especially the five big media corporations scramble for this audience and since balance does not win critical numbers in electoral journalism (as intimated by Bravo, 2010), they chose to take partisan positions, implicitly or explicitly during electoral period. Thus, the political economy of mass media is explainable from the structures, commodification of specific audience and ethnic content that is the most sensational in the country and during elections campaigns. It is this ethnicity that mass media in Kenya exploited during the 2017 general elections, analysed from the lenses of political economy. It was not the first time and it is prospected that media will continue to exploit the same in future.

References

- Ambarish, C., Kaiser, U. (2014). Targeted advertising in magazine markets and the advent of the internet. *Management Science*, 60(7), 1829–1843.
- Arens, W., Schaefer, D. M., Weigold, A. (2017). *M: Advertising*. 3rd Edition. London: McGraw-Hill/Irwin.
- Arens, W., Weigold, M., Arens, C. (2012). *Contemporary advertising: integrated marketing communications*. 14th Edition. London: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Aruguete, N. (2017). The agenda-setting hypothesis in the new media environment. *Comunicación y Sociedad* 0188-252X(28), 35–58.
- Asogwa, C. E., Asemah, E. (2012). News commercialisation, objective journalism practice and the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. *Higher Education of Social Science*, 3(2), 27–34.
- Bagdikian, B. H. (2014). *The new media monopoly: a completely revised and updated edition with seven chapters*. 20th Edition. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Balmas, M., Sheaffer, T. (2010). Candidate image in election campaigns: attribute agenda-setting, affective priming, and voting intentions. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 22(2), 204–229.

- Bartman, G. (2016). *Four ways the economist uses cross-media data to sell the audience to advertisers*. Retrieved from: <http://4-ways-the-economist-uses-cross-media-data-to-sell-audience-to-advertisers/>. [Accessed 20 July 2017.]
- Belch, G. E., Belch, M. A. (2014). *Advertising and promotion: an integrated marketing communications perspective*. 10th Edition. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Biocca, F. (2013). *Television and political advertising, volume 1: psychological processes*. New York: Routledge.
- Bravo, J. (2010). Towards an electoral journalism. *Mundo Electoral-Electoral World*, 3(8).
- Cawley, J., Avery, R., Eisenberg, M. (2011). *The effect of advertising and deceptive advertising on consumption: the case of over-the-counter weight loss products*. New York: Cornell University, Ithaca.
- Chomsky, N. (2013). *Necessary illusions: thought control in democratic societies*. 2nd Edition. London: Pluto Press.
- Cissell, M. (2012). Media framing: a comparative content analysis on mainstream and alternative news coverage of Occupy Wall Street. *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications*, 3(1), 67–77.
- Clark, J., Vinish, S. (2014). *Five reasons post media sells advertisers on the audience it can deliver, not the platform*. Retrieved from: <https://www.inma.org/blogs/value-content/post.cfm/5-reasons-postmedia-sells-advertisers-on-the-audience-it-can-deliver-not-the-platform>. [Accessed 20 July 2017.]
- Clay, J. (2012). *The information diet: a case for conscious consumption*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media.
- Fotis, J. (2015). *The use of social media and its impacts on consumer behaviour: the context of holiday travel*. PhD Thesis. UK: Bournemouth University.
- Golding, P., Murdock, G. (2000). *Culture, communications and political economy*. 3rd Edition. London: Arnold Publishers.
- Hague, B. (2016). *What are you worth? The audience for Sale*. Retrieved from: <http://www.medialit.org/reading-room/what-are-you-worth-audience-sale#bio>. [Accessed 10 January 2019.]
- Hardy, J. (2014). Critical political economy of communications: a mid-term review. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, 10(2), 189–202.
- Hayes, D., Lawless, J. (2015). As local news goes, so goes citizen engagement: media, knowledge, and participation in U.S. House elections. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(2), 447–462.
- Lievrouw, L. (2011). *Alternative and activist new media*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- McChesney, R. (2015). *Rich media, poor democracy: communication politics in dubious times*. 2nd Edition. New York: The New Press.
- McChesney, R. W., Schiller, D. (2003). *The political economy of international communications: foundations for the emerging global debate about media ownership and regulation*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- McIntosh, P., Shawn, J. (2017). *Converging media: a new introduction to mass communication*. 5th Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mendez, J. (2010). *Data-driven thinking: the emergence of audience selling*. Retrieved from: <http://adexchanger.com/data-driven-thinking/the-emergence-of-audience-selling/>. [Accessed 8 May 2018.]
- Messing, S., Weisel, R. (2017). *Partisan conflict and congressional outreach*. Research Report. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Centre.
- Moehler, D. C., Singh, N. (2011). Whose news do you trust? Explaining trust in private versus public media in Africa. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(2), 276–292.
- Mosco, V. (2008). Current trends in the political economy of communication. *Global Media Journal - Canadian Edition*, 1(1), 45–63.

- Murdock, G., Gripsrud, J. (eds.) (2015). *Money talks: media, markets, crisis*. London: Intellect Ltd.
- Ndonye, M. M., Ndoro, P., Yieke, F. (2019a). Mediatized horserace political analyses: interrogating the 2017 elections political propaganda in Kenya. *Coretrain Journal of Languages, Humanities, Social Sciences and Education*, 1(2), 86–96.
- Ndonye, M. M., Yieke, F., Ndoro, P. (2019b). Emergence of ethnopolitical journalism in Kenya: lessons from the 2017 televised political analyses shows. *Editon Consortium Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 1(1), 36–51.
- Oberiri, D. A. (2016). *Journalists' perception of news commercialisation and its implication on media credibility in Nigeria*. Retrieved from: www.worldscientificnews.com. [Accessed 8 May 2018.]
- Owen, D. (2018). *The new media's role in politics*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/articles/the-new-media-s-role-in-politics/>. [Accessed 10 January 2019.]
- Peters, C. (2016). Spaces and places of news consumption. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, A. Hermida (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Digital Journalism*, 354–369. London: Sage Publications.
- Ray, W. (2014). *Why we love bad news more than good news: does the current news negativity bias reflect media our public preferences?* Retrieved from: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/wired-success/201411/why-we-love-bad-news-more-good-news>. [Accessed 10 January 2018.]
- Robinson, M. J. (2007). *Two decades of American news preferences*. Washington: Pew Research Centre.
- Roush, C. (2016). *Show me the money: writing business and economics stories for mass communication*. New York: Routledge Publisher Inc.
- Sachdeva, R. (2015). Assessment of advertising effectiveness: a scale validation exercise. *Marketing Journal*, 9(3), 15–25.
- Schudson, M. (2002). The news media as political institutions. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5(1), 249–269.
- Sonderman, J. (2014). Advertisers buy audiences, not publications or platforms, and data is the key. Retrieved from: <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/publications/reports/white-papers/advertisers-audiences-data/>. [Accessed 10 January 2019.]
- Stiglitz, J. (2017). Towards a taxonomy of media capture. In A. Schiffrin (ed.), *The service of power: media capture and the threat to democracy*, 9–17. Washington, DC: Centre for International Media Assistance.
- Stroud, N. J. (2011). *Niche news: the politics of news choice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tsimonis, G., Dimitriadis, S. (2014). Brand strategies in social media. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 32(3), 328–344.
- Velarde, A. (2013). *Marshall report explores media consumption*. Los Angeles, CA.: Daily Trojan.

Online versus Offline World: A Thematic Analysis of Arab Women's Empowerment via Social Media

By Hawra Abdulrahman Juma Al-Maimani*

This research study examines Arab women experiences of being empowered by existing in the virtual world. The aim of the study is to establish paper that discusses if female users of Twitter in Arab countries believe that the religious and cultural restrictions of Arabs state institutions are circumvented by the Internet. The study is questioning the Arab female experiences and feelings if and when she bypasses the restrictions, that she is associate with as being Arab, to make herself existing online and how does this reflect on her in the real world. The investigation is carried out by conducting semi-structured interviews, targeting to collect qualitative data only. To achieve the aims of the study, the sample consists of seven females from different countries who all use Twitter. The study showed that there is a gap between the action of Arab women online and offline which is due to prompting of social and political empowerment.

Keywords: Arab women, empowerment, media, virtual world

Background and Context

Arab world population have been one of the most attractable markets for media content and media consumption. Within the last ten years' Arab media policies have been changing, especially after the so-called Arab Spring or Arab Uprising since 2011 (Matta and Matta, 2016, p. 42). The citizens of Arab countries advocate these protests, they were thirsty to make their voices heard after being suppress for years under regime (Alsoudi, 2016, p. 21).

However, the shift or the most highlighted aspect within these protests was the Arab women's participation. According to Eid (2004), the Internet has provided a wide number of people in Arab world, with the opportunity to express their beliefs and declare their ideologies which are particularly benefiting and providing a platform for those who were historically deprived of their freedom of expression. Prior to that, the interest Arab women were to reinforce the negative stereotypes in the world, with new media leap this have been more effective.

The virtual world has been portrayed as providing greater freedom for users in access and expression. This also included allowing women in the Arab region to express ideas, opinion and enunciate their identities to a greater extent than conventional media (Ayish, 2001). This emerging role of online communications in empowering Arab women to construct their identities in virtual space is the focal theme of this research thesis.

After 2011 protest, social media usage continued to grow across the Arab world, along with major shifts in usage trends, from merely being used as a tool

*Lecturer, University of Technology and Applied Sciences, Oman.

for social networking and entertainment to infiltrates almost every aspect of the everyday, affecting the way they interact socially, do business, interact with government, or engage in civil society movements (AG Reporter, 2015, p. 4). By the end of 2011, Arab usage of social media had evolved to involve civic engagement, political participation, business efforts, and social change. With a critical number of Arab users in many countries, governments have also begun to recognise social media's potential to develop more transparent, participating and comprehensive governance models (AG Reporter, 2015, p. 4).

Arab women have played a great role in calling for reform and protest in social media which leads to the term of women's empowerment. I seek through this research to investigate the statement that suggests that women in the Arab region have been empowered by social media network usage. The issues whether Arab women were cyber activists or as active participants on the ground are discussed widely in the Arab world and being one of this population, this research is being conducted to cleave its way to the upcoming trends in the future that connects Arab women with social media.

In spite of the anonymity afforded by social media, Arab women continue to create online identities that do not hide their gender. This remains an interesting observation because Arabic culture is frequently constructed around secular and religious requirements. This raises the question of do Arab women feel that social media offer them space where they can bypass and ignore religious, political and cultural restrictions?

Literature Review

Arab women's empowerment is a topic that, for a long time, occupied the international media and several human rights and women's rights organisations around the globe. Yet, Saudi Arabian citizens, including men and women, have a wide variety of interpretations of the reality of Arab women. Some describe the status of Arab women as a humanitarian disaster while others describe Saudi Arabia as the largest women's prison in the world (Askool, 2013). Still, others warn that this is a Western plot that aims to separate Arab Muslim women from their Islamic identity and the heritage of Arabian traditions.

Some other people assert that Arab women's status is stable, and therefore should be of no concern; Arab women live a decent life just like most women in other developed countries who have proven themselves and succeeded in every field of life. More than that, some Arabs strongly believe that Arab women live a life of luxury in modern palaces that is similar to the lives of princesses, which all women of the world dream of. This large disparity in views among Saudis corresponds to a great variation in multiple sects, socioeconomic statuses, and currents of thought within Saudi Arabian society.

Women's Empowerment

In the context of development and poverty improvement, women's empowerment is associated with community participation and the idea of self-help is the new global orthodoxy (Chant, 2016). The rhetoric of sweeping women's development groups has been appointed by international development agencies, powerful international financial institutions, states, NGOs and social movements alike to the article "Saving the World's Women: How Changing the Lives of Women and Girls in the Developing World Can Change Everything", claim that women's empowerment is the cause of our times (Kristof et al., 2009). UNESCO defines empowerment as, Empowerment is about "people-both women and men-taking control over their lives: setting their own agendas, gaining skills, building self-confidence, solving problems and developing self-reliance. No one can empower another; only the individual can empower herself or himself to make choices or to speak out" (Medel-Añonuevo and Aksornkool, 1995, p. 7).

The United Nations Development Programme (2013), stresses that empowerment is about "participation, empowerment, and development must be by people, not only for them, people must participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their Live, but at the same time promotes a rather instrumentalist view of empowerment; Investing in women's capabilities and empowering them to exercise their choices is not only valuable in itself but is also the surest way to contribute to economic growth and overall development" (UNDP, 2013).

Gita Sen (1997) has defined empowerment as a change in power relations. She argues that empowerment is the process by which power is gained. Empowerment for her is possible only with control where individuals can take alter perceptions of themselves and take control of their lives. It is an internal process in which the role of external agents is just as a catalyst, the most important indicator being the sustainability of the empowerment process (Sen, 1997, p. 4). Regardless of how empowerment is defined, it is the new buzzword within global development practice. Women's empowerment is the new global development orthodoxy. Concomitantly, a global women's empowerment regime has emerged that is identifiable by its norms, principles, legal instruments and compliance mechanisms. Institutional efforts have been initiated to advance the cause of gender equality. This is puzzling given that economic globalisation and neoliberal policies are expected to diminish rather than expand the role of the state (Indermit and Kharas, 2007). The state is more and more involved in overseeing empowerment programs and making international commitments to improve the status of women, especially to empower Arab women.

Arab Women State in Relation to Media

According to Perse and Lambe (2001, p. 131), "media content becomes the basis for knowledge, attitude, and action". The visual media today plays a key role in the lives of the individuals and societies. In Arab societies, it is hard to find a

home that is free of a TV screen. Many of the research studies that examined the impact of media on socialisation focused on the television in particular as a medium because it is easy to use and attractive to all age groups, even children of only six months of age (Perse and Lambe, 2001).

Bentz and Mayers (1993) explain that people usually accept media messages that are more consistent with what they believe. In contrast, the impacts of media messages weaken when they are far from the reality of people. Thus, the media establishes roles that are done either through the provision of models close to the reality of individuals, or through providing them with alternatives to their realities (Perse, 2001).

The show *Tash ma Tash* is one of these media tools which combines the two strategies of roles establishment: it plays actual Saudis' roles and provides alternatives through satirical critiques. Tash Ma Tash is a satirical comedy social show that addresses the problems of Saudi society with criticism and sarcasm mixed with humour. It has been aired over the past 19 years, excluding 2008. The episodes are shown each year in the month of Ramadan at the time of the main meal. Due to its popularity, it is considered a very effective media tool in Saudi society especially and Arab countries generally. There are several features singled out by this show. First, each episode has a different story but played by the same main actors. The stories are written by a Saudi audience of many multitudes of authors with multiple concerns and problems and including all socioeconomic statuses and orientations. The collective representation nature of the show (since viewers send in their ideas for the show) makes it unique in terms of its credibility and accuracy in representing the society. Second, the official channel of Saudi Arabia, who was the first sponsor of the show from 1993 until 2004, refused to broadcast it on their screens because of its unrestricted critique. It ran hot topics which were considered taboo in Saudi society, where freedom of speech does not exist. In 2005, the MBC took over the sponsoring of the show until 2011 (Al-Qazzat, 1980). Because of some episodes, the actors and director received threatening letters, and some of the radical religious leaders of Saudi Arabia issued militant opinions (fatwa) prohibiting watching this show because it shook their prestige in front of many people who used to revere these characters (Al-Qazzat, 1980, p. 8). This show gave the impression to people that no one is protected from criticism.

Social Media and Freedom of Expression

The use of social media in the Arab region has created a communication technology platform for the minority to greatly influence the public domain. Through social media, the people of Saudi Kingdom, for example, have managed to reshape the political discourse. This is because blogging, Facebook, Skype, Twitter, and other social media packages have provided ideal channels through which citizens can air their political outlooks freely, exchange ideas and thoughts rapidly, launch right-based campaigns easily and raise awareness. In that respect, social media have supplemented communication that the government has attempted to cut off controlling the media, thereby inflaming public influence on

political matters. Such public influence on the political sphere escalates the fall of the government (Auter and Alkarni, 2013, p. 56) as the government is compelled by ongoing campaigns launched via social media to adjust its legislative structure so that it comprehensively includes the rights of people by deleting unjust and oppressive clauses.

Social media, powered by the Internet, have become tools to facilitate real change in Saudi Arabia. As Arab women converse and interact with the rest of the world through social media, they create and disseminate content that fuels fast-paced change. Auter and Alkarni (2013) confirm that, since the Arab Spring, the Internet industry in the Arab world has been characterised by technological development that has played a crucial role in accelerating the pace of change. It is through social media that Saudi people are mobilised in demanding and pressuring for political, social and structural change. This means that social media supersedes the power of media censorship laws enacted in Saudi Arabia, thereby portraying a strong potential to stimulate change in all spheres of the society. Furthermore, Odine (2013) contend that the willpower of Arab women to make a change principally defines the drive towards having a free press.

Odine asserts that Arab women, who have been denied the opportunity to voice their plight by the media that is under strict control by the society, are now transmitting empowerment messages through social media. This has culminated in the marginalisation of inequality in educational and professional opportunities, physical mobility, and other social rights, revealing the value that social media have added in the lives of the Arab women.

Purpose of Social Media Use among Arab Women

There are numerous previously published research studies on social media use in Saudi Arabia that are deemed to be fundamental in discussing the purpose of using social media platforms. In Cummins (2015, p. 21) study he affirm that social media has been at the root of facilitating the cultural and social transformation that Saudi Arabia has undergone over the previous decade. The use of social networking among all global societies continues to become phenomenal due to technological changes. Apparently, the Saudi society is not left behind in keeping the pace with these changes. Perlov and Guzansky (2014) confirm this statement by stating Saudi Arabia have witnessed a growth of about 300 percent of active users of social media sites in a period not exceeding four years.

In a reflection paper, Samin (2012, p. 16) also acknowledge that the Saudi society has been on the vanguard to take advantage of the widespread social media penetration that became evident with the advent of the new media. In that case, it is evident that social media sites or platforms play a very revolutionary and indispensable role among the citizens of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Saudi people use social media packages for various functions and purposes in the corporate, cultural, economic, political, and social domains of their lives.

In the social and cultural realm, Arab women use social networking for the purpose of social entertainment. According to Simsim (2011, p. 3), the use of social networking site for entertainment purposes is typical of the Arab women. In

another study that acknowledges that social media-based entertainment is predominant among the Arab women, Alsharkh (2012, p. 9) contend that Arab women have limited entertainment options. For this cause, social media networks, powered by the Internet, become a feasible entertainment option for them.

Besides entertainment, Arab women use social media networks for the social purpose of communication. According to Nassuora (2013, p. 12), social media sites serve as companies that gather people for the realisation of the universal communication interest, along with publishing content that is valuable to these people. Based on this observation, the Arab women use social networking sites as platforms for facilitating communication (Cummins, 2015, p. 21). This is because they can publish personal blogs and post other content aimed at communicating opinions and public ideas with friends, families and acquaintances as. Consequently, virtual or cyber-based social communication expands among Arab women, leading to the expansion of the communication network. Perlov and Guzansky (2014) remark that, due to the stringent media censorship and surveillance, in Saudi Arabia, social media sites have turned into an alternative communication instrument for many citizens. Indeed, social media have rendered void the ban on public gatherings in Saudi Arabia.

As far as the corporate and political domains are concerned, social media sites are useful for the Arab women in information sharing. As Samin (2012) says, communication technologies have greatly and radically changed the manner in which people produce, absorb and share information. Arab women use social media platforms as the avenue for exchanging and sharing business ideas, cultural opinions, and political information (Alsharkh, 2012, p. 11). Besides information sharing, Arab women and the Saudi Arabian people rely on social media as in essential base for e-commerce activities (Simsim, 2011, p. 4). Through the widespread sharing of socio-political, socioeconomic, and sociocultural information on an international front, the change advocacy campaigns in Saudi Arabia have become successful. Cummins (2015, p. 22) confirms that the Saudi public has been petitioning for change for over a decade, and social media have facilitated their efforts in the same.

Methodology

This study is focused on gathering qualitative data for this research, and the method of doing so will be semi-structured interviews. This type of interviews means that it allows the researcher to use a pre-determined number of questions along with the opportunity for the researcher to explore particular themes or responses further in the conversation after he/she hear the responses (Berger, 2000, p. 25). Thus, the type of questions is what matter to target the relevant data, therefore, open-ended question is preferable as it creates space for the participant to narrate their experiences. Kumar (2005, p. 53), assessed the interview as most suitable data collecting method for complex and sensitive areas so that the interviewer has the opportunity to prepare a participant before asking sensitive or deep questions and to explain complex ones to them in person. The interviews are

the primary research method which can provide rich and in-depth details about the experiences, feelings and opinion that shaped the Arab women's experience with social media.

The reason for choosing one to one interviews especially the semi-structured is that participant can be encouraged to explain and reconstruct their own experiences and reality in their own words by being anonymous. In addition, interviews can provide the privacy and anonymity for Arab women's who are using social media, considering that some of them use it anonymously. Nevertheless, interviews still can be risky in terms whereby it can be affected by the experience, skills and commitment of the interviewer and the interview bias (Kumar, 2005, p. 53). To reduce time, I did the online interview through Skype and WhatsApp after getting the participant username from Twitter direct messages.

Sampling and Selection

Emmel (2013) defines sampling in two ways: the first one is defined population from which sampling will be drawn and representative, second is that sampling refers to ensuring that every person or thing within this population can be measured. This means to define the sampling there should be specific codes and number, therefore to understand the Arab women's empowerment that sampling is targeting Arab women.

The purposive sampling system is used for this research which is made on preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question. The sample size here can be fixed or not prior to data collection depends on the resources, time available and objectives. This type of sampling is non-probability sampling technique where the unit of the study is based on the judgment of the researcher and in most cases the sampling size would be small compared to probability sampling techniques (Berger, 2000, p. 8). This sampling is beneficial when the researcher wants to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest and which be able to answer the research questions.

There are different types of purposive research but for this study I have focused on Homogeneous sampling which refers to the technique whereby the sample units like people or cases, share the similar characteristics or traits for example age or gender. In this respect, homogeneous sampling can describe this study sampling size, whereas the criteria chosen allow to focus on answering the research question that have been raised earlier in the study that depends on Arab women experience relating to Twitter usage. This sample size should be sharing the same ethnicity which is Arab and same gender which is females, these are the main criteria. Moreover, this research also outlines other criteria for Twitter usage for which the sample is chosen from:

- The account should be public.
- The profile name indicates she is female.
- Writing in the Arabic language.
- Every Twitter handle must have more than 1,500 posted tweets.
- Posting at least once a day (retweets do not count).

I have outlined 14 accounts that met the criteria set. To balance the sampling size, only 7 out of 14 were selected for different reasons. Initially, I wanted to cover whole Arab region but due to its vast are coverage and 21 countries it was difficult, as some of them are under war conditions where internets services can be weeks such as Syria and Yemen. Therefore, the final set consists of at least one from each of the four geographical parts of the Arab world. These four geographical parts are:

- Arabian Peninsula (Oman/Kuwait/Bahrain/Saudi Arabia/UAE/Qatar/Iraq/Yamen)
- Fertile Crescent (Jordan/ Syria/ Lebanon/ Plantain)
- Egypt and Sudan
- North Africa (Algeria/ Morocco/Tunisia/ Libya)

The reason for separating the Arab world into four groups is that countries within each group share some similar economic, cultural, social and political conditions. Hence, there would be some similar views between citizens of each group. Also, this ensures having mixed and credible data. Thus, among the 14 accounts that were outlined earlier, there were around:

Arabian Peninsula = 7 Fertile Crescent = 1 Egypt and Sudan = 4 North Africa = 2

This shows that majority of accessible Twitter female users for this research were from Arabian Peninsula which could have risk to be biased and making general sing of all Arab women. To make it equal, 5 out of 7 participants were finally selected from Arab Peninsula to be incorporated in this study.

Table 1. Selected Sample for Conducting Interviews

Participant	Language Used in Twitter and bio:	Sex	Age	Nationality	Started to use Twitter:	Number of followers until July 2016:	Type of provided content (should be within this criteria: Political/ local news/ entrainments/ social live/ religion/ personal advices/ literature)
1	Arabic	Female	20	Jordanian	2012	5571	Political/ Social/ Entertainment/ advices
2	Arabic/ English	Female	24	Kuwaiti	2012	20K	Political/ local news/ entrainments
3	Arabic	Female	22	Saudi	2010	4531	Social/ advices/ religion
4	Arabic	Female	31	Egyptian	2010	17K	Political/ local news
5	Arabic/ English	Female	28	Egyptian	2011	7601	Local news/ social
6	Arabic/ English	Female	28	Morocco	2009	370	Social/ advices
7	Arabic	Female	25	Omani	2011	5360	Local news

Data Collection

Data collection took place in July 2016. A voice recorder was used to record the interviews which have been taken place by Skype and WhatsApp call service, and all the interviews were fully transcribed verbatim. All participants were contacted first through Twitter direct messages with the message that contain details of the research and who the researcher is and my institution. After receiving their approval to be part of this research emails were send to them with the consent form. Moreover, before starting the interviews the researcher had agreed with them on the best medium to talk to them through, which led researcher choose two applications which is Skype and WhatsApp, and the reason that pushed me to choose two call service applications is that Skype is blocked in some Arab countries like Oman. All participants preferred to do audio calls only, no videos, where they felt they would be more comfortable when they answer my questions. To follow a certain way of questioning flow researcher have worked to adopt semi-structured interview type. According to (Bernard, 1988) semi-structured interview type "is the best type to use if you won't get more than one chance to interview a particular person and when you are sending several interviewers out into the field to collect data". Moreover, the interviewer here can develop interview guides that include series of questions. However, the sequence of the questions can be varied (Bryman, 2004, p. 54). In addition, the interviewer has the freedom to bring in undecided questions in response to what are seen as significant replies (Bryman, 2004, p. 54).

The questions were mainly open-ended questions with a small number of closed questions relating to information such as age, nationality and the period of using Twitter. An example of an open-ended question included in the interview guide was like is "How do you decide to post a tweet? What topics or do themes you frequently interested in to post?" Such as these questions allow the participants to have wider space to express his/her thoughts and feelings (especially when sensitive issues come cross the conversation) and can offer more details about the topic (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 21). The researcher sought to use the Arabic language as the researcher herself is an Arabic speaker and also the participants, who make it easier to understand the meaning of words and slangs. The interview schedule was structured into the following five sections:

- Participant's demographics.
- Participant's psychological/ emotional well-being.
- Their Twitter account uses, themes, followers.
- Their interaction in Twitter with others, topics, hashtags.
- Difficulties they feel getting in publishing their opinions in Twitter overcomes changes.

Using Thematic Analysis for Analyzing Collected Data

Once the collected data from interviews was transcribed, it was then analysed, decoded and verified. The process of transcribing the interviews can help the

researcher to understand the responses better than listening. Through data analysis, certain themes have emerged from participant's responses which therefore the researcher decided to do analysis data through the thematic analysis of the text. This type of analysis is used mostly with qualitative data whereby the researcher sorts the data into categories after he/she reviews it and makes notes. One more benefit of thematic analysis that it helps the researcher to move from reading a wide amount of information to discover the pattern that can be focused on most (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 16). The process of analysing then will depend on the researcher and research questions and methodology. The codes can range from being "a list of themes, a complex model with themes, indicators, and qualifications that are causally related; or something in between these two forms" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 17). In this case, coding data into certain themes starts one all the data are fully transcribed. The codes applied are themes that have appeared between the participants through the interview which are:

- Social Rules and Boundaries.
- Self-Censorship.
- Identity and Freedom & Expression.
- Online and Social Awareness.
- Online and Offline Empowerment.

Ethical Considerations & Limitation

"Ethics is the discipline of dealing with good and bad, within a moral framework that is built on obligation and duty " (Nation, 1997, p. 92). Considering ethics in research means to come out with good conduct of the ground that determines the judgment. Therefore, the complexities of researching people private lives and placing accounts in the public arena raise multiple ethical issues for the researcher. Hence, to follow the ethical guidelines the researcher submitted a research proposal to the supervisor where he asked to be revised and then get approval. Afterwards, the researcher had gained ethical approval after submitting the ethics form to the university, and gaining the approval was the key step for data collection.

However, the most important side that has to guarantee an ethical transact with them are the participant. To make sure of this, the researcher provided all participants a consent form, which states their willingness to participate in the interview while also ensuring them confidentiality and anonymity throughout the process.

While taking this study, limitations appeared; first of all, the number of the participant or the sample meant that have to be careful with generalising the findings. Seven only out of thousands of Arab women can be risky, but choosing to establish this tidy with this sample is due to several reasons. At first, many of Arab females keeps their accounts on Twitter private which was against my criteria in choosing the samples which were based on choosing the participant from the public account on Twitter. This research needed a public account which allows everyone to access to it and have look to the content without having to

follow them. The other reason is that this research was only looking at accounts on Twitter by the language they use which in this case would be Arabic, some could be Arab. A lot of citizens from North Africa speak French which causes language barrier which prevents from understanding them or recognising their accounts.

Analysis and Discussion

This part provides an interpretation and illustration of the obtained findings from semi-structured interviews of seven female participants who are Twitter users from different Arab countries

Social Rules and Boundaries

Talking about social rules in the Arab world has been observed with all participants' responses. Each one of them has talked about the type of society boundaries they live in, that have been described by "conservative", "masculine" and collective. They have shown concern of how publishing new thoughts about women issues against the common boundaries can be risky and unacceptable. One of the participants explained said that one of the reasons that encouraged her to open Twitter account was that to share her ideas about the social role in her country.

I was getting upset when I want to go out and do some shopping because I have to wait for the driver or taxi because I'm not allowed to drive a car. I need to drive if I don't then it would be fine. I have talked about this case on many occasions with my family and friends and sometimes representative female in my society, some of them find the law is absolutely beneficial. I can't understand how come the government prevent women from driving in Saudi Arabia.

In addition, she mentioned the tweets she has posted, and the reactions she got from people. Though she has not pointed that she has made the change with the law itself, rather she was satisfied by impacting on people thoughts.

Participant five from Egypt she has activated Twitter account during the uprising events in Egypt in 2011.

I didn't have active Twitter until the uprising. The reason is that I was receiving lots of captured tweets on WhatsApp and Facebook. They were either to inform about what is happening in Tahrir square and photos. Therefore, I have started using Twitter also. My father and brother were there at Tahrir square with thousands of others. They didn't allow me to take part because I am a girl. I did want to be part of what is happening to my country. My brother did send me I was retweeting, sharing and posting every single new about the protest in 2011.

Self-Censorship

Interviews with participant have revealed that their using of the internet or social media network is subjected to social and cultural rules. Almost every Arab

country promotes the collective society and culture, therefore this has affected the rules and norms. The idea that the Arab female does not only represent herself, rather her whole family and society, is still being desirable and considered. Therefore, the participants have mentioned that how their actions online should be regulated and doesn't cross the line:

To be Moroccan in Arab social media platform is always associated with negative comments of how Moroccan females are well-known of prostitution. I do hate this. Because I am from very conservative Muslim family who are very restrictive of their girl's line and spaces. I don't mind, I do understand them because of what they see sometimes in Morocco. When I got the job in Dubai, my family didn't mind as long as I will be staying with my uncle in Dubai....

While participant seven explained how she has been forced to remain self-censorship in mind all the time if she wants to be online. She attributed this to how her tweets are being under spot by her family, and how they are being strict of avoiding any conversational discussion in social media. In collective culture, they endorse predetermining opinions by the in-group do reflect on how they raise their children and their action. She said:

I enjoy using Twitter, but sometimes I being under spot at every tweet I post. I have quite a number of followers who are from my family members and friends and they did identify me because my account is under my real name. And they do check everything I post and they deal with it so sensitively. That mean I have to be careful and sometimes delete what I have posted, though what I have written could not have any relation to them but they feel it can be unacceptable.

Identity and Freedom of Expression

Freedom of Expression have been one of the most widely discussed issues and demanded by Arab people in public spaces. Through the interviews, participants have responded very actively in a discussion about their freedom whether it is online or offline. Almost five out of seven of the participants have been using sarcastic phrases such as "Beyond the pale and guardian" and "secularism" to describe how do public interpret for those who ask for freedom of expression.

Participants responds about identity issue have focused on how they using "pseudo identity". One of the participants has described this ultimate way to be able to say what she wants.

The nickname I give it for my Twitter account refers to the imaginary character of one of the old stories that are popular in my country. I would never have my real name on Twitter. I don't someone to recognise me especially my family and friends. I want to have freedom to write, express and interact, I don't want them to scrutinize everything I am writing. It is difficult to do it if everyone knows you. They will judge me. Because I do feel free in social media as long as I am covered. I think revealing real identity for Arab women either they are famous or they are sure they will not go be held accountable. (Participant 2)

This means she does see that the freedom is associated with being hidden but this would not be irritating for her. The account uniqueness she has mentioned do touch the ground as there is a wide number of account whereby their owner is known but still doing a great job on Twitter and her account is one of them.

However, other participant sees this differently as she refers to policies or social boundaries that confined Arab women's in social media, and how this can lead to looking for alternative ways:

If I want for my voice to reach to wider audience or authorities, they need to know that I am real, I do exist there, I am not imaginary. It is hard to show all this if I still be covered as they will not recognise me, my name, age, nationality and also will be sceptical about my gender. You would say that I am contradicting myself then, but no, I can explain it.

Online and Social Awareness

Participant five has referred in this case: how the social media revolution in Egypt 2011 has exposed a lot of corruption within police firms. That she has through reading or sharing.

I don't want to go through the events of 2011, it was wide, complex and mixed stories, it was new page for Egypt, we woke up to new country. I was not highly involved in online protest back there but I have couple friends who intensively sharing tweets or post both in Twitter and Facebook. One of them got held by police for criticising the authority in Twitter. I and others started to shout out in Twitter about her case so that it reaches to people what did happen to her just because she was tweeting. We were posting photo and her and her tweets and asking people to retweet and share it so that it can get to wider number of her case.

Online Empowerment

The issue of women empowerment is the key concept in this study, as the empowering of women's is empowering for the whole society. Participants' expressions have ranged, and the empowering phrase was not mentioned directly. Participant one has said that dealing with criticism can be rough when people do criticism gets so personally. She is establishing relation between the motivation that she receives online and how does she reflect it in virtual and real world:

When someone does not agree with me or my post and criticise what is written is one thing, but when the criticism to my ethics or agendas is another thing. This could be harsh sometimes and disappoint me. But I can deal with because I don't know who that person is either do they know me personally. I can deal with online but if things get to be in the real world, I am not I can do it.

Participant four have explained the type of criticism she deals with in regard dealing with other sex online. Her main concern can be touched in the way she reflects her anonymity is in controlled setting and in the real-world things would change.

I do receive lots of comments every day, but what stop me most would be those from men's. I am interested in their opinions but because the type of conservative society we live in, people relate everything to religion and when I do replay on men most of the time to debate my tweets or them, I got to criticise of why I do so. I feel If I can say what I do believe to men online and convince him and he doesn't know who I am, I can be stronger offline and say that front more others. However, gaining empower from online is there but it needs reforms in real life to be activated.

Understanding the Findings in Relation to the Research Questions

As explained earlier in chapter one and three, the research question that intended to answer through this study is questioning how Arab women feel that social media offers them space where they can bypass and ignore political, social and religious restrictions to be empowered online and offline, where the collection of data focused on looking to the themes that arise out of the process. As expected, social rules and boundaries theme emerged across all of the participants' interviews. In the Arab world, where there are diverse cultures and traditions, still, many of social rules are shared between Arabs. Some of the rules might be inhibited from the religious and some other are culturally and socially granted. In relation to participant's experiences of social rules getting into their ways in social media, it can be seen that even though they can access to same technologies like others and legally allowed to use social media platform as everyone else, they are being fought by social norms and boundaries.

The narrative that has told by participants like the Saudi women driving carcase and women during Egypt 2011 revolution, they showed that the intention of publishing such case in social media is making a change. According to participants using Twitter offered them the platform to publish stories and discuss with others who are relevant. However, this has associated with showing self-censorship which actually in the participant cases is social-censorship. This is constraining some of the Arab women to keep their interest on certain topics and themes and avoiding other. The alternative option of this suppression can have both negative and positive result. Negative if it can stop her voices in leading issues that would reflect also in the real world regarding choices related to her. Or can be positive if this can be motivation to think and talk about it.

Some participant showed reasonable for using pseudo identities in Twitter which is because of that most legal system and policies in the Arab world are authoritative, that allows either does not allow for criticism or allowed what does fit them. Also, this does not limit on the policies, whereby Arab women justification reaches to the perception of others especially the Arab male of their online action. Consequently, for having such free zone for expression, it is best according to them to be hidden. However, to relate the whole discussion to Women's empowerment than it need to worth look the criteria that empowerment based on. According to United Nation documents, women's empowerment requires the success of human rights components that they are compiled in these five statements. First of all is a sense of self-worth, and by looking at the collected data, Arab women made it clear that they deserve change and they are qualified to

have a participant in their society like others. Despite social and culture constraints, the awareness of the situation does exist in Arab women mind which led some to show it online by calling for changing the rules that confined them.

In addition, another component of women's empowerment is the access to opportunities and resources, and to measure this in the virtual world, it can be said that Arab women are doing very well in this. According to Arab Social Media Influencer Summit in 2015, Arab women are 1/3 of social media users in MENA region which indicates to there are a wide number of women are getting access to technology and the seven participants interviewed in this research are a small sample of this (AG Reporter 2015, p. 4). The fourth components are the power to control their own lives, which can be related to the second component. Looking back to the themes that have emerged from collecting data, it can be said that participant power online does fit between having control and not. In other words, Arab women have still related to a certain system of life that much of it is rules are inhibited from the Islamic rules so controlling their life could be achieved for them online only especially if they are having covered identity. However, the participant did show positive awareness of how the situation is and spreading the awareness to others which fall in the fifth component; the ability to in sense the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally.

The first step to do so is getting aware of the issue and then do the process of changing come and this is what do Arab women are showing very seriously in social media platforms. The examples are various but the one that the Saudi Women mentioned about the law of driving car shows that the issue is no longer taboo to not discuss. It is clear from the findings and literature review that Arab women have been able to make themselves visible online through social media and fight the negative stereotypes that are associating with them like being subordinate to man.

According to Dr. Anu Dandona (2015), empowerment is wider concept than just showing the boundaries of action, instead, it is about encompassing the horizons of possibilities of what people imagine themselves being able to be and do. This mean all that Arab women need are the opportunities that are compatible both online and offline to be empowered. However, it is simple to refer to empowerment as a process of choices, action and results, but it needs constitutes more to make Arab women empowered which is the context. As how did the Arab Spring events have made a group of women be visible and raise their voices, such context is what motivating Arab women to address their voices publicly.

Conclusion

In conclusion, as the result shows the notion of empowerment itself is a multi-dimensional and cross-disciplinary process. This is because it includes different fields like sociological, psychological, and economic as well as a wide range of concerns such as education, health care, governance and economic policy.

Arab women feel that social media can offer them space to engage, share, reform and point to matters of concern that they or others are experiencing. The virtual world did show Arab women the possibilities they can achieve if they start the flame of reforms whether it is social, political, economically and internationally.

However, the reflection of the online action on the offline world can be insignificant if the context of the situation is more complex than just a tweet. Overall, empowerment is the reinforcement not only of a social process, it is also of a personal process that inspires or deters women's empowerment and gender equality. Moreover, words such as identity, freedom, independence, politics, Islamic laws, and policies show that women are tackling different fields in their tweets and mind that should be considered before any word.

The Arab cultures are collectives, until this day, and for women to empowered and get their self out, the empowerment should be shared and spread. This mean in making the change of case or raising voices and calling for changes for Arab women it needs collective effort and spaces. In order to so, there should rethinking about the spaces itself. The result showed that Arab women think that social media spaces are still confined, supervised and lack of freedom. Where they can sometimes raise their voices and make their moves, and other times keep their post very general and avoid certain cases because of fear of authority and social rules. While in other cases, online empowerment means can be limited on those who can access to it. This means the whole Arab women population is difficult to consider where issues of wars, poverty and network coverage need to be solved first to think of collective empowerment for Arab women.

References

- AG Reporter (2015). *Arab social media report*. Arabian Gazette.
- Al-Qazzat, A. (1980). Education of women in the Arab world. *Arab Perspectives*, 1(7).
- Alsharkh, Y. (2012). *The social media effect on the families of the Saudi society from the perspective of the youth*. Doctoral Dissertation. Arizona State University.
- Alsoudi, A. (2016) The impact of the Arab spring on the political future of the Muslim brotherhood in the Middle East. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 19(3), 23–31.
- Askool, S. S. (2013). The use of social media in Arab countries: a case of Saudi Arabia. In *Web Information Systems and Technologies*, 201–219. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer.
- Auter, P., Alkarni, A. (2013). Guest editors' note. *Global Media Journal*, Spring (2013), 1–2.
- Ayish, M. (2001). The changing face of Arab communications: media survival in the information age. *Mass Media, Politics, and Society in the Middle East*.
- Bentz, V., Mayer, P. (1993). *Women's power and roles as portrayed in visual images of women in the arts and mass media*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press.
- Berger, A. (2000). *Media and communication research methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Bernard, R. H. (1988). *Reaserch method in cultural anthropology*. Newbury Pak, Califorina: Sage Publications.
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, London & New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chant, S. (2016). Women, girls and world poverty: empowerment, equality or essentialism? *International Development Planning Review*, 38(1), 1–24.
- Cummins, J. (2015). Social media, public opinion, and security cooperation in Saudi Arabia. *The DISAM Annual* (Dec), 115–126.
- Eid, G. (2004). *The Internet in the Arab world: a new space of repression*. Cairo: Arabic Network for Human Rights Information.
- Emmel, N. (2013). *Sampling and choosing cases in qualitative research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Indermit, G., Kharas H. (2007). *An East Asian renaissance: ideas for economic growth*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Kristof, N., WnDunn, S., Campbell, C. (2009). Half the sky: turning oppression into opportunity for women worldwide. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 23(4), 432–433.
- Kumar, R. (2005). *Research methodology – A step by step guide for beginners*. 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Matta, G., Matta, N. (2016). *What happened to the Arab spring?* Jacobin. Retrieved from: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/12/achchar-arab-spring-tunisia-egypt-isis-isl-assad-syria-revolution/>. [Accessed 7 July 2016]
- Medel-Añonuevo, C., Aksornkool, N. (1995). *Women, education and empowerment*. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Education.
- Nassuora, A. B. (2013). Social networking sites model among Saudi university students: the technology acceptance model perspective. *American Academic & Scholarly Research Journal*, 5(6), 46.
- Nation, J. (1997). *Research methods*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- Odine, M. (2013). *Role of social media in the empowerment of Arab women*. Governance and Innovation Program, Dubai School of Government.
- Perlov, O., Guzansky, Y. (2014). *The social media discourse in Saudi Arabia: the conservative and radical camps are the dominant voices*. INSS Insight 511.
- Perse, E., Lambe, J. (2001). *Media effects and society*. London: Routledge.
- Samin, N. (2012). *Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the social media moment*. Arab Media & Society.
- Sarantakos, S. (1998). *Social research*. Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Sen, G. (1997). *Empowerment as an approach to poverty*. New York: Human Development Report.
- Simsim, M. T. (2011). Internet usage and user preferences in Saudi Arabia. *Journal of King Saud University-Engineering Sciences*, 23(2), 101–107.
- United Nations Development Programme – UNDP (2013). *Human development report 1995: gender and human development*. Oxford: UNDP.

African Form of Indigenous Mass Communication in the Case of Ethiopia

*By Ayele Addis Ambelu**

The purpose of this article is to explore African form of indigenous mass communication with emphasis on Ethiopian indigenous form mass communication institutions, tools, manuscripts, and regulatory bodies. The method employed for this study is qualitative. First hand documents, tools and observation were considered as sources of primary data. Furthermore, pertinent literature was reviewed. The data was analyzed qualitatively where description of the responses on the bases of themes was given emphasis. The finding of this study argued that drum beating, horn blowing and town crying are a form of mass communications in the ancient time. In ancient time news in Africa was first made public from the tower in the center, squares of the city, palace main stairs, market and church. Town Criers, Azmari and shepherds were the journalists and the essential news presenters in ancient times. In the same manner, Afe Negus (mouth of the King) and Tsehafe Tezaze (Minister of Pen) were originally indigenous information regulatory bodies of the empire regime. This research discovered the oldest African newspaper in Ethiopia, a news sheet entitled Zenamewale (Daily News) and the first written newspaper and inscriptions of king Ezana are the first types of African form of news, which dates back to 320 A.D. Zena mewale is believed to be the first handmade press so far known in Africa for 700 years. This confirmed that Ethiopia has 3,000 years of indigenous forms of oral mass communication and handmade press history in Africa.

Keywords: indigenous mass communication institutions, tools of traditional mass communication, manuscripts, regulatory bodies, Ethiopia

Introduction

The development of mass communication was tied to the society lifestyle and government systems. Indigenous mass communication is one of the ancient communication techniques used for information exchange and different types of communication. This type of communication has the potential to be easily absorbed and accepted by the public, as well as with the culture, values, and belief of the people who live far from the regular media. Traditional media have more acceptability and loyalty than conventional media, as they are relatively small in access to rural area residents and rural pastoralists (Rioba, 1996). Ayub Rioba, describes the traditional communication system in Africa as follows:

"In the beginning there was the news without a modern media through which to pass information on to other people. There was the horn-blowing, drum beating, yelling to

*Lecturer/PhD Candidate, Woldia University/Bahir Dar University, Ethiopia.

inform the community populace that there would be a ceremony for local and government programs..." (Rioba, 1996, p. 1)

Mass communications defined as communication reaching large numbers of people (Lee, 2009). McQuail states that mass communication is, "only one of the processes of communication operating at the society-wide level, readily identified by its institutional characteristics" (McQuail, 1987). Various forms of mass communication that have developed over the years have made a tremendous impression on the technological, political, economic, social and cultural trends of every nation. Thus, the oldest mass communications are oral and written forms of media. Human history gives us a clue that oral form of mass communication, pictures and handmade press were first used to convey messages.

Ethiopia is one of the traditional countries that have their own oral and written form of communication system. Ethiopia is a country with plenty of classical magnificently enlightened indigenous form of communication, handmade manuscripts and literature, art, architecture, and music as well. Molvaer (1980) said that "Ethiopia has a centuries-long tradition of oral and written communication. Inscriptions in stone go back to pre-Christian times, after Christianity, handmade press started to be written". According to Adamu and Belaynesh (1970) "the indigenous and medieval period was, the period of the highest development of Ethiopian literature was between the 14th and 19th century". Dawit (2019) cited (Bender, Hailu and Roger 1976) termed the period was "Golden Age of African literature". The written communication medium was represented by enhanced developments that came into play in the 16th and 19th century under the form of handmade press put forward into printing machines (Girma-Selassie and Pankhurst, 1979).

This research shows the history of how indigenous forms of mass communication system evolved. It describes briefly the form of indigenous form of mass communication in Africa in general, in Ethiopia in particular. Although there were many form of mass communication techniques used in different ages and parts of Africa, this research has covered only a case of Ethiopia.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the historical form of indigenous mass communication of Ethiopia with respect to institutions, tools, and regulatory body. It is based on the published and unpublished literature about these types of mass communication and my own experience as a researcher, writer, journalist, communicator, and producer of media for more than 10 years and as a researcher of Ethiopian media since 2008.

In this article, I attempt to make the necessary historical and document analysis of oral form of mass communication and handmade press, particularly dealing with the indigenous form of mass communication. Moreover, this study will answer the following questions. 1) What were the indigenous tools and institutions of mass communication in Africa? 2) Which one was the oldest form of press in Africa? 3) Who governed the indigenous form of mass communication in Africa in the case of Ethiopia?

Literature Review

The analysis of structure and functions of indigenous forms of mass communications has raised the interest of many scholars studying the characteristic of media in information dissemination. In Ethiopia, only few studies have been conducted on the functional characteristics of traditional mass communication (Ministry of Information, 1966; Ministry of Information, 1968; Girma-Selassie and Pankhurst, 1979; Fekade, 2000; Mocria et al. 2003; Info Aid, 2011; Ayele, 2017; Government Communication Affairs of Ethiopia, 2018). In this respect, much information is not available about the distributive sector of the Ethiopian mass communication or African level.

Until today we find it hard to reconstruct the history of indigenous mass communication and its development. The historical as well as development of African indigenous form of mass communication are not documented at all. Like with everything, in societies the fastest turn to the modern mass media power the indigenous mass communication is carried over verbally only and there are hardly any means to keep up the memory except by memorizing a particular successful and impressive composition.

Under this review of related literatures section, the researcher is going to present related research studies done in the same area and a survey across related concepts.

The Evolution of Human Communication

The passage of communication started with the caveman and human necessity. The development of socialization leads to gatherings around fire where humans discuss their day to day activities and tell daily stories (Curran, 2008). We can balance this to modern day new media sites such as Facebook. They decided to record their activities and share knowledge to the mass population. Then men started to inscribe on the walls and grow up into handmade presses. We can compare this to present-day blogging. The main challenge with this communication method was it was that localized and limited in a specific space. When people started moving and the number of population increased, mass communication became very important.

Yelling, smoke, sign, symbol, horn and drum is the oldest long distance type of mass communication. During ancient time Kings have been using messenger (Pigeon, birds) to relay messages. The postal man (messenger) was a first of its kind mail service delivering messages, mails, newspapers and small packages by horseback using small relay stations. It is regarded as the first courier service. It was used in the mid-19th century to communicate messages all over the world. The history of communication started evolved from caveman to telephone. The golden era in the field of mass communication system evolved from wired to wireless and local to global.

Historical Study of Mass Communication within the Field of Journalism

Grabowski (2015) described that the heart of journalism or mass communication is storytelling. Therefore, when you think about it, journalism has been occurring as long as humans have been communicating and sharing stories to address the mass.

This historicization of journalism has shown one of the modern approaches in contemporary studies of mass communication history (Curran 2008, p. 48). Mass communication development is an interdisciplinary study conducted using various research approaches. Mass communication history can be said to be a sub-discipline of communicology (or mass communication as a discipline).

Mass communication history is a main discipline of media study, which is assumed as an independent research discipline with its own approaches and theories of media and communication. Research on various aspects of mass communication history thus defined can be conducted within various scientific disciplines (Kulczycki, 2016).

As regard the state of research into journalism history, it is possible to differentiate two periods:

- (1) An explicit mass communication history and
- (2) An implicit mass communication history one which could be called the prehistory of mass communication history (Zelizer, 2008). The former has existed since the end of the 19th century, when the modern understanding of mass communication appeared, and reached its peak in the middle of the 20th century with the formulation of the first theories of mass communication (e.g., Claude Shannon's mathematical theory of mass communication or the theories developed by the Chicago School).

The definition of the process of mass communication reads as follows: it is a process that is fundamental both to the functioning of technology, medium, message, societies and cultures, as well as to their understanding. The contemporary understanding of mass communication, as understood in this paper, can be reduced to two interpretations: form and nature involving subjects defined as tool, institution and regulatory body of indigenous mass communication) (Jensen, 2002, p. 97).

This is why the study of the indigenous mass communication elements of this aspect – *form* – is so attractive that: it gives the opportunity to sketch the oldest form of mass communication perspective. These types of theories are for instance written within the framework of technological determinism. The main rhetoricians of technological determinism often identified with the Toronto School of Communication Theory are Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, Jack Goody, Eric Havelock and Walter Ong. The analysis of the history of technological and cultural changes is carried out with a focus on changes affecting the form of indigenous mass communication practices.

Theoretical Framework

The time biased media theory reflected on Harold Adams Innis famous works on media and communication *Empire and Communications* (1950) and *The Bias of Communication* (1951) was advocated from the oldest forms of mass communication development.

Harold Innis believed that the growth of mass communication is determined by the technological changes of their media. His theory examined the working of specific mass communication technologies changes, the media development, and the contributions made by a society.

Thus, this research will address, in relationship to Harold Innis's view, the tools and institutions of mass communication and regulatory bodies of the indigenous mass communication. Innis's writings on communication explore the role of mass communication in shaping the development of the technology, society and culture (Robert, 2000). He argued, for example, that a balance between oral and written forms of communication contributed to the flourishing of world civilization (Paul, 2003).

This research frame of the Innis's examined theory focuses on the fact that the rise and fall of ancient empires as a way of tracing the effects of communications media will approach time and space biased media (Watson et al., 2006). One of Innis's primary contributions to communication studies was to apply in this research a theory of the dimensions of time and space to various media (Innis, 1950). Consequently, this research takes a theory of Innis media into time and space binding types including the traditional tools, institutions and regulatory bodies of mass communication.

Methodology

The design of this study is qualitative and descriptive survey. Primary and secondary data sources are used in this research. Primary sources of data, thus, are the first hand text i.e., the written documents of the ancient period, which are intended to be subject of the research. Accordingly, primary data are gathered from the texts written by ancient chronicle writers. The secondary sources on the other hand, will be written books that are going to be utilized as a source, particularly books, which enable to explore the forms of indigenous mass communication; for review of previous researches and conceptual framework. The researcher, consequently, will employ qualitative form of data analysis through descriptive research method.

According to Dooley (2001, p.249), interpretive or qualitative research strives for depth, as opposed to positivist approaches that consider breadth. Significantly, depth provides the opportunity to raise as many questions as possible about a particular phenomenon and the answers to these questions ultimately provide greater understanding of the issue under investigation (Berger, 2000, p.133).

Results and Discussion

An analysis of the data is presented in this part of the study while main findings, conclusions and recommendations are given in the rest of sub topics in accordance with the general objectives.

Indigenous Mass Communication Institutions

In the indigenous period of Africa, even today's way of life tends to center on information exchange places that are functional and trusted by 85% of the population. These are market, *Adebabaya*, traditional cooperative associations, palace, mosque, church, the tower in the center *maheber*, *Tsgie*, *Senbetie* are which are dominate information institution in Africa. In former times news in Ethiopia was first made public from the tower in the center. These institutions are a connivance form of traditional African mass communication. These institutions are serving as a center of content production and information consumption. Some of them are a place of information and news exchange called society to the society and government to the society.

Market as a Center of Mass Communications Institution

Market is a place of human idea, debate, negotiation, information and goods exchange in Africa. The extent to which the majority of rural population living in dispersed settlements depend on rural service contras, for drawing; of a range of information, goods and services to be consumed, is well explained. As a result, governmental and public information-exchanging processes may encounter paucity of basic data concerning the exchange patterns in rural Africa in general, in rural Ethiopia in particular.

In the case of Ethiopia, the role of markets can be appraised from the viewpoint of their contributions to government and people. For people, market places should provide a range of demanded information and good at any time and at least cost of movement. As far as governments are concerned, market places should serve as centers of official information dissemination, a place of free public information exchange and justice in them should be a major place of source and information sharing for the rural people.

Apparently speaking, a market system is a self-contained in satisfying the information and product needs exchange for the people. Given this foundation and the socio-economic conditions in the market area, it plays the role of periodic products and information for the intended audience

As an evaluation system and measures of efficiency of markets, it has five major functions in the development of society cohesion and common information service. Markets are those places of:

- (1) Organized space and timely information for the public
- (2) Integrated free business and information exchange functions at different levels of society interaction

- (3) Availability of information, goods and services demanded by the people
- (4) The place of meeting families, relatives in a long distances
- (5) The space of government information, declaration, judgments

The head of information regulation in the market place called *NegadeRas*. *NegadeRas* literally means head of merchants, who is appointed for the king's collection of taxes, for keeping peace of the market and for delivering deliver the monarchy message only in the market place.

Adebabaye and Palace as a Center of Mass Communications Institution

A palace is a center of news making, especially a royal office and residence, or the command place of a head of state or some other high-ranking officials, such as a bishop or archbishop (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2019). *Adebabaye* is a place where a square of information from the public to the public or a down town of the village, it serves as the information sphere. Public debate takes place mostly through the huge trees, village fire discussion, *maheber*, *Tsgie*, *Senbetie*, but also at meetings or through their daily life. The African's attended in *Adebabay* or palace to listen or watch the announcement of the king is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. African's Attendance in Adebabaye and Palace to Listen/Watch the Announcemntent of Tsehafe Tizazate/Ministry of Pen Accompanied in Negarit/ Drum



Source: Timkehet, 2017; cited Photos: L'Illustration, 1935. No. 4833 – 93 October (French Magazine).

Church and Mosque as a Center of Mass Communications

The role of religious institutions in information exchange has been intricately intertwined with the history and formation of palace and society. Throughout its long history, the Church has been a major source of social, political, and economic information services like community and government rules; introduces for government declaration, art, culture, politics and religion. In various ways it has sought to affect public attitudes to vice and virtue in diverse fields.

The church and mosques influence of the information exchange has been vast. Church scholars are spoken person of the palace and see to daily activities of the king in Ethiopia. During the ancient period, the Church rose to replace the Ethiopian Empire as the unifying force in Ethiopia. The churches of that age remain among the most pictographic writing and parchment literary books, news sheets feats of architecture produced by Ethiopian civilization. Many of news sheets, books, were also produced by the church and mosque at beginning of writing time.

According to Sergew as quoted by Abebe, the Ethiopian church is a center of Ethiopian indigenous form of mass communication and, in this capacity; the church possesses thousands of handmade press. Actually every church has a certain number of handmade presses which are used mainly for mass communication and church services. But, there are all monasteries and churches where rare manuscripts are deposited and preserved (Abebe, 2008, p.1). In addition to this, most of trusted and monarchical information was circulated in/by church.

Traditional Association as a Form of Information Exchange Institution

Traditional associations are also known in Africa as a center of as community information exchange. As the local culture and custom differ, the people in Ethiopia are spreading their news in folklore, songs tales, dance, spinning, and other forms. This is easy to understand and is used by the people in their community, religion and local connections (*Senbetie*¹, *Juma*; Traditional Administration (*Sultanate, Ugas, Geda System*); Social Connection (*Edir*²), Economic Connection (*Ekube*³), based on this the people share Information on Economic, Social and Political Issues.

According to ethnic or tribe based form of traditional society communication in Ethiopia there are *Dagu*⁴ in Afar, *EyelaEyela* in Amhara *Hugo-Idi-iizi* in Ethio-

¹Senbetie, which meets on Sunday at the church, is called the Sabbath Bread and the community based communication and democratically participation system of unity.

²Edir is another traditional social communication where people living in a community contribute a fixed amount every month so that when a family member dies the Edir gives services and items, like tents, for the ceremony.

³Ekube and Iddir are traditional saving institutions in Ethiopia. Ekube works where a group of people come together and decide to contribute an equal amount of money every month.

⁴Dagu is virtually dominated by horizontal interaction in that news originates from diverse sources, from ordinary Afar to power holders. Pastoralists are the most essential part of the communication

Somali and Warsemena in Tigray. These are also operated according to the local traditions of news and current information change among the communities. Although there are no different names in Amhara, the Southern Ethiopia and Oromia, they are used for different social services.

Ong argued that;

"There was a form of Journalism at it where in Africa before the advent of Colonialism.... Journalism then took the form of oral discourse using communication norms informed by oral traditions and folk culture with communal story tellers (griots) musicians, poets and dancers playing the role of the modern day Journalist" (Ong 1982, p.31).

Early colonial times were the fables of journalism in Africa, musicians, poets, and dancers. Journalism was also portrayed in folklore, in song, poetry, and dance. *Lefafi*, *Azmari*, *Eregha* Poetry, singers and fairy tales were also present as journalists.

Tools of Indigenous Mass Communication in Ethiopia

Ethiopian Journalism begun from drum beating, *thromba* (horn) blowing and town crying form of public communication. There are ten types of instruments which is used most of Africans, specifically for information/news dissemination to mass audience. These are *negarit* (big drum), *tromba* (horn), *mesenquo*, *melekete*, *Embelat*, *kebero*, *dewel* (bell), *tsinatsil*, *kachelwashien*, *atamo*,

Thromba (Horn Blowing)

Thromba is an indigenous mass communication tool, horn typically made of a caw and bronze's horn, used for village news purposes. Like the modern community radio, have air transmission-altering devices, with all pitch control done by varying the type of news. *Thromba* is blown in mourn, weeding and meeting services on Ethiopia. *Thromba* come in a variety of sizes and shapes, depending on the choice of animal and level of finish.

Thromba was used to announce the new information of death and the official meeting of the village. *Thromba* were used for signifying the start of a war. *Thromba* was blown and drum beating in the times of ancient war to call up the people in the information square. As they surrounded the walls, the *Embelta* was blown and the kings were able to capture the city. *Thromba* was commonly taken out to war so the troops would know when a battle would begin. The person who would blow the *Thromba* or beating dram would call out to the troops from atop a hill. All of the public were able to hear the call of the *Thromba*, *Embelta*, *Dewel* or drum sound from their position because of its distinct sound and gather for the information. The horn blowers using *Thromba* form music and mass communication is shown in Figure 2.

flow that is entirely dependent on ordinary people (Jemal, 2016). Dagu's network, which "is a highly developed traditional system of information management" (Chege et al., 2004, p. 29).

Figure 2. Horn Blowers Using Thromba for Mass Communication and Music Purposes



Negarit (Drum Beating)

The *negarit* is a ceremonial instrument, one of the distinctive emblems of authority. On various state functions or when a royal proclamation is publicly made, the *negarit*, is played alone with the imperial trumpets or *melekete*.

Negarit and *Embelat* is a government owned message transmitter. *Trumba* and trumpet used for the common people. In this case the *Negarit* is a national form of information exchange. Horn is used in local form of mass communication. Common people, on the other hand, do not use *negarit* for mass communication, for the *negarit* is regarded as a symbol of authority. Messages transmitted by using *trumba*, *embelat* or trumpet sounds are associated with common people information message until 20th century.

The *Negarit* is a small kettledrum about 60 cm in diameter. The body which may be wooden or metallic is semi hemispheric in shape. It is covered at the base with a skin, generally sewn together and tensioned attitudinally round the middle of the body. It is played with a stick and never by hand. *Negarit* (Big Drum) is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Negarit (Drum) Used for Mass Communication in the 11th Century



Kebero and Atamo (Small Drum)

The *kebero* is a small drum which invariably accompanies an Ethiopian orchestra of winds and string instruments. The bigger one is played in or outside churches to beat the time during singing of hymns and devotional songs. The instruments are made out of a piece of hollow *wanza* wood, and silver with ends of unequal diameter. Both ends are covered with skin tied with leather thongs and tensioned at the middle of the body. Usually it is suspended by a strap to the shoulder of the player who standing up marks the time by beating it with both hands from the two ends. The *Atamo* is a small drum held in stick. It is used entirely as a secular instrument and Muslim music.

Dewel (Big Bell)

Another instrument used for a mass call, alert for workers, religious prayer, announcement of emergency information, and wholly in church prayer is the *dewel* or bell. A bell of resonant slabs, or at times a resonant spar of wood, called *merewa* is still found in a few old churches and palaces. Generally, there are two or three hanging side by side. A round pebble forms the striker, when sounded, the bells give out two notes as each stone is struck in turn. *Dewel* or Big Bell in Ethiopian Rural Area for the Use of Mass Communication is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Dewel or Big Bell Used Ethiopians for Rural Mass Communication



Teruenba, Keber, Atamo and Washint

On the land of ancient Ethiopia *Azmari*, the shepherd boy uses *mesenquo* and *washint* to disseminate information for the public, in the market, palace and religious institution places the melodies of the tunes of the *Dram*, *Mesenqo* and big bells are in the air. These compounds are there on special occasion, coronation, birth, marriage or death. And the instruments they use for information, declaration and entertainment are indigenous in origin. The instruments are classified into

percussion, wind and string. The major indigenous form of information providers instruments are percussion type of instruments. The instruments commonly in use are the *Negarit*, the *kebero*, the *atamo*, the *tsinatsil*, the *kachel* and the *dewel* or *stone bell*.

Another wind instrument, the *Washient* and *Mesenko* plays an important role for the lower community to transmit unverified information like gossips, but *teronba* and *kebero* used only verified information. The *meleket* is a kind of trumpet usually a meter or more in length. Generally it is made of bamboo, but sometimes one may find a metallic one too. It ends with a bugle-type cap, There are no finger-holes and the entire body maybe be covered with leather or skin.

The *meleleket* and *embilata* along with the *negarit* form ceremonial instruments or "insignia of royalty". They were used to herald the approach of the king or other officers of authority during a ceremonial state function and state information transmission. The stringed instruments, the *begen*, the *krar*, have come to be thought of as the perquisite only of the emperor and nobleman. *Embelta* using Ethiopians for Holidays and Coronation Ceremony is shown Figure 5.

Figure 5. Embelta using Ethiopians for Holidays and Coronation Ceremony



Mesnko

The main Ethiopian bowed musical and communication tool is the *mesenko*, a fiddle. The diamond shaped wooden body has both the face and back left open. These are covered with skin or parchment, which extends right round and over the body. The edges are stitched together right round and over the body. The edges are stitched together down the side of the box. The rounded or rectangular length of wood that forms the neck is inserted through middle of one of the corners. The string of several strands of horsehair passes from the tuning peg over the inverted -V- shaped bridges and is knotted immediately behind it to a fastener. This

fastener of string or leather thing leads on either sided of the bottom corner of the diamond-shaped box and is hooked round the projecting bottom end of the neck pole (Ministry of Information, 1966). The picture of *Mesinko* is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Masinko Played a Man for Mass Audience



From *Negarit* Beating to *NegaritGazeta* Publication

The main exemplary symbolical ancient to modern transition of Ethiopian media is *Negarit* beating in the ancient period linked with *Neagarit Gazeta* Publication. *Negarit* (Drum) which shows the oldest form of mass communication.

One may broadly define the origins of the functions of the press as that of conveying government policies to the public, keeping government informed of public needs and reactions to government policies, and keeping the government and the public informed of events. The first of these functions, in Ethiopia as elsewhere, may be traced as far back as the beginning of organised society.

Many issues need to be looked at in the history of Ethiopia. Symbol of picture and rhythm speakers are the communication tools. *Negarit* was one of the communication tools. Today is the secret of the "*Negarit Gazeta*", the official newspaper of the Federal Government. But there were also reports of journalism.

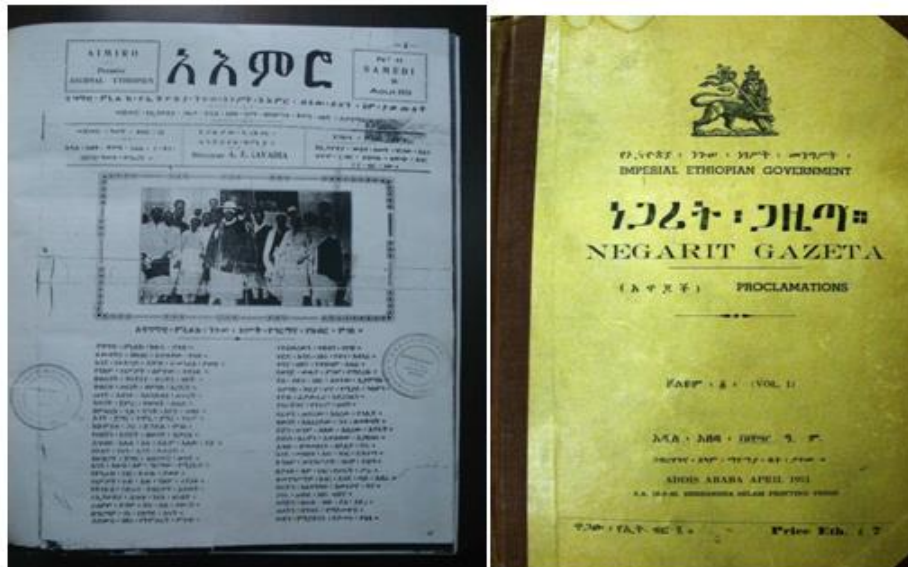
The historical transition of the announcer beating *negarit* is based on the service that the dispatcher provided and the technology advancement. In ancient Ethiopia, it was the practice of conveying public information to the community by drum beating on the whistle maker, which is made up from animal skins and wood. As a result, the official legal information of the ancient kings' *Negarit* beating declaration transfers to be the *Negarit Gazeta*, which has been published under the laws of the government.

With reference to legal information, nowadays *nägarit* used to denote the official law gazette of Ethiopia known as *nägarit gazette* (Timikeht, 2017, p.14).

Negarit is Amharic for drum. Years ago, before the foundation of the *Berhaneena Selam* (light and peace) in 1923, public announcements and the promulgation of law were proclaimed in Ethiopia by the beating of a drum Redden (1968, p.27) and Kane (1990, p. 1063) briefly describes the role of the *negarit* in Ethiopia that was "... formerly used as an insignia of authority and beaten to herald the approach of the monarch or person of rank or the announcement of decrees; gossip..."The *debe anbessa negarit* is an exceptionally big drum made of metal, skin and wood producing a reverberating sound when beaten. *Debe anbessa negarit* were primarily used for when the king appoints official/s and representative/s of different provinces, declaring war, making music for entertainment, for dancing, for religious ceremonies, and used to communicate either from long distances, or on war fronts.

The *Negarit Gazeta* is the official legislative, executive and administrative Law Reporter of Ethiopia. Written in Amharic and English, the first issue appeared on March 30, 1942, and it has been published regularly since that date, though not on a scheduled or periodic basis. The pages of the *Negarit Gazeta* have contained the full authorized texts of the Revised Constitution of 1955, 1995 and the current Codes, Proclamations, Decrees, Orders and Legal Notices discussed herein, all of which did not become effective as law until they were so published. Occasionally, a law published in contains a specific provision naming a later date at which time the law will become effective. The Handmade Modern Ethiopian Newspaper and the First Printed Legal *Negarit Gazeta* is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 7. The Handmade Aemero Ethiopian Modern Newspaper up to the First Legal Machine Printed *Negarit Gazeta*



From Town Crier to Spokesperson/Minister of Information (From Earliest until Today)

Town Criers, Azmari, lefafi and Ereghoeche were the essential news presenter in ancient times until today. There are several references to the "traditional form of

folk communication", at in ancient and contemporary Ethiopia. The king official information, village events, proclamations, local bylaws, market days, ads, and tax increases were all proclaimed by a Town Crier and *Azmari*.

Lefafi (Town Criers)

Town Criers have existed in many nations, with a recorded history throughout world (Mundy and Compton, 1991). Similar with Today, there are activists in Ethiopian communication called "Town Criers". Over time, Town Criers have been known by several different names. The Ethiopians first called them "Messengers", *Lefafi*, *Azmarie* then "Heralds"; this title grown up into the office of national palace as *Afe Negus* (spokesperson of the king) and *Tsehafe Tezaze* (Minister of Pen), Minister of information, or Press secretariat of the prime minister.

In many parts of Ethiopia, traditionally the village crier carried a horn or big drum to call public attention, following up with the message. The message had a typical format of source acknowledged and message as an order, starting with "people of this village or town, the monarchy would like to announce that...there is a ceremony.....is 2; 00.... There is a new a new law or declaration The lord is coming this week for the inauguration ..." followed by the message.

Muezzins

The typical example is Moslem faith means of mass communicator are muezzins. Muezzin's area unit the person appointed at a masjid to guide and recite the decision to prayer for each event of prayer and worship within the masjid (Ludwing, 2009). The muezzin's post is a vital one, and also the community depends on him for associate correct prayer schedule. The primary muezzin was associate Ethiopian origin Bilal ibn Rabah, one among the foremost sure and dependable companions of the Moslem prophet Muhammad (Robinson, 2004). He was born in Mecca from Ethiopian mother and is taken into account to own been the primary mu'azzin, chosen by Muhammad himself (Levtzion & Randall, 2000).

Azmari and Eroeghoech

Eregha and Azmari, both in their music and their social roles, represent regional or local variant of a larger Ethiopian pattern of information presenter on poetic style. In addition to this pattern is characterized by professionalism or semi-professionalism, and often a caste-like status of musicians and information presenter, who can be both male and female; a high society reputation and restricted social status; itinerancy; patronage by the wealthy and powerful; the performance of songs of personal expression, social commentary, praise and critique, and double meaning; and accompaniment by stringed instruments or oral communication.

Azmari used single string Ethiopian musical instruments called *Mesenquo*. In addition to, *Eregha* used flute musical instruments. Both of them express all stories in poetic manner. *Azmari* also had a better sense of dread than a shepherd, with all the grievances of the ruling over his regime becoming a hit-by-fact man at home the songs carry a heavy news form of message and communicate with the mass.

One of the characteristics of *azmari* and *Eregha* that is most often mentioned is their performance of songs of praise or derision, often directed at their patrons and members of their society. Another feature of the songs of *azmari* and *Eregha* is the use of double meaning, a surface meaning and a deeper hidden meaning, in a compositional technique known as "wax and gold". Double meaning in the *Azmari* is almost entirely confined also to criticism of the king, whereas among *azmarit* can be applied to any topic. Even so, *Eregha*, like *azmari*, are given license to sing about things that would be considered dangerous or scandalous to speak in public. There is no censorship in folk media and oral communication between the communicator, the public and the rulers.

While this shows that poetry, song, legend, and other legends are the basis for journalism, the history of the vast majority of human beings shows that humans and animals express their love, hatred, grief, joy, or warning signs with a voice and movement.

Regulatory of Indigenous Form of Mass Communication

Bahru (2001) indicates that the formation of modern cabinet ministers in Ethiopia dates back to the reign of Emperor Menelik. One of the Ministries he established in 1907 was Minister of spoken person and minister of mouth. In the 4th century, the head of the department was known as "*Tsehafe Tezaze* - Secretary of the Order." It is said that the minister of pen is common in Ethiopian history and that the beginning is in the 356 BC. Their role was to record events and to proclaim the king's decrees. At the time, evidence indicates that the mission of the Secretary of State and the Minister of State were being compromised. This was one reason that both protocols had to work.

Accordingly, Paul (2000), the office of minister of pen which was established in 1900 under the official name of *Tsehafe Tezaze* was proven to have been a pioneer in this respect; this Agency, which underlies the initiatives to undertake contemporary information dissemination and preservation activities, includes the Ethiopian publications. According to Spencer (1984), Wolde Giyorgis Wolde Yohannes and Aklilu Habte-Wold (1961–1974) was an institution developer of government Minister of *Yetsehfet* minister (Minster of Pen, spoken person of crown) during the monarchy of Ethiopia.

A Proclamation duly approved by both chambers of Parliament and the Emperor is presently published by the Minister of Pen in the *Negarit Gazeta*, as provided in Article 88 of the Constitution and supplemented by Article 3 of Proclamation No. 1 of 1942 and Article 22 of Proclamation No. 2 of 1942. Similarly, a proposal for legislation submitted to the Emperor by the Council of

Ministers, in the form of a Decree or Order, is upon His approval, published in the *Negarit Gazeta* by the Minister of Pen.

Subordinate legislation in the form of a Legal Notice is also published in the *Negarit Gazeta* under the signature of the concerned Minister or other authorized government official, as the case may be. On some few occasions, the primary legislation (Proclamation, Order or Decree) may authorize the issue of a Legal Notice which does not require publication in the *Negarit Gazeta*.

The Minister of Pen is responsible for the all information exchange and publication of the *Negarit Gazeta*. This practice has been followed since the present Minister of information and Ministry of justice assumed the portfolio of the Minister of Pen. However, the Ministry of Pen and the Minister initiating the legislation are both responsible for and concerned with the avoiding the errors in the published version of *Negarit Gaeta*.

According to Spencer (1984), he was "the one who traditionally walked two steps behind the Emperor to listen to and write down all orders. *Tsehafe Tezaz* safeguarded the Great seal, he was the announcer of declaration, and censor of the content, kept the records of all important documents, and was responsible for publishing all laws and treaties; "his signature, rather than that of the Emperor, appeared on those (official) publications although the heading in each case referred to His Imperial Majesty"(Spencer, 1984).

Afe Negus (mouth of the King) was originally the title given to the two chief heralds who acted as official spokesmen for the monarchy. By 1942, this title was granted only to Justices of the Imperial Supreme Court (Perham, 1969, p.154).

Evidence suggests that the late minister of pen during Emperor Haileselassie period, Akililu Habte Wolde had been leading the Secretariat for a long time (1912 to 1947). The disentanglement of multifaceted media activities from the existing media and information management patterns as well as the association of such media activities with the modern media management processes were unsystematic until 1974.

ZenaMewale; The Oldest and the First African News Sheet

During the monarchy period, kings used to circulate news to the people as proclamations, account and *ZenaMewale*. According to Adamu (2017), indigenous writings as a source of information and as model of newspaper article were mentioned from classical times till the late 19th century. Most of Ethiopian indigenous presses were composed in Ethiopian indigenous kingdom. Mewale Zena is the first African vernacular newspaper in the history of Africa. The primary typical example of Ethiopian indigenous form of newspaper is *ZenaMewael* (chronicle). *ZenaMewael* (*Daily News Reports*) was daily Ethiopian official news recorded document, a sort of daily gazette. They were carved on parchments or wood and presented in meeting hall in palace like the Market and church of Ethiopia. They were also called simply *ZenaMewael*. In many ways, *Zenamewal* functioned like an early daily newspaper for the Ethiopian citizenry. It is a pure hard news nature and cover the king activities.

The term *ZenaMewael* also refers to a daily news record written by a *Tsahafi Te'ezaz* (minister of pen) or *Afe Negus* (mouth of the King) in the medieval ages. *ZenaMewael* represents accounts, in prose or verse, of local or distant events over a considerable period of time, both the lifetime of the individual chronicler and often those of several subsequent continuators. If the *ZenaMewael* deals with events year by year, they are often called annals.

The content of the news is a center of the palace and the king. The headline is the king and the queen and the king's higher officials. Where a *Tsahafi Te'ezaz* (minister of pen) or *Afe Negus* (mouth of the King) obtained the information varies; some chronicles are written from first-hand knowledge, some are from witnesses or participants in events. Some made use of written materials; charters, letters, or the works of earlier *Tsahafi Te'ezaz* (minister of pen) or *Afe Negus* (mouth of the King).

It is evident that in the long years of Ethiopian history, indigenous newspaper was known and accounts of those long years of Ethiopian news were to be found in the *ZenaMewael* written by *TsehafeTezaze* and *Afe Negus*. The existence of such *ZenaMewael* is fulfilled in modern journalism news elements. There are different types of newspapers are *ZenaMewael* (Daily News), *Senkesar* (Synaxarion), *Gedlate* (hagiographies), *Tamerat* (miracle Stories), *Deresenate* (homilies), *Melka* (a type of poetry), *KeberaNegeste* (glory of the king) and *Fetha Negest* (Justice of the king) and *Qene* (wax and gold) which set Ethiopia apart from other African countries as Ethiopia is the only country with its own writing system and written culture. These forms of newspapers have served in Medieval Ethiopia and have been constituted for a period of more than seven centuries and a lot has happened during that time which in a way has also shaped the present-day Ethiopia.

ZenaMewale, in indigenous and medieval Ethiopia was a sort of daily news, containing an officially authorized narrative of noteworthy events at *Aksume*, *Gondar*, *Shewa*, *lalibela* etc. *ZenaMewale* serves more than 700 years (from around 1150 or earlier to 1855). In these long years, around 78 kings had assumed power, some of them up to six times (with interruptions in their reign). Of these, about all of them were considered *ZenaMewael* as a news sheet document. *ZenaMewale* has been an official *gazette* of the royal palace. Its contents were partly official (the king activities, official news, decrees of the emperor, entertainments of the king and court and war dailies), partly private (notices of births, marriages and deaths). Thus to full extent it filled the place of the modern press.

The origin of the *ZenaMewale* is attributed to king *Ezana*, who first ordered the keeping and publishing of the acts of the people by public officers (4th century; Suetonius, Caesar, 20). The *ZenaMewale* was drawn up from day to day and exposed in a public place on palace, church and market. *TsehafeTezaze* used them to announce royal events, decrees and events of the public. Other forms of *ZenaMewale* were legal, municipal and military notices.

The *ZenaMewale* differed from the *Senkesar* (Tä'ammərat (miracle Stories), *Dərsanat* (homilies- fictional form of writing), *Melke'* (a type of poetry – a base of feature type of writing), and *Qene* (wax and gold) poetry nature of testing a personal knowledge of word interpretation) in that only the greater and more

important matters were given in the latter; while in the former things of less note were recorded. Their publication continued till the transference of the seat of the empire to Aksum, Gondar, Lalibela, Shewa, Tigray and Erterria. The 2000 years old the first hand made Ethiopian newsheet is shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Format *Zena Mewal* (Daily News) the first African News Sheet in the 4th Century found in Ethiopia



Gedlat (Hagiography) constituted an important modern form of profile form of journalistic writing in indigenous Ethiopia. The *KebrNagast*, or the Glory of the Kings, is a 4th century travel for journalistic writing and national epic account written in its existing form; it is at least 700 years old and is considered as a journey news record to be a historically reliable work. It is considered to hold the genealogy of the Solomonic dynasty, which followed the Ethiopian Queen Sheba travel news in Jerusalem to Ethiopia.

The paper had a number of sheets with two and three columns on each page and it was published weekly. The paper declared it as a "daily political and public activities paper open to all parties but influenced by the king." *Qene* (critical poem) was also a poet's column in this paper.

Conclusion and Recommendation

In ancient form of mass communication development, Market, palace, information square, *Adebabaye*, church and mosques perform multiple functions for both rural and urban populations. The importance of these institutions for the people is also revealed by the termination of all other activities on the main places. As a result, there is still more influence of the tradition in information exchange and public communication. The role of these institutions, as a source of news, center of mass communication is unlimited by satisfactory information obtained from newsmakers.

African Journalism begun from drum beating, *thromba* (horn) blowing and town crying form of public communication. There are ten types of instruments which are used most of Africans, specifically for information/news dissemination to mass audience. These are *negarit* (big drum), *tromba* (horn), *mesenquo*, *meleket*, *Embelat*, *kebero*, *dewel* (bell), *tsinatsil*, *kachelwashien*, and *atamo*.

The indigenous government of Africa had a form of news-sheet called *MewaeleZena* (Daily News), and *Senkesar* (Synaxarion). In addition to them there were *Afe Negus* and *Tsehafe Tezaze* for serving the royalties with preparing daily handmade press from 4th Century. *ZenaMewale* introduced the expression "daily news", which means "the oldest and the first daily newspaper." This expression was set in the end of the texts and proclaimed a release to both Ethiopia citizens and non-citizens.

The development of indigenous mass communication, in particular, would raise the standard of living of the people and would change inscription of stones, drum beating, and horn blowing into modern mass media. At present, stone inscriptions and wall painting are developed in to internet blogging; drum beating and horn blowing inducement to radio and television industry (i.e., retailing in periodic information), and handmade press under producers cooperatives and subsidizing then could be taken as preliminary measures of current newspaper and magazine.

Acknowledgments

This paper is an excerpt of ongoing PhD dissertation. The author would like to express his gratitude to Dr AdemChanie (Bahir Dar Universty), Dr. TerjeSkjerdal (NLA University) and Prof. Sam Walker for supervision, suggestion and comments.

References

- Abebe, D. (2008). *Textual and philological analysis of hagiography of Abba Giorgis of Gasseča*. Thesis.Ethiopia: Addis Ababa University.
- Adamu, A., Belaynesh, M.(1970).The role of the Ethiopian orthodox Tewahdo church in literature and art. In Taddesse, Sergew (eds.), *The Church of Ethiopia: A Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*,45–49). Addis Ababa: B.S.P.E.
- Adamu, A. (2017). *The origins of Ethiopian journalism in the ancient manuscripts?*Bahir Dar:Abbay Cultural Research Center, Bahir Dar University.
- Ayele, A. (2017). *History of Ethiopian journalism*.Bahir Dar: Aelas Printing Press.
- Bahru, Z. (2001). *A history of modern Ethiopia*.2nd Edition. Oxford: James Currey.
- Bender, M. L., Hailu F., Roger C. (1976).*Two ethiosemetc languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berger, A. (2000). *Media and communication research: an introduction to qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Sage Publications.
- Chege, J. Askew, I., Igras, S., Mutesh, J. K. (2004). *Testing the effectiveness of integrating community-based approaches for encouraging abandonment of female genital cutting into care's reproductive health programs in Ethiopia and Kenya*. Care International.
- Curran, J. (2008). Communication and history.In B. Zelizer (ed.), *Explorations in Communication and History –Shaping Inquiry in Culture, Communication and Media Studies*, 46–59.New York: Routledge.
- Dawit, G. (2019).*King Zara Yaqob and the development of Ethiopian literature*. Munich: GRIN Verlag.
- Dooley, D. (2001). *Social research methods*. New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India.

- Fekade, A. (2000). The state of oral literature research in Ethiopia: retrospect and prospect. Presented at the *Plenary Session of The XIVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. November 2000, Addis Ababa.
- Girma-Selassie, A., Pankhurst, P. (1979). *Tax Records and Inventories of Emperor Tewodros of Ethiopia (1855–1868)*. London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Government Communication Affair of Ethiopia (2018). *Folk media and traditional mass communication in Ethiopia*. Government Communication Affair of Ethiopia.
- Grabowski, M. (2015). *History of journalism*. Press Ink.
- Info as Aid. (2011). *Ethiopia: Media and Telecoms Landscape Guide*. Available at: https://www.internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/ethiopia_media_and_telecoms_final_110112_19.12.12_0.pdf [2018-01-16].
- Innis, H. (1950). *Empire and communications*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jemal, M. (2016). Dagù: its nature, attributes and reporting praxis. *EJLCC*, 1(1), 24–50.
- Jensen, K. B. (2002). From media history to communication history: three comparative perspectives on the study of culture. *Nordicom Review*, 23, 95–99.
- Kane, T. L. (1990). *Amharic English dictionary*. Volume 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz.
- Kulczycki, E. (2016). *Communication history and its research subject*. Poznań, Poland: Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland.
- L'Illustration (1935). *French Magazine*, No. 4833 – 93. October Edition.
- Lee, L. (2009). *Journalism and mass communication*. Volume I. *History and development of mass communications*. ©Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS).
- Levtzion, N., & Randall, L. (2000). *The History of Islam in Africa*. South Africa: Ohio UP.
- Ludwig A. (2009), *Historical Dictionary of Islam*, p.68. Scarecrow Press. ISBN0810861615.
- McQuail, D. (1987). *Mass communication theory: an introduction*. 2nd Edition. Sage Publications.
- Ministry of Information (1966). *Patterns of progress mass communications in Ethiopia*. Book V. Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Press.
- Ministry of Information, (1968). *Patterns of Progress Music Dance and Drama in Ethiopia*, Book IX, Addis Ababa, Commercial Printing Press.
- Mocria, E., Messele, M., Gebre-Hiwot, A. (2003). *Survey of culture and media: Ethiopia*. Sida: Department for Africa. Article number: SIDA2171en. Stockholm: Elanders Novum AB.
- Molvaer, R.K. (1980). *Tradition and change in Ethiopia: social and cultural life as reflected in Amharic fictional literature (1930-74)*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Mundy, P., Compton, J. L. (1991). *Indigenous communication and indigenous knowledge*. Development Communication Report 74. Arlington, VA: Clearinghouse on Development Communication.
- Ong (1982). *African communications system*. Abeokuta: ESS-OH Consult Publications.
- Paul, B. H. (2000). *Layers of time: a history of Ethiopia*. New York: Palgrave.
- Paul, H. (2003). *Harold Innis*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Perham, M. (1969). *The government of Ethiopia*. 2nd Edition. London: Faber and Faber.
- Redden, R., K. (1968). *The legal system of Ethiopia*. The Michi Company, Law Publisher Virginia.
- Rioba, A. (1996). Media transition to pluralism in Tanzania: a general overview. Paper presented at the *Great East African Media Debate*, August 5th – 6th 1995, Dares Salaam.
- Robert, B. (2000). The communication thought of Harold Adams Innis. In *Canadian Communication Thought: Ten Foundational Writers*, 51–88. Toronto: University of

- Toronto.
- Robinson, D. (2004). *Muslim Societies in African History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Print.
- Spencer, J. (1984). *Ethiopia at Bay: a personal account of the Haile Selassie years*. Algonac, Michigan: Reference Publications.
- The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (2019). Fifth Edition: Fiftieth Anniversary Printing. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Timkehet, T. (2017). *Kettledrums: the case of the Ethiopian Nägarit, insignia of indigenous royal power*. Retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3ikmUyr>. [Accessed 30 September 2020.]
- Watson, J. (2006). *Marginal man: the dark vision of Harold Innis*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Zelizer, B. (Ed.) (2008). *Explorations in communication and history – Shaping inquiry in culture, communication and media studies*. New York: Routledge.

From Dominant Perspective to Critical Perspective in Health Communication: Analysis of Turkish Television Health Programs in terms of Critical Health Communication

*By Gülhan Gündoğdu**

Health communication, which has become a discipline since the mid-twentieth century, has become more crucial especially with the complexness of healthcare applications and health information practices. This has led to an increase in the number of researches and academic studies in the field of health communication and, also different approaches emerged regarding this debate. In order to improve the health of the individual and society, the theories used in the field of health communication are generally limited to individual information and behavior change models. Both the health behavior models, and health communication theory/models used are socio-psychological based approaches. Therefore, the methods used are individually focused. As a result, communication is typically understood as health information transfer and perception. After the changing economic-political approach and public broadcasting replaced by private broadcasting in the 1980s, it's observed that the health communication practices on television started to show an approach towards the consumption of health services and products. This view mentioned above was called 'dominant health communication' in the 1990s and a new approach of the field emerged. Critical approach discusses that health is a social phenomenon and that all responsibility cannot be given to the individual. In this case, outside the individual factors such as economy, politics, culture, environment, education gender and even geography are important in the development and outcomes of health. In this study, it will be discussed that the ongoing health communication practices, which is termed dominant health communication, do not provide a solution to the existing health inequality in the society, on the contrary, they provide the reproduction and dissemination of the ideologies of the sovereign powers and a consent for the consumption of health products and services in the society. Therefore, in this study, health programs on mainstream television channels in Turkey will be analyzed in terms of critical health communication. Critical discourse analysis will be used as the main method of the study.

Keywords: critical health communication, dominant health communication, critical discourse analysis, Turkish television health programs

Introduction

We could emit that, at the beginning, health communication approach which exists in the interpersonal communication universe, is contained more basic information to find solutions to the daily's problems of the individual. Access to all kinds of information has recently made easier with the changing of economics and communications technologies. Health information now reaches itself beyond

*PhD Candidate, Istanbul Commerce University, Turkey.

the individual's request. Thus, health communication practices done with the media have been moved to a different ground.

It is seen new economics approach affecting the whole world had an impact not only in the economy but also in the healthcare services and media towards the end of the twentieth century. Consequently, the media has been actively used/being used in the context of the consumption of services and products produced in the field of health. As a result, health communication practices are carried out for individual health problems and demands instead of public health which serve in a more limited area in the meaning of economics.

Although new alternatives are presented to the individual in accessing health information with the latest developments in information and communication technologies (ICTs), television still maintains its influence on a large audience in this field. Television, which is easier to access than other communication tools, is the primary source of certain social segments, especially in the dissemination of health information.

Almost each television channel broadcasted nationally or locally has at least one health program in Turkey. Although these programs are in different formats (edutainment-infotainment, look after yourself), they can reach a significant audience.

Thus, the individual will be able establish an autonomy on own health in order to make decisions with the health information access via television. This causes the misconception that it is more independent in the decision-making process. While it provides advantages to the individual in the field of information asymmetry due to the health communication made on television, it also contributes to a consent production process in the context of the consumption of health services and products.

While the individual is more active than ever in the decision-making process with the health communication applications, on the other hand in the recent years, scholars are getting more and more interested in the field of health communication and different approaches have emerged in the field.

There are also many researches and studies done in Turkey about health communication since the term have emerged. However, it is seen that academic studies are made in the field of public relations, economics and communication technologies, other than communication sciences or sociology of health (Ayaz and Ayaz, 2017). The research methods gathering in socio-cognitive attitudes of individual and ignoring of health is a social phenomenon.

For the reasons aforesaid above, in this paper below assumptions will be analyzed through the language and discourse used in term of critical health communication.

Health communication and practices performed in television health programs:

1. Are completely individual oriented.
2. Ignore social determinants of health such as economic, cultural, and educational.
3. Have no effect in eliminating health inequality in the society.

4. Play an active role in ‘producing consent’ in the consumption of health services/products through the discourse of ‘healthy living’.

Briefly in this paper it will be discussed, today’s changing meaning of the phenomenon of health in the context of critical health communication. Subsequently, the use of television in the dissemination of health information will be explained especially in the context of the Turkish audience. Finally, the persistent television health programs in the mainstream media in Turkey will be analyzed in the context of critical health communication.

The Concept of Health and Health Communication Approaches

Health as a concept is used in different meanings from society to society and from age to age. It’s defined that health as the process of being able to cry, grow old and adapt to the changes in the environment (Illich, 2011, p. 182) or the optimum capacity of the individual fulfilling his/her daily roles and duties (Nordenfelt, 2014).

While the discomfort, whose boundaries are blurred with the discourse made today (Sezgin, 2011) is subjective, the disease is a purely objective and technical term. Health and disease are not an individual phenomenon that exists in humans, but a social phenomenon (Bury, 1997, p. 1).

In the pre-modern period, the concept of health did not appear as much in the everyday discourse of ordinary people as it does today. However, as Baudrillard points out the understanding of health has become a status-related social imperative than a biological imperative in modern time (Baudrillard, 2016, p. 178). Thus, the conditions which were not seen as illness in the first place considered as ordinary situations of daily life or approached by God, are recently defined as diseases (Szasz, 2007, p. 41). Health, illness and disease can be observed not only as a biological and psychological condition, but also as a social condition. In other words, our experiences about health and illnesses are seen to be influenced by the social, economic and cultural characters that the society exists in (Clark, 2010, p. 1).

While it is not easy to figure out where the border between illness and health starts and ends, this situation can be turned into an opportunity today by certain powers such as big-pharma, biotechnology, health industry, etc. (Moynihan and Cassels, 2006; Conrad, 1992). Regarding to neo-liberalism economic-politics approach by the discourse of being healthy (Sezgin, 2011).

Health communication is a concept that emerged in the 1970s in terms of involving the individual in the decision-making process about her/his own health. The main goal of health communication is to influence the behavior of the individual and the society about their health perceptions in the direction of decision-making on their behalf and accomplishing this by sharing health information. Health communication has been described in many ways. The common view of the majority of these definitions is the effective role in the development of health both individual and public health outcomes (Schiavo, 2007;

Çınarlı, 2008) and, have been used effectively with campaigns to increase public awareness of health problems such as AIDS/HIV, SARS, smoking addiction (Ratzan, 2011). Well-planned health communication practices have positive results both for patients and the society.

The theories used in the dominant health communication approach are limited to individual knowledge, attitude and behavior modification models. The cultural dimensions of health communication are often ignored, and communication in the field of healthcare applications is mostly structured in a top-down manner in paternalist sense (Lupton, 1994, p. 57). Consequently, communication is typically understood as transferring and perceiving health information (Waisbord and Obregon, 2012, pp. 10-13).

In the critical analysis of Dutta-Bergman (2005) for three theories that are widely used in health communication campaigns and which form the dominant cognitive approach, he indicates that the language used ignores the contexts in which communicative meanings are structured. In addition, Dutta-Bergman also states that although different health communication approaches have been developed today, the approaches used so far are systematically structured based on the dominant approach.

Bauman (2014) points out that the reproduction of the conditions of social life is now carried out by things other than collective social tools and, that all its overwhelming pressure is imposed almost directly on the individual. In this sense individuals are their own guide and teacher. In today's discourse the body is indisputably 'private property' and, its care is left to its owner. When considering this approach of Bauman, it could be concluded that the theories/models commonly used in dominant health communication support this approach.

Deborah Lupton explains in her article (Lupton, 1994), which is one of the pioneering study about critical health communication perspective focusing on critical health communication, that the content of dominant health communication is traditionally done by a top-down manner that flows from the central authority to the periphery. Critical perspective structures health communication as a political process and draws attention to the power relations that determine the relations between classes in society. It identifies the communication as 'the ability to shape social context' and, argues that power is at the center of defining problems and solutions (Dutta, 2010). Consequently, ignores social problems and inequality which exist in the society.

Health communication practices done recently have moved away from addressing considerably public health issues (Depp, 2011, pp. 16-25) and, become more individualized. At the same time, it is seen that today's health policies and services have transformed from the understanding of conducting a collective struggle against social risk to an understanding of supporting capital accumulation. The ongoing health communication, which is structured on the discourse of 'being healthy' works towards producing consent in the consumption of health services and products. As a result of this it raised the question of whether health is a right or a commodity.

Dissemination of Health Information and Television

Healthcare and services have recently become more widespread and complex. In the face of this increasing information and variety of services put the individual in a more passive position than active contrary to expectations. Besides many topics, current information in the field of health is also now accessible via media tools. As such, access to health information and health communication practices gain more importance. The media are used effectively by the public-private sector and NGOs in health communications and applications. However, these activities, especially by the private sector, are carried out within the framework of the marketing approach of the institution.

Although the media have many advantages for informing the public, the source and content of the information provided can function in favor of power focuses that hold the apparatus, not in favor of the individual. The 1980s, when neoliberalism emerged, witnessed a radical transformation of the media industry. Especially with the tendency of television from public broadcasting to private broadcasting since the 1980s (Adaklı, 2010), the conglomeration of media organizations has brought these discussions at the center of media studies.

Mass media has the potential to significantly or negatively alter how health-related information is spread and received by different populations (De Jesus, 2013, p. 525). Although the media marginalizes certain ideas and keeps them out of the agenda (especially the political, economics causes of diseases), it still plays an active role in creating agenda about health and disease in the public (Karpf, 1988, p. 2; Dutta, 2007). The discovery and spread of the internet and developments in information and communication technologies (ICTs) have decreased the effectiveness of traditional media in this field. But television is still actively used in dissemination of health information. The audience can access health information both through the health programs broadcast during the daytime and the television series broadcast in prime time. While these contents entertain the audience, they can raise awareness by drawing attention to the health problems (Brodie et al., 2001; Murphy et al., 2008).

Announcing a health problem to the public, adopting a desired health behavior to large masses is possible with the campaigns to be carried out through mass media (Bulduklu and Koçak, 2010, p. 73). In particular, television is the most effective tolls used in this field. Television is actively used by both government and non-governmental organizations in health-related campaigns such as the importance of physical activity for health, substance abuse, communicable diseases, AIDS. In fact, if the subject is not put on the agenda of the television sufficiently, caused the opinion that it does not have the necessary effect on the public (Turow and Coe, 1993, p. 130).

Television is an important source of information about health and, it is also the medium where both positive and negative health-related messages paradoxically exist. Television health perspective is biomedical approach and, diseases are treated with drugs or machines (Çınarlı, 2019, p. 153). Television produces an understanding that disregards or mitigates the most important determinants of health such as social, economic and political factors.

In television health programs where healthcare professionals, mostly physicians, are hosted and, disease, cutting-edge treatment methods are discussed. Although the format and discourse change according to the broadcast time and the targeted audience of the television channel, the content generally remains the same. Anne Karpf addresses health programs broadcasted on television in four main approaches (Karpf, 1988). Although these four approaches do not have definite limits, they are common in today's media culture. These are the medical approach, the consumer approach, the look after yourself approach and the environmental approach.

Research Methodology

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) see 'language as social practice' and consider the 'context of language use' to be crucial (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). In the study, within the scope of critical discourse analysis method, how the relations of power are structured in discourse will be analyzed. In this context, by using Norman Fairclough's dialectical rational approach method will be used to analyze the words, concepts and body language used by the healthcare professionals namely the actors, while performing the social action in the context of ideology.

As we know the critical approach of CDA characterizes scholars rather than their methods. CDA scholars and their researches are socio-politically committed to social equality and justice. They are specifically interested in the discursive production/reproduction of power abuse and the resistance against such domination. CDA is more problem-oriented than discipline oriented (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 63).

Critical discourse analysis sees the language used in speaking and writing as a form of social actions. Defining special discourse as a social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a discursive action and situations, institutions and social structure. Critical discourse analysis focuses on the analysis of recognizing powers implicit/explicit, concealed, blurring visible sovereign structures with the use of language (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, pp. 6–12).

In the research health programs broadcasted in the mainstream media channels in Turkey will be analyzed. HT Sağlık (HT Health)-Haber Türk Channel and Sağlık Kontrolü (Health Check)-CnnTürk Channel. Both are the longest running television programs about health issue in Turkey. The program's analysis is limited to six months of 2018 which are April, May, June, October, November and December and contains 49 episodes. Health Check Program includes 24 episodes. Each episode takes about 44–47 minutes and HT Health Program includes 25 episodes. Each episode takes an average of 22–25 minutes. In the study television health programs analyzed in line with the assumptions of the research. The analysis that includes a qualitative research method includes: Branches and occupational diversity of health professionals participating in the programs. Sector representations of the participating guests; public and private sector. The way discussing health problems and health promotion. The content of solution's

suggestions and approaches; preventive health services, diagnostic/therapeutic services and, language, images used in the programs.

The reasons to choose these specific 6 months period are:

The first reason is the broadcasting period of the programs and the second reason is seasonal reasons. Which means;

These months indicate seasonal transitions. In the autumn, flu is always on the agenda. Furthermore, the autumn is a common occurrence in communicable diseases and digestive infections due to water pollution and air pollution. For children it's time for returning to school, millions of children are involved in crowded environments at the same time. These are the months when both climate change and related diseases and human mobility are most intense. In short, my aim is to observe that real-time health problems especially public health problems and the topics covered in these programs overlap or not.

Furthermore, preferring television for the research universe is related with Turkish sociological infrastructure. Turkish people still mostly trust television as a source of information (69.2%) and television viewing rate is 86.7% (RTÜK, 2018). This ratio gets higher for older people (probably suffering at least one chronic disease). In access to health information in Turkey, television is in the first place. These programs target female audience while women are responsible for the health of the family in Turkey. Everything is all there; there are health professionals or celebrated doctors. This is the general view of the Turkish audience.

In addition to, Turkey health literacy researches show that only one in three people have an 'adequate health literacy' (SES Sendikası, 2014; Turkish Health Ministry, 2018) To sum up for all these reasons listed above, television will be a reasonable field of study.

Analysis of Turkish Television Health Programs in Term of Critical Health Communication

The study aims to analyze television health programs' content. Branches and occupational diversity of health professionals participating in the programs. Sector representations of the participating guests; public or private. The way discussing health problems and health promotion. The content of solution's suggestions and approaches; preventive health services, diagnostic/therapeutic services and, language, images used in the programs.

Critical discourse analysis sees language as a means of social action. It argues that power and hegemony are structured by the language. In the study, the dialectical rational approach method was used to explain how those who have power in the field of health (health professionals, big pharma, medical technology) use language in order to build and maintain their hegemony in the health communication practices on television. This approach analyzes not only language-structured discourse, but also body language. Accordingly, in the study, besides the language used in the program, the guests' body language is also analyzed.

In the 49 analyzed episodes, among the 108 participating specialists, only 5 guests are in the field of internal medicine and, there is no public health specialists.

Only 16 of the participating expert guests are in the public sector, while the remaining 92 represents the private health sector. In the programs advanced medical technology and new treatment methods are introduced or discussed rather than public health problems and solutions. Almost all the guests attending are physicians. Both the side effects of treatment and social security coverage are mitigated or keep out of agenda. Title of institutions represented by the guests participating in the program are clearly published.

Power Discourse

The power over health is completely in the hands of physicians in the programs and, constantly physicians are hosted to talk about disease and health (Table 1). Thus, the health discourse is under the control of 'biomedical discourse'. Most of the experts participating in the programs are in the field of surgical sciences (Table 2).

Table 1. Proportion of Participants

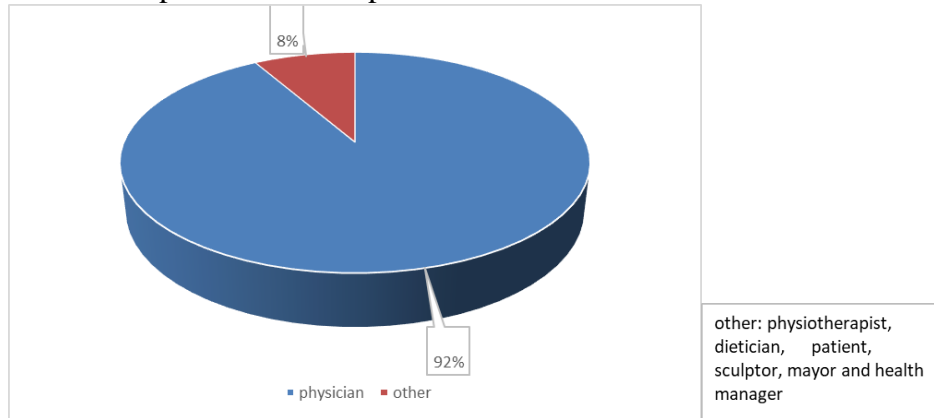
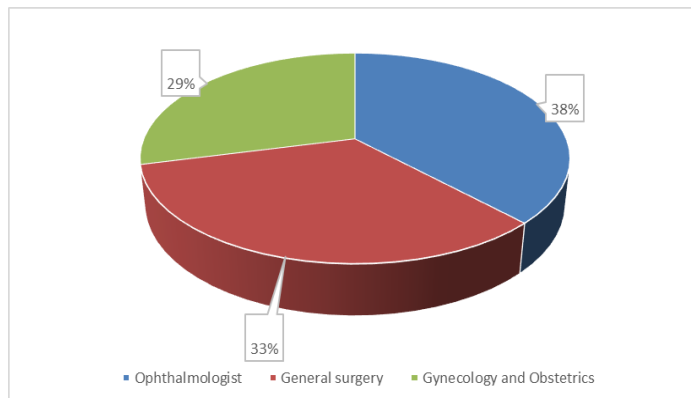


Table 2. Most Attended Branches



Given information is generally about new advanced treatment methods and medical technology. Surgical method is presented as the 'single solution' for health problems. Such as zygomatic implants, stomach reduction surgery, robotic

surgery, surgery solution to obesity, new generation eye surgeries, new generation lenses and new developments in IVF treatment. These contents are constantly being repeated in the programs.

The power established on health information is under the control of physicians with this discourse. As a result of this sovereignty of physicians, it is ignored that health is a social phenomenon in terms of body, spiritual and social aspects.

Re/production of Power in the Context of Language Use

Fairclough defines facial expressions, body language which is visual elements of speech language, in discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2015, p. 125).

All guests participating in these programs are extremely stylish and they wear suits. They are not wearing white coats and do not have a stethoscope. The guest sitting on the sofa, leaning back gives a confident, dominant impression. As if saying 'yes I am here but it is not that much easy to reach to me'. The ongoing conversation between the announcer and the guest gives the impression as if there was no audience. The participants do not look directly at the camera, they look at each other. Sometimes guests sit opposite each other with the presenter or stand up against each other. But there is always a certain distance between them (Figures 1–2).

Figure 1. The Participant and Presenter Position in the Program



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAuaxY9Ft9M> 2nd June 2018 HT Health Program/ Haber Türk Channel

Figure 2. The Participant and Presenter Position in the Program



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zTE6jwvp51k> 24 November 2018 Health Check Program / CnnTürk Channel.

In the programs, while explaining the method of treatment the guest uses a model and goes into a lot of details and terminology, as if she/he is lecturing medical students in amphitheater (Figure 3).

Figure 3. The Use of Model in the Program

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QovcHgJHys> 21st April 2018 Health Check Program / CnnTürk Channel

The announcer is constantly referring to the expert guests as "professor" (Hocam) not by her or his name. This is an important use of language in Turkey recognizing of authority.

Ignoring the Social Determinations of Health and Putting the Responsibility on the Individual

While explaining the disease and its causes social determinants of health are mostly ignored. Especially, while explaining the common health problems such as obesity and COPD (Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease) all responsibility is given to the individual. It is also repeated constantly that the only cause of COPD is smoking. The given perception is that if an individual gives up smoking, there will be no COPD. Environmental pollution caused by the over production of the industry or coal power plants (Gümüşel, 2015) are not mentioned.

"We know the reason is smoking".

"...smoking in most people, air pollution in some" (Karakoca, 2018).

Even though the specialist physician who emphasized that COPD disease increases in winter has linked the cause to individual cases, not to environmental pollution. Smokers are always the responsible, not insufficient health services, for patients who could not be hospitalized and lost their lives. Because there was no vacant bed, because of COPD's patients.

"...in the first place in hospital occupation" (Karakoca, 2018).

"COPD comes from preventable diseases if smoking is stopped" (Karakoca, 2018).

Environmental pollution and stress factors due to overproduction are ignored or mitigated. About obesity disease treatment only surgical methods are discussed in all of 49 episodes analyzed.

"Obesity surgeries became popular" (representor).

"These surgeries prevent cancer and prolong life by ten years".

"... You will do this surgery to get rid of death" (Türkçapar, 2018).

All guests participating in the programs about obesity disease are in the surgical branch. A perception is created as if obesity disease can heal only by surgical methods. There is no real cause of obesity disease. Specialist guests participating throughout the programs never mentioned that: Fast-foods are cheaper and easier to access than natural foods, economic and social barriers to healthy and balanced nutrition and food additives (WHO, 2020). All experts participating in the program are the best in their field. If a problem occurs in the treatment, the physician is not responsible for this.

"The patient... must believe" (because he/she didn't believe enough to the treatment).
"... a little bit of unluck".
"...this is fortune" (Gürbüz, 2018).

Talking about knee and joint prosthesis operations, the physician puts all the responsibility on the patient after the operation occurring problems. No matter the participant represents public or private health sector.

Communication is made with an approach that does not see the socio-cultural and economic factors of the society or is completely excluded. It is frequently repeated that most of the health problems are caused by our personal mistakes. It alienates the audience by creating the perception that the audience does not listen to the physician.

"...not consuming healthy food..." "... does not do sports..." (Demirsoy, 2018).
"Turkish society is not a society that loves exercise" (Şeber, 2018).

Although individual lifestyle factors such as smoking, exercise and nutrition are cited as the main cause of health problems, the main factors of inequality in the society should not be seen separately from the socio-economic environment (Shaw et al., 2009, p. 231).

Production of Consent in the Context of Language Use

All the expert guests participating in the programs are given the impression that they are the best in their own field. The program presenter introduces the guest in such announcements.

"An important, expert, experienced physician in his /her own field..."
"We chose the best and most specialized physician".

By presenting expert guest in this way; the perception that every treatment and method he will say is indisputably correct and fixed with his experience shows that he/she is accepted by the media authority from the very beginning of the program. In the discourse, the perception that the information given in the field of health is thus the most recent and acceptably the best.

"I came to your hospital, I saw, there is a very strong team" (presenter, Health Check).

Moreover, while this discourse is being created, the presenter as an actor of the discourse firstly proves the situation on her behalf.

Participating guests also use the 'I language' which supports the content of the program as a scientific authority and gives the impression that he/she is a dominant power over the treatment methods. Establishing authority over knowledge in the context of the discourse of I language such as.

"I'm the first doctor to realize this, in the World".

"I did the intra-bronchial cleaning".

"I was the first to apply obesity surgery".

While talking about the treatment methods, the participating specialist widely uses the 'language of fear'. The physician creates a discourse by exaggerating, dramatizing and using metaphors.

"...cause to deadly disease, if..."

"...not a cosmetic problem" (Barlas, 2018).

The specialist giving information about varicose vein diseases, producing consent by warning audience "...is more serious than cosmetic".

While participants describe the disease, they commonly use metaphors in examples in the production of meaning. Expressing that the body is objectified with the process of capitalism and Foucault also says that one of the process of bio-power is the mechanization of the body (Foucault, 2006, p. 63; Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi, 2011).

"...given generally an example... one changes car's oil filter, gas filter or everything of one's car so often... but when the hormones of one is diminished, I should put them back, should adjust the doses again... I should get my youth levels... unfortunately there is no effort in this way" (Aytekin, 2018).

With this discourse, the physician explains that old age is not a process of life, but a pathological condition and, creates the perception that it can reverse the life cycle with hormone replacement.

New disease concepts are produced in the program such as undiagnosed diseases. The term of undiagnosed disease is actually the condition in which the physician has not enough time for the patient because of work burden. Moreover, it is the output of poor health policies. In a system where a physician examines an average of 100–150 patients per day (Çamsarı, 2013). The physician will not be able to devote enough attention and time to the patient. As a result, this will cause either delay or misdiagnosis in the diagnosis. Through the inequality applications of the neoliberal system's undiagnosed diseases will arise and create a new market area. Increasing the visibility of health professionals in the media; it is the visible democratization of the discourse that involves the reduction of the clear indicators of the power asymmetry between physician and patients who are individuals of unequal institutional power. Dissemination of health information through television health programs is an example of that. For example: The fact that physicians participating in these programs seem comfortable and openly responding to every

question, causes the illusion of ‘there is no access problem’ in the audience side. This tendency can be interpreted as not the destruction of the power asymmetry but its transformation into unseen forms (Fairclough, 2015, p. 131). Thus, consent is produced in the society without being forced through discursive democratization. In other words, the problems that result in the realization of the physician-patient relationship are entirely because the patient cannot define the correct question or problem communicatively. The use of widely occupational jargon and, giving unnecessary details about the disease and treatment create confusion, rather than informing the audience.

Conclusion

Althusser counts mass media among the ideological apparatus of the state in which the state ideology is maintained. Unlike repressive state apparatuses the ideological apparatuses of the state take place in the private sphere and, they establish their hegemony by producing consent without pressure. It works as an ideological apparatus for the production and maintenance of capitalist production relations in the media. While doing this, it adds uniqueness to the individual and makes it subjective and, structures its discourse directly by addressing the individual, calls or names individuals as subjects (Althusser, 2002). Health communication discourse made by offering personalized options with the concepts of ‘personalized medicine’, ‘personalized treatment method’ is also an ideological approach addressing the subject individually. The message and action given in health communication with media are ideological. Although it creates a perception as if there is a subject in the discourse, it is an effort for the marketing of the products/services in the subtext.

In addition to while explaining health problems and treatment methods in the programs, a language consisting of medical terms and concepts is used instead of a simple language that the individual can understand. Simple health problems are explained with a statement that “if not treated in time, it will be fatal”. Using incomprehensible words followed by metaphors in discourse could be cause confusion in the audience. The side effects of the treatments are not mentioned and, the procedure is conveyed as if it was very simple. If there is a problem during the treatment process the patient is responsible for not listening properly and doing what is said.

In the programs diagnosis and treatment methods are mostly described. The factors which are the main source of the diseases are not taken into the agenda. The causes of the diseases are explained more superficially, depending on individual behavior and attitudes. As a result, the main factors outside the individual's access will never come to the consideration. In the communication, the main responsible of this whole process is excluded from the discourse. Health communication through television is structured within the framework of bio-power, evidence-based medicine discourse.

The constant presence of physicians in the programs creates the impression in the audience that only the physicians ‘have a say’ in the field of health. Looking at

the holistic, representatives of other areas of expertise, decision makers and policy makers that have a direct or indirect impact on health should also be included in these programs. Health which has economic, cultural, environmental and political aspects, is naturally within the responsibility of the individual since it is not spoken in this context.

Inspired by the concept of Beck (2011), health problems are a phenomenon with boomerang effects, especially in the public health. Since decision-makers and other representatives of the health sector are not represented in the programs and, access to treatment methods and social security coverage are not mentioned in this respect the conclusion could be drawn that the audience is not sufficiently informed about healthcare.

As long as the television is the primary source to access to health information for the community with insufficient health literacy such as Turkey, the television health programs content becomes more important. In line with this analysis, television health programs should be structured with a concept in which all stakeholders of the issue should be represented regarding the basic health of the individual and society, including public health practices and policies. Constructing health communication and practices within the framework of public broadcasting principle will also have a positive effect on the development of health communication in the society.

Otherwise, if access to health information is left only to private television broadcasting in the society, the implementation will be inevitably aimed at the promotion and marketing of the private health sector rather than the awareness of health communication in the society.

References

- Adaklı, G. (2010). Neoliberalizm ve medya: dünyada ve Türkiye’de medya endüstrisinin dönüşümü. (Neoliberalism and the media: the transformation of media industry in the world and Turkey). *Mülkiye*, 34(269), 67–84.
- Althusser, L. (2002). *İdeoloji ve devletin ideolojik aygıtları*. (Ideology and ideological state apparatuses). 5th Edition. Translated by Y. Alp, M. Özışık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Ayaz, F., Ayaz, H. (2017). *Sağlık iletişimi ve medyayı konu alan lisansüstü tezlerle yönelik bir analiz*. (The analysis of health communication and media related researches between 1988–2017). *Atatürk İletişim Dergisi*, 147–172.
- Aytekin, A. F. (2018). *HT sağlık*. (HT health). (C. Erenoğlu, Presenter). İstanbul: HaberTürk Channel.
- Barlas, S. (2018). *HT sağlık*. (HT health). (C. Erenoğlu, Presenter). İstanbul: HaberTürk Channel.
- Baudrillard, J. (2016). *Tüketim toplumu*. (The consumer society). 8th Edition. Translated by H. Deliçaylı, F. Keskin. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Bauman, Z. (2014). *Parçalanmış hayat- postmodern ahlak denemeleri*. (Life in fragments and essays in postmodern morality). 1st Edition. Translated by İ. Türkmen. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Beck, U. (2011). *Risk toplumu*. (Risk modernity: towards a new modernity). 2nd Edition. Translated by K. Özdoğan, B. Doğan. İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.
- Brodie, M., Foehr, U., Rideout, V., Bear, N., Miller, C., Flournoy, F., et al. (2001). Communicating health information through the entertainment media. *Health Affairs*, 20(1), 192–199.

- Bulduklu, Y., Koçak, A. (2010). *Sağlık iletişimi*. (Health communication). 1st Edition. İstanbul: Akademi Basın.
- Bury, M. (1997). *Health and illness in a changing society*. 1st Edition. London & New York: Routledge.
- Çamsarı, U. M. (2013). *Bir hekim günde kaç hasta bakabilir?* (How many patients a day can a physician examine?) Retrieved from: <https://www.medimagazin.com.tr/guncel/genel/tr-bir-hekim-gunde-kac-hasta-bakabilir-11-681-54189.html>. [Accessed 25 May 2020.]
- Çınarlı, İ. (2008). *Sağlık iletişimi ve medya*. (Health communication and media). 1st Edition. Ankara: Yordam.
- Çınarlı, İ. (2019). *21. yüzyıl için sağlık iletişimi*. (Health communication for the 21st century). 1st Edition. İstanbul: Nobel Kitapevi.
- Clark, A. (2010). *The sociology of healthcare*. 2nd Edition. London: Pearson Education Limited.
- Conrad, P. (1992). Medicalization and social control. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18(Aug), 209–232.
- De Jesus, M. (2013). The impact of mass media health communication on health decision-making and medical advice-seeking behavior of U.S. Hispanic population. *Health Communication*, 28(5), 525–529.
- Demirsoy, E. (2018). *HT sağlık*. (HT health). (C. Erenoğlu, Presenter). İstanbul: Haber Türk Channel.
- Depp, U. H. (2011). *Sağlık hizmetlerinin doğası: metalaştırmaya karşı dayanışma*. (The nature of healthcare: solidarity against commodification). In L. Panitch, C. Leys (eds.), *Kapitalizmde Sağlık Sağlıksızlık Semptomları*. Translated by Y. Kitap. 2nd Edition. İstanbul: Yordam.
- Dutta, M. J. (2007). Health information processing from television: the role of health orientation. *Health Communication*, 21(1), 1–9.
- Dutta, M. J. (2010). The critical cultural turn in health communication: reflexivity, solidarity, and praxis. *Health Communication*, 25(6-7): 534–539.
- Dutta-Bergman, M. J. (2005). Theory and practice in health communication campaigns: a critical interrogation. *Health Communication*, 18(2), 103–122.
- Fairclough, N. (2015). Söylemin diyalektiği. (Dialectic of discourse). In B. Çoban, Z. Özarslan (eds.), *Söylem ve İdeoloji*, 137–146. Translated by B. Çoban, Z. Özarslan, N. Ateş, A. E. Pilgar. 2nd Edition. İstanbul: Su Yayınları.
- Foucault, M. (2006). *Hapishanenin doğuşu*. (Discipline and punishment). 3rd Edition. Translated by M. A. Kılıçbay. Ankara: İmge Yayınevi.
- Gümüşel, D. (2015). *Ödenmeyen sağlık faturası: Türkiye’de kömürlü termik santralleri bizi nasıl hasta ediyor?* (The unpaid health bill: how coal power plants make us sick in Turkey). HEAL – Health and Environment Alliance.
- Gürbüz, H. (2018). *Sağlık Kontrolü*. (Health check). (L. Ataman, Presenter) İstanbul: CnnTürk Channel. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sRUrcnvf5KQ>. [Accessed 15 February 2020.]
- Illich, I. (2011). *Sağlığın gaspı*. (Limits to medicine nemesis: the ecpropriation of health). 2nd Edition. Translated by S. Sertabiboğlu. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Karakoca, Y. (2018). *HT health*. (C. Erenoğlu, Presenter) İstanbul: HaberTürk Channel. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cx4Sx1ShinY>. [Accessed 7 February 2020.]
- Karpf, A. (1988). *Doctoring the media: the reporting of health and medicine*. 1st Edition. London: Routledge.
- Lupton, D. (1994). Toward the development of critical health communication praxis. *Health Communication*, 6(1), 55–67.

- Moynihan, R., Cassels, A. (2006). *Satılık hastalıklar*. (Selling sickness). 1st Edition. Translated by G. Tamer, E. Yıldırım. İstanbul: Hayykitap.
- Murphy, S. T., Hether, H. J., Rideout, V. (2008). *How healthy is prime time? An Analysis of health content in popular prime time television programs*. Hollywood: The Kaiser Family Center & The USC Annenberg Norman Lear Center's.
- Nordenfelt, L. (2014). On the notion of health as ability. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 21(Sup.1), 48–52.
- Ratzan, S. C. (2011). Health communication: beyond recognition to impact. *Journal of Health Communication*, 16(2), 109–111.
- RTÜK – Turkish Radio and Television of Supreme Council (2018). *Televizyon izleme eğilimleri araştırması*. (The research of television audience trends). RTÜK.
- Schiavo, R. (2007). *Health communication – From theory to practice*. 1st Edition. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Şeber, G. (2018). *HT sağlık*. (HT health). (C. Erenoğlu, Presenter) İstanbul: HaberTürk Channel.
- SES Sendikası (2014). *Türkiye sağlık okuryazarlığı araştırması*. (Turkish health literacy research). SES Sendikası.
- Sezgin, D. (2011). *Tıbbileştirilen yaşam bireyselleştirilen sağlık*. (The medicalization of life and individualised health). 1st Edition. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları
- Shaw, M., Dorling, D., Smith, G. D. (2009). Yoksulluk, toplumsal dışlanma ve azınlıklar. (Poverty, social exclusion and, minority inside). In M. Marmot, R. G. Wilkinson, B. Adiloğlu, C. Ergül, N. Erten, İ. Kayı et al. (eds.), *Sağlığın Sosyal Belirleyicileri*. 1st Edition. İstanbul: İnsev
- Szasz, T. (2007). *The medicalization of everyday life-selected essay*. 1st Edition. Syracuse University Press.
- Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi (2011). *Biyoktidar-Biyopolitika*. (Bioactider-Biopolitica). Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi (122/ Özel sayı).
- Türkçapar, A. (2018). *HT sağlık*. HT health. (C. Erenoğlu, Presenter) İstanbul: HaberTrük Channel. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yUeinF3bhPc>. [Accessed 7 February 2020.]
- Turkish Health Ministry (2018). *Türkiye sağlık okuryazarlığı düzeyi ve ilişkili faktörleri araştırması*. (Turkey health literacy levels and related factors research). Turkish Health Ministry.
- Turow, J., Coe, L. (1993). Curing television's ills the portrayal of health care. In B. C. Thornton, G. L. Kreps (eds.), *Perspectives on Health Communication*. Waveland Press Inc.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2016). Critical discourse studies: a sociocognitive approach. In R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, 62–85. London: SAGE.
- Waisbord, S., Obregon, R. (2012). Theoretical divides and convergence in global health communication. In R. Obregon, S. Waisbord (eds.), *The Handbook of Global Health Communication*, 8–33. John Wiley & Sons.
- WHO (2020). *Obesity and its roots*. Retrieved from: <https://www.who.int/news-room/events/detail/2020/03/04/default-calendar/world-obesity-day>. [Accessed 22 September 2020.]
- Wodak, R., Meyer, M. (2016). Critical discourse studies: history, agenda, theory and methodology. In R. Wodak, M. Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. 3rd Edition. London: SAGE.