

Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications



Quarterly Academic Periodical, Volume 8, Issue 4, October 2022
URL: <https://www.athensjournals.gr/ajmmc> Email: journals@atiner.gr
e-ISSN: 2407-9480 DOI: 10.30958/ajmmc



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Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications

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

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The Athens Journal of Mass Media and
Communications

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

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

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
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How Do Japanese Perceive Foreigners? Portrayals of Foreigners in Japanese Media

By Hwiman Chung *

A stereotype is a generalization that people share over certain objects, and stereotyping is a way for the media to convey images in a certain way. Studies regarding stereotypes or stereotyping have focused on minorities, in the mainstream media. In addition, studies have found the public's perceptions over certain ethnic groups or people are heavily influenced by media contents. This study also focuses on the stereotypical portrayal, created by the Japanese media over certain ethnic groups, especially, white models, male or female.

Keywords: stereotypes, stereotyping, gender role, frame

Introduction

As Lippman (1922) pointed out, media images construct pseudo environments that only approximate reality. Gerbner and his colleagues have argued that the media tell stories over time that provide viewers with an understanding of how society operates and why things are the way they are (Gerbner and Gross, 1976). With respect to racial stereotypes, the media's construction of reality influences media viewers' understanding about who they are and what they are. Hence, individual stories about race and its stereotypes become summary messages about those races – Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and even Whites.

A stereotype is a generalization that people share over certain objects. Oxford dictionary defines a stereotype as “a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing.” In social psychology, a “stereotype” is defined as “any thought widely adopted about specific types of individuals or certain ways of behaving intended to represent the entire group of those individuals or behaviors as a whole” (McGarty et al., 2002). Media depiction in mass media, such as TV, movies or magazines, may be categorized as so called “Stereotyping.” Stereotyping is a way for the media to convey images in a certain way, and it is the ready-made label, symbol, image, identity, and ideology used in interpersonal communications to predict and perceive other (Chi and Baldwin, 2004).

Most of studies regarding stereotype or stereotyping have focused on minorities, such as blacks, Hispanics, or Asians, in main-stream media, such as Hollywood movies, TV dramas, or advertisements. And, these studies have found that public's perceptions over certain ethnic groups or people are heavily influenced by media contents. Out of media contents, advertising has been playing a major role in shaping public attitudes and perceptions because of its influence on

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people, in particular young adults, and many scholars have found there is some sort of stereotypical portrayal over those minorities in ads (Eisend, 2019; Ferguson et al., 1990).

This study is also focusing on stereotypical portrayal, created by Japanese media (advertising) over certain ethnic group (especially, white models, male or female) and its impact on young Japanese adults. Japan has been the most successful country, economically, since World War II. Also, Japan has been heavily influenced by American capitalism, while American military controlled Japanese system after WWII. During this occupation, Japanese had developed positive impressions over Americans (Tanabe, 2011). Japan is the country that had used most often American actors and actresses (mostly white) for their advertisements. Although many actors and actresses appeared in Japanese commercials and advertisements, there has been no specific studies on how Japanese companies use foreign actors and actresses and on how those foreign actors and actresses are portrayed in Japanese advertisements. Especially, these days, there are some conflicting reports regarding between Japanese perceptions of foreigners and foreigners' experiences in Japan. That is, although Japanese perceive foreigners positive, majority of foreigners in Japan have negative experiences by Japanese (PEW Research Center, 2016). If majority of foreigners have negative experiences in Japan, Japanese real attitudes toward foreigners might not be revealed at the time of survey. Therefore, it will be interesting to see how foreigners are really portrayed in Japanese media, because that real portrayal by media may explain Japanese's real attitudes toward foreigners.

This study consists of two parts. First, we conducted in-depth interview to understand how Japanese adolescents (14-17) perceive foreign people, and how they developed those perceptions. And, second part of this study is on testing whether those perceptions of foreign people are portrayed in media, especially targeting teenagers and young adults. Framing theory by Goffman (1979) was used for content analysis to compare foreign models and Japanese models in advertisements in Japanese magazines.

Literature Review

Media and Stereotypes

Because there is no specific study on portrayal of foreign actors and actresses in Japanese media, we may be able to infer from the results of those studies on minority's portrayal in advertisements. As discussed above, stereotypes can be defined in many other ways. For some cognitive psychologists, stereotyping is a value-neutral mechanism creates some categories, so that people are able to manage the swirl of data presented to them (Lippmann, 1922). Hence, to cognitive psychologist, stereotypes are "beliefs about the personal attributes shared by people in a particular group or social category" (Taylor et al., 1999, p. 174). To some sociologists, stereotypes are the results of acculturation and group interaction. So, stereotypes are learned through in-group interactions. In his studies about stereotypes, Berg (2002) argued stereotypes are believed, learned through

repetition, and stereotypes are ideological. In any definition, stereotypes are categorizing the other (races, ethnic groups, religion, beliefs, etc.) into simplified and normalized beliefs.

Depictions of gender and minorities by the mass media (television and movies) have been of interest to researchers because of the inherent social implications (e.g., Eisend, 2019). However, many media critics have long argued that mainstream media coverage of minorities such as blacks, Hispanics, and Asians is biased or stereotyped (Turk et al., 1989). They have argued that not only is the amount of attention given to minorities insufficient, but also the coverage that portrays minorities often misrepresents minorities and fosters stereotypes of them (Ericksen, 1981). The major problem of stereotypes is that those stereotypes (created especially by mass media) affect individual's knowledge, attitude, and behavior against a certain person or groups (including race, ethnic groups) (Eisend, 2019). For, example, exposure to sexualized advertising can lead to increased selfobjectification in both men and women (Eisend, 2019; Karsay et al., 2018).

For example, studies have shown that there are huge differences between 'real image' of blacks and 'reel image' of blacks by mass media. Take a pause and visualize the "reel" Blacks, which often appeared in Hollywood movies:

Lazy, fat, gambling with friends, gangster, shooting each other, sex, drug selling, gang fighting, etc. In his background, boss of gangsters or pimp in a limousine is collecting money from drug dealers or black (sometime white) prostitutes.

Can you picture him? If you picture white man, you must be from a different world. How about Latinos? Once occupied by blacks in "reel" is now being replaced with Latinos, Muslims, Chinese, and North Koreans. Only difference is the color of the skin and languages. However, "real" images of blacks are:

robbed of their property by whites, killed by whites without any reason, raped by whites, denied basic civil right for a long time, segregated and even lynched easily.

These were the images not by "reel" but by "real" for blacks in America for a long time. Then, why do we have totally different images against blacks? People have argued that these distorted images are mainly due to mass media (including Hollywood movies). Nowadays, Hollywood's motion pictures reach everyone in the USA and the world. Hence, cinematic illusions are created, nurtured, and distributed worldwide, reaching viewers everywhere, from Korea (even North Korea?) to Saudi Arabia. Blacks and Latinos images have an effect not only on Americans, but also on international audiences because of the power of Hollywood "reel" and the powerful distribution of those movies.

Another good example on distorted image by media is on the images of Arabs. Shaheen (2003) has studied for a long how media in America have distorted the images of Muslims, main Arabs (Arabs are only 12% of Muslims in the world, but Americans think Arabs = Muslims). According to him (2003), the images of Arabs have been cruelly distorted, so Americans can't even think what the real images of Arabs are. He also pointed out that the distorted (in his word, pernicious) images by media are sometimes reflected in the attitudes of actions of

American people (journalists and government officials). The best example was the bombing in Oklahoma City. Right after the bombing, even though there was no evidence that American of Arab descent was involved, they (Arabs) were instantly targeted as suspects. We also can see lots of these incidents in the USA.

In Japan, as stated above, Americans have been generously perceived by Japanese. Here, we mean Japanese think of Americans as friendly, trusty, hard-working, etc., very much opposite to those of images over Americans by other countries (PEW Research Center, 2016). This positive image of Americans is even stronger among the youth in Japan. The same research shows that 76% of Japanese youth (14-18) say that Americans are clever and inventive. Obviously, there are some historical backgrounds we have to consider – after WWII, Japan has been under US military control and American capitalism was introduced with other American cultures, such as pop music, and American sports, such as baseball. Hence, younger Japanese easily embraced American cultures through media. Baseball became the National game in Japan.

Even though we consider these historical backgrounds, it is very unusual that Japanese youth perceive Americans in that positive way.

Theoretical Background

After World War II, there had been dramatic changes in Japan in terms of politics and social movements. Japan rapidly adopted an American-style politics and were influenced by American cultures. In Japan, rapid industrial development transformed Japan into a post-industrial society. Since the rapid industrialization, Japan experienced growth of their middle classes and a concurrent increase in educational opportunities for both men and women.

Cultures and Values in Japan

Women's position in Japan has been disadvantaged by traditional Confucian cultures and Samurai cultures. Japan has a hierarchical social structure consisting of strong class consciousness and a patriarchal, large family system which tended to maintain separate and unequal roles for women and men. There are a few key ideas about gender that persist (Yamaguchi, 2000):

- Men should work outside the home.
- Genders should be brought up differently.
- Women are more suited to household work and child rearing than men.
- Full time housewives are valuable to society because of their family raising role.

As you can see, these persistent gender ideas have roots in feudal Japan. The roles also work within the vertical social structure of senior-junior relations. Generally, traits associated with individualism like assertiveness, independence, and self-reliance are poorly regarded by the Japanese compared to conformity,

being affectionate, and having leadership abilities. Japanese society has a pair of key concepts that explains the sometimes strange contradictions – *tatemae* and *honne*. *Tatemae* is who one is supposed to be. It is a set of morals people agree upon, such as being loyal or devoted to work. *Honne* is who someone actually is: the personal opinion and who the person is in reality. The gender roles and traits fall under the concept of *tatemae*. The way people really live in Japan, women having careers and men staying at home, are *honne* (Yamaguchi, 2000).

Confucianism has a strong impact on Japan in all aspects. In particular, women was controlled and subjugated under a Confucian culture in Japan. Japan has Samurai Confucianism which altered the face of Japanese society (Gelb and Palley, 1994). Unlike Korea's Confucianism which stresses the role of family in the society (therefore, in Korea, everything starts from family and then goes to community and to the country), Samurai Confucianism assigned loyalty to one's lord (*Shujin* in Japanese) prior to one's family. So, the loyalty to the lord will be the first and filial relation comes to second. Under this Samurai Confucianism, the role of women is primarily "heir providers, which consider women largely as vessels to insure paternity" (Gelb and Palley, 1994, p. 5). And, under this Samurai Confucianism, the husband is the absolute lord and master to the family and women.

Effects of Culture on Advertising

It has been found that culture is the most important factor capable of differentiating the behavioral patterns of the people of one society from another (Hofstede, 1991). Hofstede (1980) defined culture as "the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influences a group's response to its environment." Therefore, Hofstede called the culture "the software of the mind." Culture is also social norms and values, which are learned and shared by the members of a society. Culture influences members' behavior, their ways of thinking, their attitudes, and belief systems among people. Furthermore, culture regulates human behavior and determines whether specific behaviors are acceptable or not. As a form of social communication, advertising is considered to be particularly reflective of culture (Hong et al., 1987); thus, advertising should differ from country to country, culture to culture. A consumer who is exposed to a specific culture becomes committed to that culture's style of thinking and feeling, value system, attitudes and perceptions (Hall, 1976).

Researchers have long tried to show that advertising is influenced by culture and reflects culture. For instance, differences found in the level of informativeness are explained and supported by the cultural differences between eastern and western countries. Hall (1976) identified context as one of the key features that distinguishes the communication style of one culture from another. He suggested two different levels of communication -- high-context communication and low-context communication. Hall (1976) defined a high-context communication as "one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context communication is defined as just the opposite; i.e.,

the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code” (Hall, 1976, p. 79; Recited from Taylor et al., 1999, p. 3). Williamson (1994) provided the ideological role of advertising under the cultural contexts. She argued that meaning in advertising is not delivered to the audience. Instead, meaning is created by the audience, under the context of its cultural knowledge. Therefore, each meaning of advertising can be transferred differently by cultures, however, those meanings are reflecting cultural values of that specific time. This is why Jhally (1987) argued that all advertisements must be considered in light of cultural expectations.

Cultivation Theory

One of many theories we can use to explain the effects of media on people’s stereotypical perceptions over certain thing can be cultivation theory developed by Gerbner and Gross. The purpose of cultivation theory is to see how mass media programming (including movies) make repetitive patterns of images and representations to people over a long period time, and how those programming affect people about their perceptions of the world. According to the cultivation theory, mass media programming communicates information about the social environment that influences perceptions about the social world (Gerbner and Gross, 1976). This theory is concerned with the overall impact of television over a long period times rather than the influence of a single exposure to television program. In their 1976 study, Gerbner and Gross found, through a nation-wide survey, that television viewing makes a contribution to the “biasing” of conceptions of social reality with most age, sex, educational, and other groupings. They concluded that “TV appears to cultivate assumptions that fit its socially functional myths. -----, television may function as the established religion of the industrial order, relating to governance as the church did to the state in earlier time (p. 194).” Hence, the main proposition of the cultivation theory is that differences in perceptions of the world emerge as a result of varying degrees of exposure to television, such that heavy viewers believe in a reality consistent with that found on television. Cultivation scholars have found concordant results with the suggestion that heavy viewers of television are more likely to believe that the real world reflects media content than light viewers (Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1986). In other words, portrayals of crime and violence on television lead to increased fears and perceptions of danger among television viewers (especially, to heavy viewers).

As argued above, recognizing that the majority of portrayals of both African-Americans and Latinos in the mass media are far more negative than those of their white counterparts, and that these negative stereotypical depictions carried in the contents of mass media could have a significant influence on people’s perceptions against these groups, it is reasonable to propose that these types of mass media contents might cultivate increased racial discord among people from other countries.

This reasonable proposition can be applied to Japanese media and positive image of Americans by Japanese youth. If media contents’ depictions over white people or Americans result in the stereotypical perceptions, Japanese youth might

perceive those white people in stereotyped way, and this will be cultivated into stereotypical perceptions. In particular, those who do not have enough chances of contacting white people (e.g., Japanese) will have stereotypical view over these white people, and these stereotyping will be more likely presented in the media that Japanese youth have frequently used.

Framing Theory

Advertisements by nature are skewed. They do not reveal reality about gender relations (or other social dynamics). Instead, they offer lessons on how advertisers believe the culture views and accept gender (Klassen et al., 1993). Because advertisements rely on the audience to create meaning, they tend to use stereotypes shared by a mass audience (Kang, 1997). This stereotypical depiction of women and men has been found in many studies (e.g., Belknap and Leonard, 1991; Lenne et al., 2021). According to the results of these studies, advertisements have consistently confined women to traditional mother-, home- or beauty/sex-oriented roles that are not representative of women's diversity. In particular, female role stereotyping in advertising is nearly a universal phenomenon images of women in magazine advertisements remain generally weak, childish, dependent, domestic and subordinate (Ford et al., 1998; Kang, 1997) or sex-object (Sullivan and O'Connor, 1988).

Goffman (1987) introduced frame analysis in advertisement to explain how people frame their realities (same as “developing perceptions”) based on their experiences with mass media. Goffman recognized that visual images in advertisements are the main source of transmitting stereotypical views to media users. Many scholars argued that images in ads are the most powerful tool to transmit a certain message to consumers (e.g., Kang, 1997). Goffman's frame analysis has been used to understand how images or visuals in diverse media transmit the images or create perceptions. It involves examination of how visuals contrived, that is, how products and characters in ads are displayed. Analyzing the subtle messages in visuals (in Goffman's study, he used photos not visuals, but in this study, we focus on visual overall) is used to gain insight into how the ad creates stereotypical perceptions over females and over their roles in society. Although researchers have altered Goffman's basic coding categories over the years, the basic premise of frame analysis – examination of the placement and poses of males and females in advertising visuals to understand the gender role in ads, not concern about verbal in ads – remains the same.

For this study, we try to use the Goffman's frame analysis into Japanese magazine advertisements, but adding cultivation approach to the framework. Because of its emphasis on examining the subtleties of gender message in advertising images, frame analysis is especially useful when examining periodicals for media consumers such as teenagers or youth. In what follows, research questions and hypotheses will be provided, based on literatures reviewed in the previous sections.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

We are interested in the portrayals of foreign models in Japanese media, assuming, based on previous studies, that media portrayal will influence public's perceptions over certain group. We were also interested in whether there is a significant difference in portrayal of Japanese models and foreign models between magazines for youth and magazines for adults. As stated above, it is expected that there is a significant difference in terms of sex-role portrayal, because cultural values will have an influence over advertisement. It is also expected that there is a significant difference in terms of sex-role portrayal between Japanese models and foreign models, by the same reason. So, the following questions and hypotheses will be answered in this study.

Question 1: Is portrayal of Japanese model and foreign model different in Japanese media?

Hypothesis 1: It would be expected that Japanese media's depictions of foreign model (male and female) will be stereotyped in certain way.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a significant difference in portrayal of male and female in Japanese magazines.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a significant difference in portrayal between foreign model and Japanese model. That is, the portrayal of foreign model in ads is different from that of Japanese models in Japanese magazine ads.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a significant difference on Japanese media's depictions between foreign model and Japanese models in terms of frame analysis.

Method

For the purpose of this study, we utilized Goffman's frame analysis. Because Goffman didn't apply the cultural background to his study, there is no specific category to address Asian culture, especially Confucian cultural values (family values and role as a family member). We incorporated these values into Goffman's basic six categories. Also, we decided to include female's role into coding category, based on our findings from study 1. In addition to this, as found in previous studies, due to industrialization and western culture influx into Japan (Korea and Japan in their study), concept of female's role in society has changed significantly. Therefore, we expect that those changes will be addressed in the ad. Because of this expectation, we added this change into content analysis categories. Hence, a total categories analyzed in this study was seven. Below are the seven categories with operational definitions:

- 1) Relative Size – Women are shown smaller or lower, relative to men.
- 2) Feminine Touch – Women are constantly touching themselves or caressing themselves.
- 3) Function Ranking – Women are shown in occupational positions subordinate

to men.

- 4) Ritualization of Subordination – Women are shown in flirtatious or childish poses, such as sitting or lying down, canting of head or body, being embraced, leaning on others for supports.
- 5) Licensed Withdrawal – Women are shown as never quite a part of scene, possibly via far-off gazes.
- 6) Family Scenes – Women are shown or portrayed as mothers or caretakers.
- 7) Independence – Women are shown professionally, equal to men and self-assertive.

Data Collection

The magazine advertisement was the unit of analysis for this study. Magazines were selected based on the goal of this study that is comparison among magazines by age. Also, we tried to select popular magazines based on the number of circulations. Hence, the following magazines were selected for this study:

For adolescents and young adults – Seventeen, Cancam, Myojo, Pen

For adults – Brutus for male; Crea, More, Elle Japan for female; Bungei Shunju for both

From all magazines, the most recent available issue of each magazine was obtained. The dates of the issue were restricted to summer/fall and ranged from June to October 2016 and 2017. The sample was a convenience sample and we did not intend to generalize the findings to all Japanese magazines.

Coding Instrument

Main coding scheme was developed and modified based on previous studies and Goffman's frame analysis. For gender portrayal, we mainly used Goffman's categories of decoding behavior in advertisement. As stated above, one more frame category was added to Goffman's six categories. And, we added some other categories that were adopted from the previous studies regarding gender role, in order to answer the research questions under examination. Those variables analyzed included – product type, gender roles in ad, and Goffman's six categories of behavior. For gender portrayal and Goffman's six categories were adopted from previous studies (see appendix 1 for coding categories of the study).

Inter-Coder Reliability

For inter-coder reliability, Holsti's reliability (Wimmer and Dominick, 2016) calculation for nominal data was used. One hundred ads, coded by coders, were randomly selected to calculate the reliability. The inter-coder reliability of each coding category ranged from 0.69 to 0.99. There was no big discrepancy in terms of gender, product category, company name, and number of models in ads, but the reliability was relatively low for deciding the role of women in the ads (0.69) and

depiction of women in ads (0.71). For Goffman's categories, average inter-coder reliability was 0.81, and the composite reliability was 0.89.

Procedure

To do content analysis, researchers recruited students who are fluent in English and Japanese. Since translating coding schemes into Japanese may create differences in meanings, we decided to look for Japanese students who are fluent in English. Four undergrad students who are fluent in English were recruited for this study. One is male and three are female students. These four students were paired into two groups.

Each coding category was defined (definitions for each coding category were shared between coders and researchers during this session), and examples were given by using actual advertisements. Due to the low inter-coder reliability reported in previous studies (e.g., Chung and Ahn, 2003), specific care was taken to instruct the coders; first, regarding women's portrayal in the ads and second, Goffman's frame analysis. After the training session, the coders practiced a set of ads (24 different ads), and researchers answered their questions regarding the coding process. Discrepancies during the practice were discussed until an agreement was made. If the procedure did not resolve the discrepancies, the researcher made a final decision. Four coders worked in joint sessions coding every ad. The advertisements were coded for company, product category, brand name, the number of women, men, and children, the location of the ad, and for women's role portrayals such as age, job status, role in the ad, Goffman's categories, etc.

Results

Description of Data

Four hundred thirteen (413) total advertisements were collected from magazines. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the advertisements from each magazine. 142 (34%) of the 413 were from youth and young adult magazines. 271 (66%) ads were from adult magazines. 66% of the ads have at least either one Japanese or Asian model in the ads, and 63% of ads have at least one foreign model in the ads (the percentage does not add to 100% because there are some ads with Japanese/Asian models with foreign models). A majority of the products are fashion-related products, such as clothes or shoes (25.9%), cosmetics (16.7%), personal care and hygiene products (9.9%), followed by personal taste (8.0%), hotel/restaurant/resort (6.1%), alcohol drinks (5.8%), cleaning products (3.9%), foods (3.6%) and medicine and pharmaceutical products (3.1%). 61.7% were one-page ads and 38.3% were two-page ads. A majority of ads use one female or two female models (84%). Female models appeared most often in the romantic/fantasy place (25%) followed by outside (14%), home (10%) and work place (8%). In terms of job, most often portrayed as a "housewife or mother" (18.4%) or "professional or

business/career women” (20.6%), followed by “entertainment” (11.1%) (the percentage of location and job is for the first female model, not all female models).

Table 1. Number of Ads from Each Magazine

Magazine	Frequency	%
Brutus	67	16.2
Bungei	69	16.7
Cancam	30	7.3
Crea	35	8.5
Elle	54	13.1
More	46	11.1
Myojo	37	9.0
Pen	15	3.6
Seventeen	60	14.5
Total	413	100.0

Hypotheses Tests

Question 2 and Hypothesis 1. The results of focus group showed that there were some stereotypical perceptions by adolescents over foreign people. For example, those adolescents all agreed that they see more foreign models in sports or entertainment. And, most of comments on foreign models (foreigners in general) were centered on appearance, such as sexy, good looking, etc. In content analysis, we tested this through cross-tab comparisons between Japanese and foreign models. For Japanese models, a total of 32.2% were located at “outside home” or “romantic places”, comparing to 59.4% of foreign models. Also, 17.2% of Japanese model was located at “home” but that of foreign model was 7.5%. Finally, 21.7% of Japanese model was located at “work place”, comparing to 10.2% for foreign model.

To compare the frequency difference between Japanese and foreign models, variables were recoded into one variable. Japanese models were recoded into value 1 and foreign models were recoded into value 2. Those having both Japanese and foreign models together were excluded from the variable, and then cross-tab was run on all dependent variables. Table 2 shows the results of frequency difference between Japanese models and foreign models. First, chi-square confirms the frequency difference between models ($\chi^2=72.41$, d.f.=3, $p<0.01$). Second, as seen in the table, 41.3% of Japanese models were coded into “outside/romantic places,” followed by “work place” (33.9%), “home” (22.3%) and “outdoor/sports” (2.7%). For foreign models, majority appeared in “outside/romantic places” (72.8%), followed by “work place” (20.6%) and “outdoor/sports” (12.5%). Interesting finding was there was no foreign models appeared in ‘home’ in Japanese magazine ads.

Table 2. Component Differences by Models

Hypothesis	Japanese Model	Foreign Model
Location in ads		
Romantic Places	34.7	65.3
Work Place	88.4	11.6
Home	100.0	0
Outdoor	11.5	88.5
Role Portrayal		
Decorative	40.9	59.1
Sex Object	13.2	86.8
Employment	89.2	10.8
Family	100	0
Models Jobs		
Housewife/Mother	100	0
Employment	77.3	15.7
Entertainment	11.4	88.6
Sports/Athletic	23.5	76.5

*p<0.05; ** p<0.01.

Hypothesis 2 and 3. In this study, following the results of previous studies, we also expected significant differences between Japanese models and foreign models, and differences between male and female models, in terms of roles in the ads and jobs in the ads.

In terms of status in ads, we found similar trends as we found for question 1 and hypotheses 1. In other words, no foreign female models appeared in the ads as a family member. Most of them appeared in the ads as “sex objects” (50%) or “decorative role” (11%). On the contrary, Japanese female models were in the ads, either as ‘family member’ (22.2%) or as “employment” (20%). As expected, this difference was significant by chi-square ($\chi^2=99.40$, d.f.=4, $p<0.01$). Also, on jobs, we found the same trends. Japanese female models appeared to have very diverse jobs, such as professional, business or career woman, or house wife. However, foreign female models’ job in the ads are more on “sport or entertainment”, followed by “business/career woman”.

We also compared the differences between males and females in the ads. As we stated in the hypothesis, we expected significant difference in portrayal of males and females in the ads, regardless of their races. About 38% of ads have male models in ads. 76% of them used only one male in the ads. Majority of males appeared at “outside/romantic places” (51.3%), followed by “work place” (18.4%), and “outdoor” (10.5%). Male models most often appeared as “professional” or “businessman” in the ads (27.3%). This difference was also significant ($\chi^2=15.54$, d.f.=3, $p<0.01$). These differences were further analyzed to compare between Japanese male models and foreign male models. Results show that there were frequency differences between Japanese male models and foreign male models, on entertainment and sports/athlete. However, these differences were not statistically significant ($\chi^2=6.78$, d.f.=7, $p>0.45$). Therefore, hypotheses 3 and 4 were partially supported by the results.

Hypothesis 4. To test hypothesis 4, we compared the frequency difference between Japanese female and foreign female models. Previous studies have used so called “mean stereotyping”, through calculating mean scores of each category (mean stereotyping was calculated by summing up all criteria under each category, then divided by the number of criteria of that frame category). Because we were interested only in frequency difference, not interested in mean stereotyping, we used only frequency difference between Japanese and foreign female models. Table 3 shows the results of frequency difference among all frame categories.

Table 3. Frequency Differences in Frame Categories

Models	Male Taller	Feminine Touch	Occupational	Flirtation childish	No part of scene	Mothers caretakers	Independent
Japanese	61 91.0%*	90 46.6%	26 68.4%	46 38.0%	2 100%	54 91.5%	29 49.1%
Foreign	6 9.0%	103 53.4%	12 31.6%	75 62.0%	0	5 8.5%	28 50.9%
χ^2	31.41	15.61	0.81	47.80	1.25	27.41	4.74
p	0.00	0.00	0.56	0.00	0.64	0.00	0.029

*Reported percentage represents the percentage of that specific frame category.

The results confirm our expectations. For foreign female models, “ritualization” or “feminine touch” were the two most often categories, in frame categories. For Japanese female models, “mothers or caretakers” and “occupational” were the two most often categories. Although Japanese female models were portrayed more often as “business” or “career women”, it was foreign models that looked more “independent” in the ads.

Multi-Variate Analysis. In addition to the descriptive statistics for each measure provided in Tables 2 and 3, multivariate statistical tests were also performed. The purposes of the multivariate analysis are, first, to confirm our results from descriptive statistics and, second, to better understand the different influence of variables on females’ role portrayals in the ads. Therefore, all of the variables measured for this study were entered into a stepwise regression analysis on frame categories as a dependent variable. The use of a nominal dependent variable in the regression technique has been found to be appropriate in some studies (Javalgi et al., 1995; Malhotra, 1983). The results of stepwise regression were reported in Table 4. Note in Table 4, the results of regression confirmed the results from descriptive statistics and chi-square analysis. As expected in the hypotheses, the frame categories are different by magazine types, product types, and different between Japanese models and foreign models. One category, license, was not significant. Foreign models are more likely portrayed as sex objects or sports/athletes in Japanese magazines. Although Japanese models were portrayed as family in the ads, there are more ads portraying Japanese models as “business or career women” and “independent” in the ads.

Table 4. Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Frame Categories by Magazine, Product Category, Japanese Models, Foreign Models*

	Role Portrayal					
	Relative	Feminine	Function	Ritual	Family	Independence
Magazine	-0.078**	0.144***	-0.021	0.058**	0.048	-0.036
Products	0.002	-0.024**	0.033***	-0.020**	-0.010**	0.015***
Japanese Model	0.278***	-0.083**	0.071***	-0.052	0.089***	-0.093***
Foreign Model	0.002	-0.098*	-0.017	0.002	0.006	-0.010
Female Job	0.022*	0.063***	0.006	0.111***	-0.120***	-0.033***
Multiple R-Square	0.305**	0.284***	0.272*	0.421***	0.455***	0.140**

*Not significant category was not reported in this table.

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.00.

Discussion and Implication

It has been agreed among scholars that minorities, such as Hispanics and Asians, were less represented or mis-perceived by people, which means reality is different from media image. Many studies have proven that distorted images regarding minorities were presented in movie, TV, or even in the ads. And, scholars agree that media portrayal is responsible for creating those distorted image over certain minority group. This study was the first attempt to see how foreign people are perceived by Japanese youth and how they are portrayed in Japanese main stream magazines. Because Japanese society is so closed society, we expect that most of Japanese just get an information or develop an image over foreign people through being exposed to media, and that this will be represented in media contents.

Content analysis confirmed our overall expectations in this study. As expected, roles of foreign models in Japanese magazines are very skewed and distorted. Role portrayals, such as professionals or business, are very rare for foreign models. Instead, their images are limited into sports or entertainment. Mostly, foreign models are heavily used because of their appearance (such as sexy and good-looking). Interesting finding was on female foreign models. Traditionally, the values of Confucian culture are believed to be reflected in ads (e.g., Chung and Okazaki, 2004). Therefore, in Japan, even if we expected the difference between Japanese model and foreign model, we did not expect this much difference between Japanese female models and foreign female models. We, somewhat, expected traditional values of Confucian culture to foreign models, which is females' roles are more likely as housewives or caretakers in home, and males' roles are more likely for professionals or business. However, those traditional values are not applied to foreign models, especially female models. There are several occasions on foreign male models that they are used as professionals or business in the ads. However, regarding foreign female models, no single female model was used as a "mother or caretaker in home" or as a "housewife." Also, foreign female models are not portrayed as "professional or business women" as often as Japanese female

models. Instead, their role portrayals in ads were very limited to either as “athlete or entertainment” or as “service or sex objects” in the ads.

Conclusion

This study attempted to see how foreign models are portrayed in Japanese magazine ads. Previous historical observations and empirical studies about minorities in mass media have found that minorities in ads were less represented and were usually portrayed as less skilled. We expected the similar trends in Japanese magazines, since foreign models are considered as minorities in Japan. In addition to this, we also expected that foreigners in Japan would be perceived in a certain way by Japanese youth and that this perception will be represented in magazine ads, based on recent survey by Japanese government on foreigners living in Japan. To do this, we conducted content analysis of Japanese magazines.

The content analysis showed the similar results of previous studies. Content analysis shows that foreign models in Japanese magazines are highly used in the ads for sports or entertainment. And, it also confirms that foreign models were portrayed more likely as sexy, good looking, etc. Because of this, foreign models are located in “outside home” or “romantic places” than Japanese models. On the contrary, Japanese models are located at “work place” much more than foreign models. Interesting finding was there was no foreign models appeared in “home” in Japanese magazine ads. This means that Japanese advertisers never use foreign models for home related products.

We also found in content analysis that there were differences between Japanese models and foreign models, and differences between male and female models, in terms of roles in the ads and jobs in the ads. In terms of status in ads, we found similar trends that no foreign female models appeared in the ads as a family member. Most of them appeared in the ads as “sex objects” or “decorative role”. On the contrary, Japanese female models were in the ads, either as “family member” or as “employment”. On jobs, we also found the same trends. Japanese female models appeared to have very diverse jobs, such as professional, business or career woman, or house wife. However, foreign female models’ jobs are limited to “sport or entertainment”. The difference between male and female models was also significant. Majority of males appeared at “outside/romantic places”, followed by “work place”, and “outdoor”. Male models most often appeared as “professional” or “businessman” in the ads. However, although there were frequency differences between Japanese male models and foreign male models on jobs, those differences were not statistically significant.

On frame category analysis, the results confirm that, for foreign female models, “ritualization” or “feminine touch” were the two most often used categories. On the contrary, for Japanese female models, “mothers or caretakers” and “occupational” were the two most often used categories. Although Japanese female models were portrayed more often as “business” or “career women”, it was foreign models that looked more ‘independent’ in the ads.

Suggestions for Future Study and Limitations

There are some areas to be further studied in the future. First, as seen above, foreign female model's portrayal was found to be distorted. This is, maybe, due to the types of products analyzed in this study. As seen above, majority of products in this study are fashion-related products, such as clothes or shoes, cosmetics, or personal care and hygiene products. Previous studies have reported that role portrayals of models in the ads are different by product categories (e.g., Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976). However, it is not clear whether role portrayals of minorities in specific product category are different, compared to non-minorities. This should be addressed in future study. Second, historically, Japanese are said to be very positive to western culture and very negative to Asian culture (actually, Japanese think they are superior to other Asians). However, our findings are not reflecting those historical perspectives that Japanese are said to have. We suggest that future study do historical comparison regarding role portrayals in the ads in Japan. In this way, we can find out whether role portrayals of foreign models have changed over the time, or same as it is in this study. Final suggestion is on role portrayal of Asian models in Japanese media. Because we tried to see role portrayal of white models, we do not know whether this finding can be applied to that of Asian models in Japanese media. Future study should address this topic.

This study is limited by its examination of one single advertising medium and a limited sample of magazines. There are several thousands of magazines in Japan. Each magazine has very specific target groups. Even if we tried to select most popular magazines among youth and adults, and the magazines chosen are believed to be representative, but differences among magazines still exist. A final limitation to this study regards the imprecision in the cause and effect relationship regarding culture and advertising practices. The same question might be asked of this study: is it culture that determines advertising practice, or does advertising practice change the culture?

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The Use of YouTube and Apps by Digital Moms to Support Early Childhood Learning

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This research aims to understand the use of ICT, in this context refers to internet, gadget, including apps and websites by digital moms to support early childhood learning. This is an explorative qualitative research. Four pairs of mother and child become the research subjects. The data shows that digital moms as active users of ICT, including internet, have also introduced and used the technology to support the learning activities of their children, even though not as the main and only medium. The early childhood skills include early mathematic skill, early literacy skill, socio-emotional development, and executive function. The result shows that those all four skills can be supported by the use of ICT (internet, gadget, websites, and apps). All children in this research access YouTube as entertainment source and also learning, and one of the children accesses game to learn math.

Keywords: digital moms, early childhood learning, early childhood skills, online game, YouTube

Introduction

Child education starts really early, since they are born (UNESCO, 2016). According to UNICEF, pre-primary education is an integral component of early childhood development, which refers to all the essential policies and programmes required to support the healthy development of children from birth to 8 years of age, including health, nutrition, protection, early learning opportunities and responsive caregiving (UNICEF, 2019).

Up until now in the year 2021, children in early childhood include in Alpha generation, with year of birth after 2010. This generation is known as a generation that familiar with technology and their needs for communication has been well-facilitated. Besides, according to the study from Santos and Yamaguchi, face-to-face interaction among them is more well-appreciated because it becomes a quite rare event due to communication technology development (as cited in dos Reis and Thompson, 2018). This condition, to some extent, affects the parenting style of their parents.

In general, early childhood education is associated with mother's role. Mothers have an important role in the progress and development of their children's education. Some elementary schools in Victoria, Australia, involve mothers in their education, both materially, participating in teaching certain skills to children, and developing the curriculum (Pidarta, 1997, p. 242).

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But there are also children who get their early childhood education through activities in playgroup and preschool. Nowadays, however, early childhood education has been changing with the emerge of ICT (Information and communication technology), which refers to digital hardware and software and also the network that connect it, the internet.

The emergence and development of ICT has driven the emergence of information society, which functions around the axis of information (Haddon and Silverstone, cited in Webster and Hermann, 2000, p. 251). Mothers or moms are a part of this society. Digital moms use technology on daily basis, and even use it for helping them in parenting (MWW, 2015).

One form of information that can be used by moms is the one that related to early childhood education. Apps in iOs and Google Play and also videos on YouTube provide choices for moms to search content that suitable for their children.

Chalim and Anwas (2018) conducted a research on students' behavior in using internet, the role of parents and teachers in supporting students using internet as study resource, and factors related to intensity of internet use for study. The result shows that the use of internet as study resource is high. It has an impact on the high concern of the parents in supervising and controlling their children in studying and using internet. Besides, teachers are also required to use internet in the study process (Chalim and Anwas, 2018, p. 40).

This research focuses on the use of ICT by moms to support education and learning that different from many previous researches, which focus more on the impact, especially negative impact of ICT on children. Thus, this research is important to understand digital moms' way of thinking and their reason in using ICT for their Alpha-generation children. This research tries to answer: How digital moms in Yogyakarta use website and applications to support early childhood learning? Hopefully this research can be a baseline for further research concerning on technology and early childhood.

Literature Review

Digital Age and the Information Society

The emergence of internet has changed the media typology. It started the era of interactivity – the digital age (Holmes, 2005, p.10). Interactivity that provides by internet as a media has brought a new way of communication among people in a society, and by all means its culture. Levin and Mamlok (2021) states that the digital age signifies the transition to what we described as the technological culture (p. 11).

Technological culture may be simply reflected through the use of smartphone, a small device that change the way people conduct their lives. Smartphone is now used by all ages, even young children. It also becomes an important part of our daily lives as it never leaves our hand. As stated by Levin and Mamlok (2021, p.

3), the immediacy of communication and the constant availability are parts of the cultural change in the digital age.

Technology as one determinant of the digital age, becomes the foundation of a digital society (Levin and Mamlok, 2021, p. 11). According to Redshaw (2020, p. 2) a digital society can be characterized by new forms of 'techno-social life'. It can be understood that in this type of society, people use the technology in all means of interaction with others. For example, the interaction between parents and their children which involves technology, such as to communicate, taking picture, learning, or even parenting.

In the digital society, internet and technological devices play such a huge role. It has changed the way people produce, consume, and distribute information. Lorenzo Cantoni and Stefano Tardini state that digital information and communication technologies (ICT) becoming more and more a necessary tool in order to be fully introduced into the information society (in Rivoltella, 2008, p. 28). In this research, we use the definition from Hiranya K Nath and Pier Cesare Rivoltella. Nath (2009) defines information society as a post-industrial society, in which information plays an important role in their lives. Meanwhile according to Rivoltella (2008, p. 28) information society can be defined as a society in which low-cost information and ICT are in general use.

According to Webster (2006), there are five characteristics of information society:

- a. The development of technology affects the pattern of business, politics, and personal life globally.
- b. Information plays an important role in shaping and defining a new economic structure.
- c. Sociologists conceptualize information society through changing in employment structure and its impact in creating a new social structure.
- d. ICT development has reduced the problem of time and space.
- e. Cultural concept of information society is closely related to their information environment. This environment tends to be penetrative, intimate, and affect more in daily life. There are three dimensions in the development of this information environment: (1) escalation in information circulation due to technological development, (2) high complexity in social relations, and (3) excessive penetration of information that can create problems in society.

Digital Mom

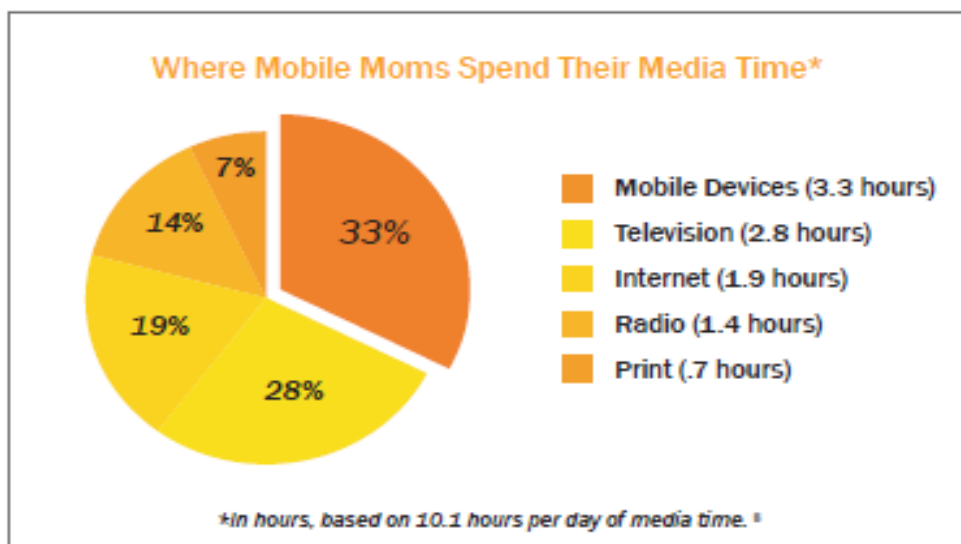
Moms' life as part of information society has also been affected by technology. At some point, motherhood is now different than in earlier generations. The availability and dissemination of information reconstruct the approach of a mother (Gibson and Hanson, 2013, p. 321). It is now possible for digital moms to use technology, even the simplest such as a mobile phone to communicate even with their young children (Gül Ünlü, 2019, p. 147).

Digital moms refer to women who have children and have digital habits. According to research of MWW in 2012, there are six characteristics of digital moms (MWW, 2015):

- a. Commonly has two children.
- b. Financially struggling, but does not affect what they want to do and achieve.
- c. Three out of five digital *mom* see themselves as an *influencer*.
- d. 60% of Digital Moms play online games.
- e. Choose to communicate via text than call.
- f. Usually has a Facebook account.

Digital moms are closely related to millennial moms' context, which is a group of mothers who were born between 1978 and 1994. The familiarity of millennials with technology makes the majority of mothers in millennials generation are also digital moms. Moreover, both digital mom and millennial mom share a main character, which is socially connected (Shandwick, n.d., p. 3).

Figure 1. Media Consumption of Digital Mom



Source: Thundertech, 2013.

The familiarity and closeness of digital mom with their gadget are pictured by Thundertech (2013) in Figure 1. Mobile device is the medium used the most by digital mom, with average time of usage is 3.3 hours a day. Digital mom chooses to use gadget with three reason: easy to use, proximity (the gadget is always with them), and privacy.

There are five types of digital mom: practical adopters, wallflowers, casual connectors, mobilizers, and urban originals. Those five types are differentiated from how they choose technology and what motivate them to use the technology. From five types, four of them are related to how digital mom use technology for parenting (MWW, 2015):

- a. The practical adopters will use the technology to organize their lives and family.
- b. The casual connectors who interact with children using, mainly, technology. This type also tends to use technology to search information about parenting.
- c. The mobilizers also tend to use technology to search information on parenting.
- d. The urban originals usually use technology to share their experiences or upgrade their capability as parents. From four types mentioned above, this type is the most parenting-oriented type.

According to Gül Ünlü (2019, pp. 160–161), women use of the digital communication tools depends on the age range of their children.

Early Childhood Education

United Nations declared Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, which included early childhood education as a global agenda SDG Target 4.2. The goal is that by 2030 all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education (UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 7). Accordingly, we assume that early childhood education needs more attention, including in Indonesia as UN member.

In this research, early childhood education refers to UNESCO guideline, and some international organizations such as World Bank, UNICEF, dan Brookings Institution. Early childhood education according to UNESCO (2012, p. 26) is on level 0, which aims to develop socio-emotional and academic skills that are needed to entering school (elementary school).

There are two categories in ISCED level 0, *early childhood educational development* and *preprimary education*. The first category refers to children in age 0-2 years old, and the second category refers to children in the age of 3 up to before entering elementary school, in Indonesian context it means 6 years old (UNESCO, 2012, p. 26). This research focuses more on *preprimary education*, which has educational characters, namely children interaction that can increase the use of language and social skill, development of logics, and speaking through thinking process. Introduction to alphabets and math concept, and encouraging to explore the surrounding environment are also included in the educational goals at this age range (UNESCO, 2012, p. 27)

In order to evaluate early childhood skills, this research refers to a model module by UNESCO et al. (2017). A bit different from UNESCO, this module aims to look at children's skills at age range of 4-6 years old, instead of 3-6 years old. MODEL module in MELQO (*Measuring Early Learning Quality and Outcomes*) examines the development of children skills from their *early literacy skill, early mathematic skill, social-emotional development, executive function*.

- a. Early literacy skill

This is basic skill for children to read, write, and using language, and also other abilities that support it. Phonological awareness in children can be developed with the help of rhymes and songs (UNESCO et al., 2017,

p.43). MELQO prioritize four constructs to observe *early literacy skill*, which are:

1. Alphabetical skills, includes the knowledge of letters and its sounds (phonemes)
2. Phonological awareness, which develops gradually from words level, syllables level, rhymes, to phonemes level.
3. Expressive words, refers to words that a child is able to say.
4. Listening skill, refers to the ability to read and understand an instruction (UNESCO et al., 2017, pp. 43–44).

b. Early Mathematic Skill

This skill refers to basic math skill in early childhood, which gives a useful tool for children in understanding their surroundings (Butterworth, 1996; NRC, 2009, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017). In early childhood education, this concept relates to numbers and its operationalization, geometry including the concept of space and measurement. Model module has six constructs in order to observe this basic math skill, which are: (UNESCO et al., 2017, pp. 40–42):

1. Verbal counting, refers to the knowledge of mentioning numbers and its order.
2. The knowledge of the order of numbers is not the same as the knowledge of quantity.
3. Early child often encounters with a small scale of “addition”.
4. Early child encounters with number in his daily life in clock, house number, price, phone numbers, and others. Children will have to learn to remember the number and its lexical (number in word) (Chard et al., 2005, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017).
5. The development of spatial language varies in each culture, and children have significant understanding on spatial relations that becomes the basis of language proficiency (Sarama and Clements, 2009, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017).
6. Measurement activity can help children to create a simple framework of thinking in problem solving. Even before a child can use a specific measuring word (e.g., ‘I am taller’) (Pruden et al., 2011, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017).

c. Socio-Emotional Development

This development refers to children social and emotional behavior, which consist of several interrelated skills, including self-regulation, social cognition, and its implication to prosocial behavior, social ability, social welfare, and also learning approach. *Social-emotional development* is a learning process about what is good socially and culturally (UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 37).

The latest concept about socio-emotional skill in preschool age children focuses more on two areas, children competency in building and maintaining relation with other people, and self-regulation or children ability to manage their emotion for the sake of positive participation in social interaction (Thompson, 2015, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 39). Social cognition is associated with children ability to think about and to understand the social relation with other people, recognizing other people's feelings, and taking action to make others happy if necessary. Social cognition includes empathy, and prosocial. Understanding others' feeling includes the ability to (1) understand basic emotion, like happy, sad, angry, and to express those emotions, including the trigger, causes, and the consequences; (2) to recognize the complexity of emotion; and (3) to differentiate the rule of standard and complex expression of emotion (e.g. shame and guilty).

d. Executive Function

Executive function refers to a group of skills that encourage children's learning areas, including memory, self-regulation, mental flexibility. *Executive function* competency shows the skill that helps children and also adults to focus on important matters, bring up ideas, change focus, and control urges (UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 35).

There are three main elements that are associated with *executive function*, namely *working memory*, *inhibitory control* and *flexible switching* (Liew, 2012, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017). *Working memory* is related to the general intellectual ability, math, and reading. *Inhibitory control*, along with *flexible switching*, are identified as the first skill that emerges and develops in early childhood (Diamond and Doar, 1989; Diamond et al., 2002, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017). *Inhibitory control* helps children to suppress inappropriate behavior and thoughts that they feel can disturb their concentration in understanding instruction (UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 36).

Internet and Children

From time to time, the number of children that join the digital network and interaction is increasing. It shapes their experience and growth, it also opens their opportunity to learn and socialize (UNESCO, UNICEF, Brookings Institution, and World Bank, 2017, p. 8). In the last five to six years, the number of internet users with the age under nine years old has increased. The media used by these children to access the internet are smartphone and tablet, which have become important devices in their culture (Holloway et al., 2013, p. 4).

The majority of children consume digital media to play game and watch video streaming (Livingstone et al., 2015). At this stage, children can be introduced to mass production content, but also can be trained to create content.

Guidance and supervision from parents are important due to the risks and consequences from the use of technology and interaction in internet, such as

security and privacy (UNICEF, 2019, p. 8). Parents play role as mediator to prevent the risks. In this matter, parents may become the policy-makers for their children's media consumption. According to Livingstone et al. (2015) there are five strategies in parents' mediation:

- a. Active mediation for internet user: to talk about internet content and online activities with the children, to sit near the children when they access the internet, and to actively share their children's online experience.
- b. Active mediation for internet security: to do some activities and to give recommendations in order to raise responsibility and caution in using internet.
- c. Restrictive mediation: to create rules in children's internet usage, e.g., access duration, access location, content to watch, and limitation in children internet activities.
- d. Technical restriction: to use software or other device to limit, filter, and monitor children's internet usage.
- e. Monitoring: to check the history and digital footprints after the children finished using internet.

Parents' mediation is needed in children's activities related to digital media, especially for children in young age. However, it is also a new opportunity that new technologies not only can be used to entertain young children but also to learn. Children can now have access to do creative learning through technologies because in the digital age, learning can and must become a daylong and lifelong experience (Resnick, 2002, p. 36).

Methodology

This research is an explorative qualitative research to find out the use of ICT by Digital Moms as learning medium for children in early childhood. The data are collected through in-depth interview and observation. The subjects of this research are mothers, who were born between 1978 and 1994, have child (children) with age 4 to 6 years old, access internet minimum three hours a day, give their children access to a gadget, and want to participate in this research. With those criteria, four mothers have been chosen to be informants in this research.

Results

Mimi (29), Lia (34), Chika (26), and Aya (34) are the informants of this research. All of them were born between 1978 and 1994. The first informant is Mimi (29), has one child. A six years old girl, further will be mentioned as Z (6). Right now, Mimi is working as an employee of a private education company in Yogyakarta. Mimi has a master degree, which she took in the UK. Not only working as an employee, she also is an author.

The second informant is Lia (34), she has one child, a five years old girl, further will be mentioned as V (5). Lia has her own culinary business. She finished her bachelor degree from a private university in Yogyakarta. The third informant is Chika (26), a stayed-at-home mother, who has a four years old girl, M (4). Chika's last education level is high school. The last informant is Aya (34). She is a kindergarten teacher and has two children. Both children are boys, 9 years old and 4 years old. R (4) will be the subject of this research. Aya's last education level is bachelor degree.

All of the informants have different habits in media consumption. Mimi (29) depends her needs of media on internet connection because she prefers YouTube and other social media platform to search for information and entertainment. Meanwhile Lia (34) uses internet just to check on Instagram and WhatsApp as her business supporting platform. Lia also consumes TV and radio, but just as a companion while she is doing other activities, like baking.

Chika (26) consumes all media, from internet to conventional media like TV, radio, and magazines. Chika is also an active social media user. She makes content for her TikTok account at least once every two months. Meanwhile for YouTube, she chooses just to watch the content instead of producing one. She is active in WhatsApp but not in Instagram, Facebook and Line. Aya (34) chooses internet to look for information using her gadget. She actively uses Facebook and Instagram, but also sometimes she listens to radio. Lia and Aya are the informants with the least access to the internet, between 3-5 hours a day.

Even though all the informants have different habits in using gadget and accessing the internet, all of them are active users with different aims. The aims are associated with their daily activities. Mimi, for example, is very active in social media. She claims herself as a social media addict, but her job also requires her to access the internet. Moreover, she is a novel author who needs social media to promote her book and to interact with the readers. Lia, who owns a culinary business, uses internet and social media to communicate with her customers, to promote her products, and also to search for recipes. Chika, as a stay-at-home mom, feels like she has a fair amount of free time that than she uses to make TikTok contents. Meanwhile Aya accesses the internet to search for recipes to support her cooking hobby and news, including infotainments.

All the informants state that they do not use information from the internet as their main source for parenting. For Mimi, internet provides too many information which can be confusing, and she believes that mother understands better her child's condition. Mimi as one of the informants that very active in virtual world says that there is a certain demand that should be fulfill by the millennial mom, especially related to children's show/program that increasingly diverse.

“As a millennials mom, we have to remember the characters in our child's favorite show. For example, Z likes to watch Korean show, Pororo. I did not know all the characters. Z talked excitedly about them and when I tried to guess one of the characters, Poby, she said ‘Nooooooo’ angrily. From that moment, I did my homework and watched her favorite shows, *googled* and tried to remember all the characters.” (Mimi, interview, 2 August 2019).

Lia states that technology somehow has affected her life as a mother, especially because of the information on parenting and new entertainment form for children. Meanwhile Chika says that technology has made her life easier, specifically the internet in the context of finding cooking ideas and also adding knowledge on science.

All children from the informants, Z, V, M, and R also consume different media. Z (6) does not watch TV at all at home, she depends on internet, like YouTube and social media with limited duration. It is also caused by her full activities at school until evening, so she does not really have much spare time. Meanwhile V (5) consumes YouTube, *offline* videos on gadget, and also television, but she is not allowed to access social media. M (4) consumes television, radio, YouTube, and Mombi magazine. Even though Chika admits that radio plays more adult songs, M enjoys the rhythm. R (4) also consumes television, besides YouTube in Saturday and Sunday.

In the midst of pros and contras of internet effects on children, all of the informants agree that internet and technology are useful for their children. Mimi, for example, argues that there is nothing good to watch for children in television nowadays. Lia states that internet and technology have helped her in assisting V in learning.

“Well, I am not always able to accompany her, so gadget and all information in it can help her to find information that she needs, that maybe I have not had the chance to share it with her yet. For example, she looked for information about mixing colors, or about shapes. Yes, for me it is helpful.” (Lia, interview, 16 August 2019)

Different with Z, R, and V that have no problem interacting with new people, M is the youngest and she is very quiet. It takes a while for M to give feedback. It becomes one of the reasons for Chika to feel that internet has somehow contributed in increasing M's skill and courage.

“The biggest advantage is now M wants to sing. She is very shy and very quiet. But after watching songs in YouTube that she likes, she starts to sing along. For example, ‘Let It Go’ (Frozen). I am very grateful that now she talks more.” (Chika, interview, 23 August 2019).

Meanwhile for Aya, she admits that technology and internet are now an important aspect in children's lives, but parents have the responsibility to supervise (Aya, interview, 8 November 2019).

Nevertheless, all the informants do not deny the negative effects of the content in internet, especially YouTube, so that all of them decide to limit and supervise the internet access of their children. Mimi just allows Z to watch YouTube in *offline* mode, means that all the videos have been downloaded first. Z only watches YouTube *online* on Saturday, when she accompanies Mimi at the office. However, Z has the freedom to choose the video that she wants to watch, of course with Mimi's permission.

“She (Z) just needs to show me the videos she wants to watch. Once when she was 4.5 years old, she wanted to watch Elsa (Frozen), but when I check the video is entitled “Elsa is getting pregnant from Spiderman”. The video appeared in *home* due to her recent watching activity.” (Mimi, interview, 2 August 2019).

Lia also gives freedom to V to choose what she wants to watch, but Lia sets the YouTube to show only content for children. Lia is selective in using gadget and internet access. She has to know what V is watching. When Lia is not familiar with the video’s sound, she will check because one time Lia found a disturbing content. This video also appeared in *home* because it is played by children (Lia, interview, 16 August 2019).

Meanwhile, Chika decide to choose what M can watch, even though this is contrary to what her husband does. Chika realizes that M is still easily affected by the message in YouTube video. Thus, Chika needs to be very careful and supervise what M watches.

“One time, she watched a cartoon which showed a kid who does not want to go to school, and the next morning M did not want to go to school. She imitated exactly what she watched. It lasted in 3 days.” (Chika, interview, 23 August 2019)

During the interviewing process, researchers observe how all mothers supervise their children in accessing internet or apps with their gadget. Mimi, for example, has to listen to Z’s story about what she is watching, and Z’s father is always ready to help Z when she cannot finish a game.

Lia asks V about the video she is watching. Lia also encourages V to type herself if she wants to watch a specific video. V is still learning to write and read, so it is a part of learning when she types in YouTube search box. Lia just helps her to recognize the alphabets through its phonemes, while Chika actively helps M to search video on YouTube or to install a new game for M.

The rules of the duration for each child in accessing internet and using gadget can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The Duration for Each Child in Accessing Internet and Using Gadget

Name	Duration	What to access
Z(6)	30 minutes	Offline videos (everyday), online videos (Saturday), social media with Mimi’s permission
V(5)	20 minutes	Online and offline video, no game and social media.
M(4)	4-5 hours (sometimes less)	Online video, making TikTok video with Chika, social media content with Chika’s permission only.
R(4)	2 hours only in Saturday and Sunday	Online video

Source: primary data.

Table 1 shows that M has the longest duration in interacting with gadget and internet. Chika states that somehow, she is also really active in internet and intensely using her gadget, she cannot be a good example in limiting M’s duration.

“I have tried to limit her time, but M disagreed because her friends here (in the neighborhood) can use their gadgets without time limit. But I also realize that I cannot really be separated from my gadget either, and be a good example for her.” (Chika, interview, 23 August 2019).

This research involves four children, with different age in early childhood age range, different duration and activities in accessing internet and using gadget. The mothers of these children are all millennial moms also with different education background, and different habits and rules in using gadget and accessing internet. The observation data show that different early skills develop differently among children.

Early Literacy Skill

Z is the oldest child in this research, 6 years old. She has developed the early literacy skill. She easily remembers all the names and characters in each video that she watches, she can also differentiate each character even though it probably looks similar one another. Z pays attention on the clothes of the characters to distinguish them. Z is also able to know the relationship between characters (friends or family).

Moreover, Z is able to retell the story from what she has watched in her own simple words. Mimi encourages Z to write a story on her own. According to Mimi, Z learns to write stories in formal language from the video she watches. For example, Z wrote about Rapunzel with a polite and formal form of language.

“Z can already write and read, now she learns to write stories. She wrote about Rapunzel. I think it is the politest version of Rapunzel because the guard asks permission first to the witch before taking the flower. What surprise me is that she wrote “the guard is up to his courage” She usually only says “of course he is brave!”” (Mimi, interview, 2 August 2019)

V’s early literacy skill can be seen during observation. V (5) has been able to recognize alphabets and write it in the YouTube *search box*, even though with Lia’s help. For example, when V tried to write ‘INDONESIA’, V wrote ‘INTONESIA’. Then Lia helped her by dictating the alphabets. Lia also introduced her to spacebar. Moreover, V is able to re-tell the story she has watched with her own words. For example, baking video, V is able to tell how to make coffee cookies. But for story video, V still has difficulty in understanding the storyline.

Meanwhile, the observation on M (4) shows that she is not able to recognize alphabets to arrange a word, so she needs help from Chika to search video in YouTube. But M is able to recognize characters and its names. Chika encourages M to watch videos that can support M in developing her language ability.

R (4) is the only second child in this research. Some of the observation results about R are a bit different from other children. For his *early literacy*, he is able to tell the story about a shark ride in Universal Studio. R also recognizes the character in Transformer, Optimus Prime, in the video and other robot characters.

R not only watches videos chosen by Aya, but he also follows what his big brother watches.

Early Mathematic Skill

Early mathematic skill is very obvious from Z's (6) observation result. She shows it when she plays a math game in her gadget. This is an addition game that consists of several levels from easy to hard. Z has succeeded finishing all the questions up to orange level, the medium-hard level. The last question she did, was $15+17$. Mimi helped her with a clue "5 plus 7 is?" Z then found out the answer for the math question, "Oh, I see, the answer will be the one with 2 as the last number, it is 32"

M (4) does not use gadget and internet to learn math because according to Chika, M has enough time at school to learn math and M also has specific study time at home to learn writing, reading, and counting. During the observation, M was able to count the number of characters in the video. Similar to M, V does not watch video and play math game. Lia prefers to introduce simple counting manually. But V watches video about simple geometry.

Meanwhile R did not show this skill during the observation. We believe that this is not about his skill, but R tends not to answer question about learning subjects, except to his teacher. This is also confirmed by Aya,

"He will pretend he does not know the answer... but if his teacher asks, he will answer"
(Aya, interview, 8 November 2019).

Socio-Emotional Development

Age is a factor that determines the socio-emotional development of children in this research. The older child shows more complex socio-emotional development. Z (6) is able to correlate what she watches in video with her real experience. During observation, Z watched a video from Babybus channel in YouTube. Z was able to re-tell the content.

"Babybus is singing because the baby crocodiles need to pee, and they have to queue"
(Z, interview, 2 August 2019).

She can relate the content of the video with her daily life. Z says that people should queue in the toilet, and her mom (Mimi) has once reprovved someone who did not want to queue.

A bit different with V (5), V still in the stage of imitating what she saw in the video or memorizing objects she saw in the video, and she can show and point it out afterward. It also states by Lia:

"She associates what she saw in video with her daily life. So, sometimes she watches a video about children who go shopping and review what they bought. For example, Yuppi candy. Then, when V and I went to do groceries, she could tell the exact

product she saw in the video and she also imitates to review the product.” (Lia, interview, 16 August 2019).

R is also able to relate what he watches with his surroundings. Though it is not seen during the observation, but Aya explains:

“For example, R likes to watch Upin-Ipin. So, he sees Mail (one of the characters) like his friend at his grandmother’s house” (Aya, interview, 8 November 2019).

All four children with age of 4, 5, and 6 years old are able to show emotion, especially when they watch videos. They laugh when they see funny videos, or cover their face when there is something terrifies them. This basic emotional skill is more dominant in M (4).

Executive Function

Executive function skill in each child is different. M, for example, who is just 4 years old, has not been able to show this skill. She has not been able to choose which video is good for her, it looks like she randomly chooses the video she wants to watch. M tends to just imitate the video content, she did not want to go to school right after she watched a video, also strengthens the assumption that M has not developed the executive function skill. Thus, Chika always chooses and supervises M when she watches YouTube. However, M has shown her memorizing skill. She sings along when she watches music videos even though she still misses some words.

R (4) also has not been able to show this skill, just like M. it is probably because he is the second child, who, according to Aya, just follows what his elder brother does. R also cannot decide whether a video is good for him or not. Thus, he always asks Aya when he wants to watch a video. According to Aya, R sometimes still wants to watch videos that Aya has told him not to and will cry when Aya says no. In this matter, Aya keeps telling R which content is good for him and which one is not (Aya, interview, 8 November 2019)

Meanwhile, this skill has been developed in V (5), she shows that she can already choose video that is fine for her to watch. If then, she finds something not good in the video she can already identify it. For example, fighting scene. Lia, her mother, sometimes tests her ability.

“Sometimes, I pretend to be sleeping beside her to see what she actually watches. Surprisingly, she will change the video every time she sees something terrifying, including fighting. She will also change the video that she knows I have asked her not to watch it again.” (Lia, interview, 16 August 2019).

Z (6) has been able to identify values in a video, and decides whether it is good for her or not. During observation, Z watched a mandarin song. She did not understand the language but she understands the message through its visual. The video is about baby crocodiles that go picnic with a bus, but they need to pee. So,

the baby crocodiles make a line and queue in front of the toilet. Z says it is the right thing to do. Mimi encourages this skill by always asks Z to re-tell the stories from the videos she just watched.

Discussion

All four mothers in this research are good examples of mothers who live in digital era and as a part of digital and information society. These mothers live closely with technology in their daily lives, especially smartphones, which they use for working, seeking for information and entertainment, and also for daily communication. It reflects what stated by Levin and Mamlok (2021, p. 3), that the immediacy of communication and the constant availability are parts of the cultural change in the digital age.

Both the interview and observation help to explore and understand what the research subjects do with their gadget to support their children learning activities. All mothers allow their children to use gadget and to access the internet. In line with the research from (Gül Ünlü, 2019, p. 147), that it is now possible for digital moms to use technology, even the simplest such as a mobile phone to communicate even with their young children, the mothers in this research use the smartphone to support their children learning. In this context, learning is seen as a communication process in which mother needs to deliver a learning message to their children.

However, each mother chooses different online activities to support their children learning activities. Chika, still uses conventional technique for M to learn writing, reading, and counting. Thus, Chika does not use gadget and internet to help M develop her *early literacy skill* dan *early mathematic skill*. Similar to Chika, Aya does not use gadget and internet to improve R *early mathematic skill*, Aya thinks that R is not really helped by gadget and videos in learning math. But Aya still use it for supporting R's *early literacy skill* for example to introduce colors.

Lia also does not use gadget and internet for improving V's *early mathematic skill* but still use it in *early literacy skill*, for reading, writing, and to communicate, and also other skills that relates to it. From the above explanation, it is clear that in mothers' perspective, learning math for young children cannot be supported by YouTube and apps. They prefer that their children learn math with teacher at school, and using a conventional way of learning.

Lia uses video in internet for V to learn *letterland*. *Letterland* is an English teaching method, based on *phonics* to teach 3-8 years old children in reading, writing, and spelling. V goes to an international program that sometimes has the difficulties to differentiate spelling in English and in Bahasa Indonesia. This problem is associated with alphabetical skill in *early literacy skill*, which relates to the knowledge of alphabets' names and sounds (UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 43).

Meanwhile Mimi, states that gadget and internet have helped Z in literacy and math, direct and indirectly. Using an online math game directly improves Z's *early mathematic skill*. While Z's *early literacy skill* has improved with an indirect

support from YouTube, includes alphabetical, phonics, and listening skill and also using expression words.

M, R, and V's early literacy skill is also supported indirectly by watching videos in YouTube. R and V are able to re-tell the simple story from a video. This skill is associated with listening skill, which refers to instruction acceptance and reading skill (UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 44). While M shows phonological awareness skill, which associated with the understanding of words, syllables, rhymes, and phonemes, through the songs she listens in YouTube. It is in accordance with the theory that phonological awareness in early childhood can be developed through songs (UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 43).

Internet can also be a learning medium to support children's *socio-emotional development* and *executive function*. These two skills are different in each child depend on, one of the factors, the age. The older child shows clearer and more complex socio-emotional development. Z (6) is able to relate the context she sees in the video with her daily life. Meanwhile V (5) is able to relate some objects in the video with her daily life.

M and R, who both are 4 years old, show basic emotion when they watch YouTube videos. Basic emotion includes laughing when seeing something funny or closing their eyes when there is something terrifying. Therefore, M and R have fulfilled one out of two areas in socio-emotional skill, which is basic emotion management (Thompson, 2015, cited in UNESCO et al., 2017, p. 39). In this research, the difference of these skills in younger and older children is obvious. Thus, it can be explored more in different context or even a very specific one, like in a specific apps or learning games.

In addition, this research found a different result from Gül Ünlü's (2019, pp. 160–161) research; women use of the digital communication tools depends on the age range of their children. In the context of using YouTube and apps for supporting children's learning, the mothers do not specifically choose the apps and videos based on their children age, but more to what their children like to watch or use, as long as it is suitable for children (not an adult content). Further work on this matter is important because the use of technology and internet content seems to be varied and it reflects a personal choice. According to Livingstone, et al. (2015), children tend to consume games and video streaming. It also can be seen from the children in this research. From this media consumption, children are introduced to mass entertainment content. Children's media consumption is usually under parents' surveillance. Livingstone et al. (2015) explain five main strategies of parents' mediation: (1) active mediation for internet user, (2) active mediation for internet security, (3) restrictive mediation, (4) technical restriction, and (5) monitoring.

Mediation for internet user and also restrictive mediation are applied for Z, V, and R. The first strategy is used when parents discuss the internet content and online activity or can also be done by being near the children when they use internet (Livingstone, et al., 2015). Mimi is always physically being near to Z whenever Z accesses the internet. Mimi also talks about the content with Z. Lia choose to listen instead of always being near to V to supervise what she watches, and Aya is not too intense implementing this strategy but always asks R what he

has watched by the end of the day. Meanwhile, restrictive mediation refers to the availability of rules for, namely duration, location, content, and other limitation and restriction for online activity (Livingstone, et al., 2015). For Z and V, the rule is set for duration, 30 minutes every day for Z and 20 minutes for V. Meanwhile R may watch YouTube 2 hours in Saturday and Sunday.

Chika uses only mediation for active user strategy by always be near M when she accesses the internet. But Chika does not implement the restrictive strategy in term of duration, because she had tried but failed. She believes that this strategy does not fit M.

The mothers decided to use the mediation strategies because of two main things. First, they realize the negative effects of internet are real. Secondly, they have personally experienced the negative effects of internet content or caught their children watched unsuitable content. However in this research, M is the only child, whose behavior was really affected by YouTube content.

Conclusion

This research tries to understand the use of ICT, in this context means gadget, internet, apps, and YouTube, by digital moms to support early childhood learning. The results show that digital moms as active ICT users introduce and use the technology to support their children's learning skills. But they do not use it as the main medium for learning. Thus, a blended learning, that refers to a conventional way of learning and is supported by technology, is seemingly more suitable for young children.

Early childhood skills include *early mathematic skill*, *early literacy skill*, *socio-emotional development*, and *executive function*. The results show that all skills can be developed with the support from ICT (internet, gadget, YouTube, and apps). All children in this research access YouTube as the source of entertainment and also learning, and one of the children uses online game to learn math.

All mothers in this research believe that technology is important and useful for supporting children education and learning, starts from a simple matter such as number, alphabets, colors, and shape. Simple things that are important for early childhood learning. However not all mothers agree that technology can replace the conventional method of learning. For example, two informants see that *early mathematic skill* will improve more through lesson at school.

Early literacy skill and *socio-emotional development* seem to be the skills that can be improved with the help of internet, for example through YouTube content about colors, recognizing characters, or by typing independently in YouTube search box. The most visible *socio-emotional development* is when children can express their happiness because of a funny video, or express their fear by closing their face, and also show their interest for a content.

Meanwhile, *executive function* seems to be difficult to improve with only depends on internet. Parents need to supervise the children when accessing and choosing contents. Through this supervision, children will slowly learn which content is good for them. Besides, age is an important factor that affects the skills

that each child can master. For example, the 6 years old child has the ability to relate the YouTube content with the surroundings, including deciding whether it is good or bad. With the similar content, younger children have not been able to do the same.

This research is a qualitative research that cannot be used to generalize the use of ICT by all mothers. Some interesting findings occur in research but cannot be explained further because those are not the focus of this research; (1) YouTube videos are interesting for children, it does not matter whether they watch it offline or online, this research does not focus on the motive why they choose YouTube, (2) data shows that the first child (the only child) has different pattern in accessing YouTube with the second child (having elder brother/sister), (3) the age of the children is not the main consideration of mothers in using YouTube or apps, (4) the difference of *socio-emotional development* and *executive function* skill in younger and older children can be explored further in more specific learning medium using technology, for example online games.

To conclude, we acknowledge that this exploratory study could not fully exclude the possibility of social desirability effects. Nonetheless, we argue that this study has added new knowledge on children early learning using technology from the perspective of mothers, as much as it is generating new topic for further research.

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Predatory Publications in the Era of Internet and Technology: A Comment

By Gregory T. Papanikos *

In an article published in this journal entitled “Predatory publications in the era of internet and technology: Open access publications are at risk”, Akhilesh Kumar, Ravi Gupta, Krishna Kant Tripathi & Rajani Ranjan Singh argue that the definition of predatory publications defame the open access journals putting the sustainability of these type of publications at risk which mushroomed in the age of internet and electronic freedom in disseminating academic and non-academic information. This note comments on their paper by arguing that (a) predatory practices are ubiquitous in the academic world, not only in publications; (b) charging a fee does not make an academic practice predatory; and (c) in the long-term no publication or an academic practice can survive if it does not offer some sort of “satisfaction” to users (readers and authors). The argument of peer review or not is irrelevant because a publication, once it becomes available, is constantly reviewed by its readers who are the ultimate judges of its quality. At the end of the day, what counts are the number of readers and the number of citations of a published work. Thanks to the internet these are now easily measurable.

Keywords: open access, predatory journals, article processing charges, peer review

There is no question that the internet and the electronic means of communication have changed the way academics share their work. It has become much cheaper to make an academic work public. There is no need to publish it at all. Researchers can upload their work and through their network, invite many people to read—and most importantly cite—these works. This type of “publication” does not depend at all on paying any fee to any publisher and/or being blind reviewed. For example, I have uploaded an article, which has not been peer-reviewed and was never submitted to any journal for publication. Nevertheless, I have received many notes and remarks through the open process of comments, which has existed since antiquity, as is demonstrated by Plato’s *Dialogues*. Many academics have heard my ideas in the various symposiums organized by the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER) and even more academics have read my article and have expressed their views.¹ My assessments are strong and many expressed strong disapprovals. As part of the long tradition of academic isegoria,² they can hold onto their opinion as I do for mine.

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¹For an example, see <https://www.atiner.gr/events/2July2018ECO.pdf>.

²Isegoria is one of the five criteria of true democracy as explained in Papanikos (2022b). In publishing what is important is the freedom of speech and not so much when and how an opinion made public. In other words, it requires democracy. However, democracy requires education as

Within this context, I found the paper by Kumar et al. (2022) published in this journal extremely informative. However, what motivated me to write this comment is the link they make between paying a fee to publish, the open access of the paper and the peer review quality. I think this relation is irrelevant and should become a non-issue. However, there are other issues which I want to clarify in this commendatory.

The authors aim at defining what they call the "core features of a predatory journal" and distinguish it from what they call a "legitimate journal".

I should start with the use of the word "predatory".³ I would like to point out that such "predatory" academic practices go back at least to ancient Athens when Socrates accused the sophist Protagoras of charging ("predatory") fees for his teachings. Protagoras, quite naturally, responded that he is worth any penny of it because his students receive useful education, i.e., they can become better citizens and household managers. On the other hand, it is well known that Socrates did not charge a dime for his teachings. In using today's jargon, Socrates' lectures were "open access" while Protagoras' were not. As we learn from Plato's dialogue *Protagoras*, both Socrates and Protagoras were in high demand. Many wanted to listen and learn from them. This is the first evidence we have that "predatory" practices have nothing to do with the quality. I strongly believe that this holds true even today and I think the authors should have emphasized this point of view even though my reading of their paper gives me the impression that this fact underlines their arguments.

Let me start by saying (as an economist) that when there is an unimpeded function of a market, as the market of ideas and knowledge is today, the word "predatory" has no meaning whatsoever. However, for the sake of the arguments made in this literature, I will accept to mean whatever is understood to many, which implies that some unidentified people are cheated (readers? authors?) by paying for something of low quality. From an economists' point of view, such practices have no future because there will be no market for them. In a free market nobody is cheated, especially in the long-term.

The authors deal only with "predatory" publications and leave out more important "predatory" practices that have been applied for ages in the academic world; especially in those countries which are pioneers in defaming independently-published academic journals. By the way, defaming a competitor is a practice which is followed by many, but it is the bad face of competition. Saying that you publish a good journal is good practice. Saying that others are bad is a bad practice, and it does not make you good or better. Historically, these countries have been the protagonists of creating practices of unfair competition including unethical means to achieve it.

What are the various types of "predatory" academic practices? In my non-peer reviewed paper mentioned above, I have categorized "predatory" academic practices into four types: "predatory" publishing, "predatory" academics, "predatory"

explained in Papanikos (2022c).

³Throughout my paper here I will be using quotation mark to indicate that the word predatory has no meaning in this context. Charging a fee is legitimate economic practice as long the competition is fair. As I argued in Papanikos (2022a), the problem with academic publishing is that a few oligopolies control the industry.

conferences, and “predatory” universities. Kumar et al. (2022) discuss only “predatory” publishing, ignoring the other three, which are more important because they have been around for a very long time and the money to be made are much more than by “predatory” publishing. Since this is a comment on their work, I will restrict my notes to “predatory” publishing only. My thoughts on the other three types of “predatory” academic practices are expressed in my paper, Papanikos (2022a).

The authors’ first task is to define what “predatory” publications are within the context of open access. They state that, “Open accessibility and peer-review are two defining features of an open-access journal, and failing any one of which excludes an article/journal/publication to be considered as an open-access journal.” After citing the Budapest Open Access Initiative, they write that, “It is vital here to note that mere accessibility to everyone free of cost does not confirm an article/journal/publication to be called open access, rather, additionally it needs to be peer-reviewed too.”

I disagree with the link they make between open access and peer-review. I guess the authors mean blind peer-review as being more credible. My article on “predatory” publishing has been uploaded without any peer review. Their paper has been uploaded after a peer review. Both are open access but they differ in their peer-review. Does this say anything about the quality of the two papers? Does this make my paper a “predatory” publication and theirs not? Who decides anyway? The authors I think do not emphasize the self-defamed process by publishing something. My reputation is at stake—whatever it is worth—when I make a writing of mine public that does not meet some minimum academic standards. My “name” is exposed to the international academic community by publishing something which is of low quality. Thus, what counts is not the publication outlet and the process of accepting it, but whether my paper can stand on its own in the world of knowledge. If academic people find it useful, then the process of publication is irrelevant. This process includes both accessibility and review. If my paper is ignored by the academic community, let’s say within five years, i.e., nobody has read it and no one has cited it, then where and how it was published is a useless discussion. In the academic world, what counts is not where and how you publish, but how many reads and citations you have and of course your h-index or any other objectively determined index. In the old good days, the same applied to a Ph.D. thesis. A good thesis, irrespectively of the university and the supervisor, is only good if publications came out of it. I remember at that time the threshold was five years. If, in five years, no publication came out of it, then it was considered that your Ph.D. had no worth and it was considered as never awarded. I think this still holds true today.

The authors make a link between lifelong learning and open-access. Their argument I think is weak if by lifelong learning they mean the institutionalized supply of lifelong knowledge and practice. In this case, the issue is completely different and refers to the other types of “predatory” academic practices. Many educational institutes—including well-known universities—supply courses and programs (seminars) which aim at all those who demand systematic lifelong learning, which in almost all cases is very specific and aims at a particular profession/vocation. This discussion is not relevant to “predatory” publishing. On the other

hand, if by lifelong learning they mean my continued learning as an academic, then I never faced a problem with open access because my university affiliations always paid for my access to books and journals. In addition, over my lifelong learning my network of professors and researchers provided me with open access to their work. I am the rule and I never heard of an exception. As a matter of fact, the older an academic gets, the wider his/her free access to learning material becomes. This is a non-issue.

Then the authors discuss a disreputable case of a librarian who developed a black list. Reputable academics develop only white lists. I think the authors make a mistake to pay attention to a truly predatory⁴ "academic". I will ignore this discussion, but I pose the following question to the authors: do they know that one of his criteria is not if a journal is NOW "predatory", but whether it has the POTENTIAL to become predatory in the future, according to one man's opinion, which is applied to all journals independently of its subject matter? His website and many others are what I call in my non-academic, Aristophanic and Socratic ironic paper, "academic pornographic sites". This is the end of this discussion.

Unfortunately, the authors fall into the same trap, I am sure unintentionally, to uncritically state that, "... several low-quality publications". Who are we to judge if a journal is of low or high quality? What are the criteria? Is a policy journal of low or of high quality? Is a journal which accepts opinion papers a low or a high quality? Is a journal of case studies of a high or of low quality? I offer one economic criterion to judge all journals: Journals whose readers and authors pay money to have access to them (read and publish) are good-quality journals. The value of the journal increases with the number of years of its publications and most probably at an exponential trend. Thus, a good-quality journal depends on the number of people who read and nothing else.

The authors then proceed by presenting 10 studies which in one way or another classify "predatory" journals as the ones which charge a fee, are not peer-reviewed and provide poor editing services. All these are very weak criteria. Let me discuss these criteria in brief. Firstly, charging fees cannot be used to distinguish between a good and bad journal. Usually, top-quality journals (many readers and citations) charge very high fees. Secondly, the peer review is not very important. What counts is how many read the paper, and most importantly cite it, i.e., how many use the paper to produce new knowledge. Thirdly, one of the useless criteria is editing services which has nothing to do with the quality of the paper. Assume I write and publish an economic mathematical paper which makes a major contribution to knowledge, but my English is very poor and the journal cannot afford professional editing services. Is this a bad or a good journal? Is my paper good or bad? I get many citations and readings and nobody cares about my bad English. Editing is very tricky business especially when you write a "political" paper in English and it is not your mother tongue. Good English may give a different meaning to what someone wants to say. A controversial issue by itself. This important issue deserves a separate paper, but I do say something in the concluding sentences of this note.

⁴Note that I do not use quotation marks because he is a classical example of a predatory case, i.e., he makes money by blackmailing independent publishers.

The last two sections of their paper discuss the issue of pay and peer review. They observe the obvious. Open access is neither necessary nor sufficient to classify a journal as being “predatory”. However, they leave unanswered the most important question: who has the divine right to decide which journal is “predatory” and which is not? A predatory librarian? The answer to this question is very easy and economics can help because the whole issue is about money. If a journal is demanded, then it is a good journal. What does it mean that it is demanded? It simply means that academics read it and researchers submit papers to be considered for publication. This is the only objective fact which can be used to determine if a journal is good or bad. After all, only the academic community has the right to choose which journals to read and which journals to submit papers to be published. Nobody else. Paying or not paying, peer reviewing or not has nothing to do with this objective fact. Nobody, and especially not “predatory” academics, has the academic credentials to subjectively evaluate journals; any journal. The authors come very close to the same conclusions when they correctly state that we should stop talking about “predatory” publishing and start talking about deceptive and low-quality journals. However, who has the academic authority to make such a judgment? Nobody is my answer. Let the academic community decide by reading and citing the papers. It is the only objective criterion. All the others are subjective, biased and in many cases deceptive and predatory, the latter word without quotation marks.

I would like to conclude by stating my own experience with publishing with ATINER. All ATINER’s publications charge no fees whatsoever. They are blind peer reviewed, but my feeling was always, and still is, that this needs serious improvement. To solve this problem, we open up the process of reviewing by inventing a unique process. All papers which are desk accepted⁵ (not a blind review stage) are uploaded onto the website as papers-to-be-reviewed. We then invite the world community of academics to comment on the papers. Some get no reviews whatsoever, in which case ATINER returns the paper stating the obvious: we cannot evaluate the paper because nobody wanted to review the paper. Others get many reviews. It is amazing the diversion of the reviews we get; from accepting without any change to vehemently rejecting it. And this refers to the same paper. On the other hand, we make clear that English is not a reason to reject a paper. Good English does not determine quality. I should tell a story about this. The late Professor and Dean Yorgo Pasadeos was the editor of our series of books on mass media and communication and in 2014 he inaugurated, as chief editor, the Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communication. Pasadeos was fluent in Turkish language as well as in Greek, French and English. In many cases, articles submitted in English from academics whose mother tongue was one of the three languages, had serious English language problems. Since he understood the way that these authors thought in their own language, he did not desk reject the paper, but always gave some suggestions to improve them. The point is the English

⁵This process of first desk accept/reject and then the blind peer review is by itself an indication of the stupidity of the whole effort. Why the review is blind? How can I be biased as a reviewer if I know the author? I am commenting the paper by Kumar et al. (2022). How would my judgments differ if I did not know their names? Mysterious processes that I do not want to take it further.

editorial service by professional publishers who do not understand both languages fluently cannot really do justice to the paper’s contribution to the literature. I prefer bad English to proper English when this misrepresents what the authors want to say.

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“Predatory Publications” in the Era of Internet and Technology: A Rejoinder

By Akhilesh Kumar^{}, Ravi Gupta[±], Krishna Kant Tripathi⁺ & Rajani Ranjan Singh[‡]*

“Predatory publications in the era of internet and technology: Open access publications are at risk” was published in the *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications* and Prof. Papanikos has given his insightful inputs on it in the article entitled “Predatory Publications in the Era of Internet and Technology: A Comment”. As a response to his article, the authors identified that the “Predatory Practices” go beyond the “Predatory publications” and are prevalent in many formats other than scientific publications. Although naming such practices as “Academic pornography” is too harsh, no other word could be used for such biased conspiracy in the name of so called quality and predatory publications. No one is authorized to judge that this particular publication model is good and others are bad. We wanted to communicate that predatory vs. non-predatory debate is pulling back the novel idea of open access. We are at the same track with Prof. Papanikos, the ways are different.

Keywords: predatory journals, open access, predatory practices, predatory conferences

Introduction

Papanikos (2022a) provided his valuable comments in our article (Kumar et al. 2022), published in the *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications*. This is a first response to the article of Prof. Papanikos. The “Comment” of Prof. Papanikos, including other cited works, we found, are precious for researchers who are working in this debate, however, all these papers, particularly those written by Prof. Papanikos, are very insightful and unfortunately, we did not come across these articles prior to writing the article “Predatory Publications in the era of internet and Technology: Open access publications are at risk”. If we were gone through those other articles written on “Predatory Practices”, our arguments were stronger with great scientific evidences. We, the authors of the paper feel privileged and obliged to Prof. Papanikos for such eye-opening, thought-provoking articles on the issue of predatory academic practices. Responding to the comments of Prof. Papanikos needs more and more depth study on the issue but we have made efforts to prepare a preliminary response to it. More responses will follow.

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First of all we would like to make it clear that "Predatory publications in the era of internet and technology: Open access publications are at risk" written by Akhilesh Kumar, Ravi Gupta, Krishna Kant Tripathi & Rajani Ranjan Singh was, as the title of the paper reflects, particularly intended to the concern that how deliberately open access journals are victimized by associating and popularizing it with the word "Predatory" thus the discussion has been made around the open access journals only and other predatory practices like predatory conferences, predatory publication and other such issues were not taken in to account in the referred paper, however, predatory practices other than predatory journals are also very common. Prof. Papanikos has mentioned, "I disagree with the link they make between open access and peer-review. I guess the authors mean blind peer-review as being more credible. My article on predatory publishing has been uploaded without any peer review. Their paper has been uploaded after a peer review. Both are open access but they differ in their peer-review. Does this say anything about the quality of the two papers?" (Papanikos, 2022a).

Here we would present our lookout about the issue. Prof. Papanikos has pointed out correctly that in the context of the article "Predatory publications in the era of internet and technologies: Open access publications are at risk" we used the term "peer-review" for the traditional notion of blinded peer-review. It is beyond the scope of the present article to discuss the quality and credibility of blind peer review process but blind peer review also, doesn't guarantee the quality of a scientific article, what usually claimed as a "quality" by subscription based or open access journals but what are the alternatives? Furthermore, we wish to ask how many authors have opportunity to get published without a peer review? Being an editor (and a reformer too) one has the freedom to do it but most of the authors do not have such opportunity as they are bonded (sometimes blinded and bended also) with the criteria of journals either it is desk acceptance-peer review-revision-publication model or desk-acceptance-publication-review and reader's feedback-revision-final publication model or a hybrid revolutionary model adopted by ATINER's journals combining features of traditional peer-review and modern post publication peer-review model. In most of (not all) the journals authors are like 'dancing peacocks' upon indication of editors and the Author's Guidelines. Being an editor and a great scholar, you can do it, an author cannot. The best example of it is that this response too, has to be dependent for editor's decision prior to be uploaded and published! Being an editor, if you don't like our arguments, you have authority to say "the article is not up to mark" "the article possesses weak arguments", "the article is not within the scope of this journal" and many such other options an editor has, which are not available to authors. It is quite interesting here to share the experience that the article "Predatory publications in the era of internet and technologies: Open access publications are at risk" was submitted to a so-called reputed journal for publication. It was sent for blind peer review and we received the comment of reviewer that as we did not take a working definition of predatory journals in entire article, thus, its fuzzy and not acceptable, however, Prof. Papanikos found that ".....The authors then proceed by presenting 10 studies which in one way or another classify predatory journals as the ones which charge a fee, are not peer-reviewed and provide poor editing

services. Further, Papanikos (2022a) mentioned “Then the authors discuss a disreputable case of a librarian who developed a black list. Reputable academics develop only white lists” (Papanikos, 2022a).

Hats off Professor for these lines which are the summary of entire discussion on “Predatory Journals and Publications”. We totally agree and support this view. Reputable academics always develop white-list, but the academic world weird around the notion of “Predatory” introduced by a librarian and the impact is so intense that many journals are flooded with such articles. As observed by researchers, the dialogue on predatory practices was so swift, that within a short span of time, until 2021, about 600 papers had been written on the subject (Krawczyk and Kulczycki, 2021), and many countries made policy as well as list of referenced journals for scientific publications. We all view it a game of market to sell the scientific knowledge by few publication houses and academic world is under trap of those publication houses. Not only the publication houses but also several software companies have vested interest in it. Software companies are earning by selling plagiarism software, paraphrasing software and so on.

The paper “Predatory publications in the era of internet and technology: Open access publications are at risk” written by us has been intended to discuss how either intentionally or unintentionally, few librarians and countries as well as big publishers are trying to defame “open access” in order to continue their monopoly in the business of scientific publications and to continue with their traditional business model of scientific publications. Authors of the article were not intended to define any such “predatory journals” rather, authors too, agree with the view that no person should be authorized to categorize journals as predatory or non-predatory. The article written by Prof. Papanikos presents the crux of entire discussion in a single line that “true academicians develop only white list” (Papanikos, 2022a). However, here we argue that the existence of white list, confirms the existence of black list also similar to the concept that the existence of day time confirms the existence of night and darkness. We think Prof. Papanikos has also believed that the real predatory practice is the subscription-based model when he mentions, “Predatory fees included mainly journal subscription fees and some submission fees. The big money was made by the subscriptions of the university and other libraries following the common microeconomic policy of price discrimination” (Papanikos, 2022d).

As we too mentioned, “It is beyond our understanding that promoting open access may lead to corruption in publication, but promoting subscription-based traditional publication might not lead to any corruption in publication, as if the subscription model is the only model of and guarantee of quality scientific publication (Kumar et al., 2022).

As noted by Papanikos (2022a), “The authors (Kumar et al., 2022) then proceed by presenting 10 studies which in one way or another classify —predatory journals as the ones which charge a fee, are not peer- reviewed and provide poor editing services. All the authors aim at defining what they call the —core features of a predatory journal and distinguish it from what they call a —legitimate journal”.

We would like to mention that authors did not make efforts to define either predatory or non-predatory journals, rather, authors presented how the use of the term "predatory journals and publications" have been used in contemporary literature. Ten such studies were presented to know how the biased criteria have been used by supporters of subscription-based publishing to defame independent, small scale, local publishers (particularly open access publishers) and to keep them aside from the business of publication. The following excerpt from the article will make it clearer: "The quality of a journal could not be judged based on the model it has adopted as either pay & publish or pay & access. If pay & publish is enough to suspect a journal for being predatory, then most of the scientific publishers are predatory up to a certain extent (Kumar et al., 2022)." Similar was noted by Krawczyk and Kulczycki (2021), when they mentions: "Many scholars have criticized Beall and his approach. Specifically, he was accused of a heavy bias against (Open Access) OA movement, an unclear methodology for developing his lists, and blindness to the flaws of publishers using a subscription model." Further, Prof. Papanikos remarks that "From an economists' point of view, such practices have no future because there will be no market for them. In a free market nobody is cheated, especially in the long-term."

It is apposite to mention here that from the scientific point of view also such practices have no future in long run but what about those pseudo-academicians who get some key positions at policy level on the basis of number of publications and not on the basis of quality of their scientific novelty and original work? There should be some indicators of the quality.

Prof. Papanikos mentions "Academic 'pornography' includes all websites whose aim is to defame other academic's works by developing black lists. Academics who visit these websites are reading academic 'pornography'" (Papanikos, 2022d). Here, we believe that the word "Pornography" in this present context is too retaliatory word but on the other hand we did not find other suitable word to replace or substitute it. Many times, academicians are not visiting such websites of black-list rather, they are forced to do so as per the applicable laws. Also, a person visiting either real pornographic sites or in present context, academic pornographic sites, is not necessarily an addict, rather, he/she might be a researcher and visiting such websites for the purpose of data collection! Elsewhere, Papanikos (2022a) mentioned about several so called "Academic pornographic sites", "Pornographic academics" and many more and we are strongly agreeing with that. We would like to add here that the existence of pornographic academicians, pornographic academic sites confirm the existence of "pornographic academic editors" too, which we think, should also need to be discussed.

Author has mentioned that "... a good-quality journal depends on the number of people who read and nothing else" (Papanikos, 2022a). But a report published on the 9th of December 2013 in "The Guardian" titled "Nobel winner declares boycott of top science journals" is sufficient to shed light on the issue. He argued that a paper could become highly cited (impact factor is based on citations received by articles published in journals) because it is good science or because it

is eye-catching, provocative, or wrong (Schekman, 2013) hence rejecting the criteria of goodness of badness of a publication based on citation it receives.

A democratic world have a bright future but it needs educated citizens, or better citizens with pedagogy (Papanikos, 2022b) and likewise, the scientific community and the science has also a bright future in today's democratic world and it requires educated and aware researchers about the oligopolies of publication industry, conflict of interest of the market and the economics of the business of publishing. In addition, the lack of "Isegoria" (Papanikos, 2022c) while formulating rules and regulations for scientific publications is the root cause of predatory practices in academics.

We conclude here with the observation made by Papanikos (2022a) that "the problem with academic publishing is that a few oligopolies control the industry" (Papanikos, 2022a). The issue of predatory publications and increased debate on it is an issue deliberately popularized in the interest of subscription-based publications, misleading researchers, teachers and policy makers. The academia needs to be united and fight against such list of journals. Also, academia needs to promote "open access journals" no matter whether it has an article processing charges or it is without any article processing charges from authors. Once scientific knowledge will get rid of "Pay to read" model the actual picture will come up. We express sincere thanks to Prof. Papanikos for such an inspiring article promoting dialogue and discussions.

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