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THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY BROADCASTING IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
Nigeria’s return to democracy in 1999 and its successive democratic transitions have opened up the space for freedom of expression for the country’s population of over 163 million people; 60.9 percent of whom live in absolute poverty conditions and overwhelming basic socioeconomic challenges of: high maternal and infant mortality, unemployment, illiteracy, poor healthcare services, youth restiveness and fatal insurgencies, weak physical infrastructure, among others. Yet, political aspirations for inclusive participation of the majority and contextualisation of development remained elusive due to non-democratisation of access and use of information for freedom of expression. This imperative to positively and qualitatively hasten progress has eluded the citizenry due to unfavourable policies, legal and regulatory frameworks. This paper charts a way for the success of community broadcasting in Nigeria, from legal provision in holistic practice in consonance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The African Charter on Broadcasting and the Windhoek Declaration to establish, maintain and foster independent, pluralistic and free press; all of which are essential to guaranteeing the fundamental human rights of Nigerians in line with the provisions of Sections 22 and 39 of the country’s constitution.

Keywords: democracy, human rights, inclusive participation, plural and free press

INTRODUCTION
Nigeria has been going through a process of democratisation with efforts to strengthen institutional structures that promote the system and firmly place the country among the league of democratic states in the world for the past decade. Democracy is a function of many factors like a guarantee of human rights and the fundamental freedoms, expanded
choices for the citizens and independent institutional capacity, among others. These are the minimum requirements that will guarantee social, political and economic development sustainability (Pate 2006, 2003).

Nigeria is a federating nation, comprising 36 states and one federal capital. It operates a three-arm and tier of governments—the executive, legislature and the judiciary as well as the federal, state and local governments. An elected president is the head of the executive arm while each of the 36 states, are equally headed by a democratically elected governor. In a country like Nigeria, with over 163 million people (NBS 2010), over 250 ethnic groups speaking 450 dialects, spread across 774 local government areas within 923,768sq.km expansive land mass, sub-divided into six geopolitical zones; the success of democracy in such a diversified entity, will undoubtedly depend on the expressive capacity in the people, both vertically and horizontally because freedom of information and of expression are the live wire of the democratic process. These include the rights to communicate and the rights to access means of communication that guarantee citizens utilise information within the bounds of democratic norms (Pate 2012).

Broadcasting specifically radio, came to Nigeria in 1932 with the colonial administration’s establishment of a re-broadcaster station of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in Lagos, primarily to keep the expatriates abreast of events in Britain (Akingbulu & Bussiek 2010: 11; Ojebode & Akingbulu 2009: 204). The colonial administration’s radio broadcast was a rediffusion of content on issues and events in Britain; and Olorunnisola (1997 in Ojebode and Akingbulu 2009: 205) noted that “the content of the programs had no direct relevance to the basic needs and lifestyles of the indigenous audiences, because the re-broadcasts were meant to fulfil the listening needs of the colonial masters” (Mabogunje 1991: 2) This was to later, in 1951/1952, transformed into the Nigerian Broadcasting Service (NBS) and later renamed in 1956 as the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC).

The passage of a new colonial constitution in 1954 led to the emergence of regional broadcast stations. The then regional governments; first, the West in 1959, then East in 1960 and lastly, North in 1962, established regional broadcast stations (television and radio), to champion the course of their regions (Akingbulu & Bussiek 2010: 11). Thereafter, the federal government also set up a TV station in 1962. Later, the NBC began to expand in 1967 and built a station in each state. This was reversed by a policy change in the 1970s, and government ordered the transfer of most NBC stations in the states, except for those in Lagos, Ibadan and Enugu, and added the Kaduna station of the Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Nigeria. The NBC later became the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) to control all federal radio stations. The Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), a new body was formed, to centralise all federal and state TV stations in the 70s. The broadcast media landscape continued under government control until the promulgation of Decree 38 of 1992 by the military regime of Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, which liberalised the sector and allowed for the establishment of private commercial broadcasting, even “though the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Section 36, 2) made express provision for the establishment of private radio stations, successive governments refused to put this provision into effect” (Ojobode & Akingbulu 2009: 206).

The country’s return to democracy in 1999 and the successive democratic transitions have opened up the space for freedom of expression. It is in pursuance of the objective to comprehensively democratise the access and use of information to extend the boundaries
of freedom of expression in the country that the process for more liberalisation of the airwaves was initiated in 2003. The aim of the process was to expand the existing plurality in the broadcasting landscape in the country, with the hope that it incorporates community broadcasting to complete the liberalisation and opening up of the airwaves as enshrined in the National Broadcasting Law.

According to the Institute for Media and Society (IMS), a Nigerian advocacy-Non Governmental Organisation at the fore-front of the struggle for community broadcasting across the country, and seeking to build and improve communication capacity and environment of the media, civil society and governance institutions for popular participation in democracy and development; community broadcasting system is transforming rural development, giving meaning to participatory governance, and helping to foster local accountability in Africa. The Institute decried a non-existence of a single community radio in Nigeria, while there are over 1,000 community radios in Africa (www.imesoimeso.org). Akingbulu (2007) added further that, in the whole of West Africa, Nigeria was the only country without community radio. However, in less endowed countries like Niger, there are 98 community radio stations as in 2006; Mali has 88; Ghana 15; Senegal 14 and Burkina Faso 33, among others. And some of them like Ghana has more than a decade’s experience of community radio broadcasting (Akingbulu 2007; Diedong & Naikuur 2012: 124-126).

Thus, the major reason for the struggle to actualise community broadcasting in Nigeria is mainly to further democratise access to information, provide a voice for the voiceless, increase participation in affairs of state and open up the rural areas for faster development. With Nigeria’s mammoth population, expansive land and the quest to develop and fully democratise, community broadcasting can be an important resource to positively and qualitatively hasten progress. The existing broadcasting system is undoubtedly deficient in effectively satisfying the yearnings of the people for obvious reasons of costs, access, elitism and urban centeredness. Thus, the need to reform the policy, legal and regulatory frameworks to reflect the modern trend as obtained in, at least, other West African nations like Niger, Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ghana. Experiences from some of those countries have shown that community radio is an important facilitator and driver for increased participation of the majority of the people in the process of governance and a remarkable indicator of the quality of their individual brands of democracies in practice.

COMMUNITY RADIO BROADCASTING

Public service broadcasting is generally conducted by a statutory entity, usually but not necessarily state-supported or state-owned corporation with broadcasting policies and programming often controlled by a public body, such as a council or a legally constituted authority… and community broadcasting is that non-profit service that is owned and managed by a particular community, usually through a trust, foundation, or association. Its aim is to serve and benefit that community; relying on the resources of the community.
The Nigeria Broadcasting Code (2012: 97) defines a community as “a group of people residing in a particular geographical location or sharing a strong interest, which the community desires to develop through broadcasting. Such communities include: a local, non profit organisation, an educational institution (campus), a cultural association, a co-operative society, and a partnership of associations.”

The radio broadcast landscape in Nigeria is predominantly public owned operated by both federal and state governments, though there is also a handful of privately owned stations. At the federal level, there are the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and the Voice of Nigeria (VON). At the state level, there are radio stations like Bauchi Radio, Eko FM Lagos, Confluence Radio Lokoja, Living Spring FM Osun, Radio Kano, Radio Ogun, Rima Radio Sokoto, Capital Sound Kaduna, and so on. There are also numerous commercial radio stations like the Brilla FM (Sports), Independent Radio, Minaj Systems Radio, Freedom Radio, Ray Power Radio, Radio Gotel, Cool FM, among others.

From a simplistic perspective, community radio is the radio station established and operated by the people of a specific community to advance, promote and protect the community’s common interest and objectives. In a broader sense, the African Charter on Broadcasting defines community radio as the “broadcasting which is for, by and about the community, whose ownership and management is representative of the community, which pursues a social development agenda, and which is non-profit” (portal.unesco.org).

The word community could be defined by a territorial space or social interest that may be cultural, political, economic, professional, etc. The important thing about a community is that it consists of people who share common interests, values, characteristics and goals. They may be physically domiciled in one geographical entity or physically separated but socially united in their goals.

Also, Opubor (2006) defined community radio as:

When radio fosters the participation of citizens and defends their interests; when it reflects the tastes of the majority and makes good humour and hope its main purpose; when it truly informs; when it helps resolve the thousand of one problems of daily life; when all ideas are debated in its programmes and all opinions are respected; when cultural diversity is stimulated over commercial homogeneity; when women are main players in communication and not simply a petty voice or publicity gimmick; when no type of dictatorship is tolerated, not even the musical dictatorship of the big recording studios; when everyone’s words fly without discrimination or censorship, that is community radio.

The fundamental factor about community radio according to the Association Mondiale Des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires (AMARC), that is, the World Association of Community Broadcasters, is that it responds to the “needs of the community it serves, contributing to its development within progressive perspectives in favour of social change; and striving to democratise communication through community participation in different forms in accordance with each specific social context” (Estrada 2001: 3).

Therefore, community radio must be built on popular ownership and non profit orientation as distinct from the government or commercial radio station. Community radio ownership must be rooted in the community and its local institutions; and ownership must
be justifiably plural and diversified to reflect and represent multiple interests in society. Equally, community radios are not profit oriented and not meant to compete with the conventional radio stations. Rather, they are expected to complement them because of their obvious advantage of flexibility and specific-orientation nature of individual communities. Little wonder that community radio is often described as the voice of the voiceless and the radio of the poor (Pate 2010: 154).

Opubor (2006) and Dagron (2001) identify structural features of community radio that make it participatory to include:

- Community ownership, instead of access mitigated by social, political or religious contingencies;
- Horizontal organisation, rather than a vertical organisation that treats community members as passive receivers;
- Dialogic, long term process not top down campaigns more concerned with producing results for external evaluation than with building sustainable community power;
- Collective agency, or power asserted in the interest of the many rather than the few;
- Community specificity in content, language, culture and resources; need based initiative determined by a community dialogue rather than external built consciousness raising to build a rooted understanding of social problems and solutions, instead of depending on propaganda or political persuasion;
- Some communities are defined by interest not by geography.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Community Radio Handbook recommend key necessary features of community radio as follows:

Community radio is a form of public-service broadcasting, but different from conventional broadcasting. Its specific focus is to make its audience the main protagonists, by their involvement in all aspects of management and programme production, and by providing them with programming that will help them in the development and social advancement of their community. News on community station, unlike that on the mainstream media, is not an isolated story or event alone: rather, it is part of an ongoing and future process which supports change and development in the community. Entertainment is provided in a form that is a collective cultural expression, rather than a featuring of refined performers. It is more like singing Karaoke than listening to a professional artist. Education is sharing of experiences and learning from others in the community than listening to an expert or teacher talking. There is also the principle of public access and participation where citizens have a democratic right to reliable, accurate and timely information. Access implies the availability of broadcasting services to all citizens; participation implies that the public (community) is actively involved in planning and management and providing producers and performers. Facilities are almost invariably owned by the community through a trust, foundation, cooperative, or some similar vehicle. The station’s policies, management and programming must be the responsibility of the community for its independent and exclusive use. Funding may be from a diversity of sources, to include: donations, grants, membership fees, sponsorships or advertisements. But a combination of all is the most desirable to ensure independence. It must also be editorially independent of central and local government, of political parties and of commercial and religious institutions in
determining its policies and programming. It must be representative of different groups and interests in the community, including those of minority and marginalised groups (Fraser & Estrada 2001: 15-16).

The above features clearly show that community radio is built on the understanding of the community and its characteristics. In the words of Opubor (2006), the purpose of community radio is to build community life. Building a community is more than building an individual or a few families. It is built on what holds people together, across different families, religions, sexes, economic situations and political persuasions.

WHY COMMUNITY BROADCASTING?

Radio is the most pervasive broadcast media in Nigeria and the most patronised means of mass communication. Akingbulu and Bussiek (2010: 10) quoting the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), state that 88 percent of Nigerian households have access to radio with 72.9 percent ownership while a much recent survey by the NBS showed that 80 percent of Nigerians have access to radio, with at least a radio set or two in every household (NAN Report, Dec 19, 2011). In practice, those that do not have personal radio sets, listen from those owned by friends, colleagues or others. Indeed, Nigerians are great radio listeners.

But the current structure of radio station ownership, operations and distribution in the country is still undemocratic and none participatory to reflect the ongoing reforms, decentralisation and democratisation in the country. As observed earlier, apart from the fact that the sector is heavily dominated by governments and some commercial interests, most radio stations are concentrated in the urban areas focusing mainly on the elites and their affairs. Hence most radio stations are located in Lagos, Abuja, Kano, Kaduna, Enugu and Port Harcourt cities. In Nigeria’s commercial capital Lagos alone, in the South West, there are six commercial radio stations while in Abuja, the nation’s capital, in the North Central, there are eight and Kano, there are six (See www.nbc.gov.ng). This indicates that the poor, the weak and the disadvantaged especially those reside in the remote area are in most cases marginalised and at best treated as passive stakeholders. In fact, there are parts of the country that are hardly covered by local broadcast signals.

The distribution of broadcast media channels is generally uneven, with some parts of the country far more endowed than others. For example, in Nigeria’s North East with over 18million people (2006 Census), there is only one commercial radio station, Radio Gotel, which is located in Yola, Adamawa State. This is in a region where the public-owned radio and television stations run by government have no statewide coverage. The signal hardly reaches the entire state capitals.

The uneven radio station distribution is not unconnected to the obvious challenges of material and financial resources. This according to stakeholders is another reason why many of the existing ones can hardly effectively broadcast across or beyond the local governments in which they are situated. There are many more communities, particularly those in the interior or far from the state capitals that are not covered by local radio or television signals from their state radio or television stations. Many of them rely on external radio stations like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Voice of America (VOA), Radio France International (RFI) and DeutsheWelle or in fewer cases, FRCN Kaduna, for information about issues in their states or country. The question, then, is who fills the gap as the source of regular information about
the immediate environment for the people? The natural answer lies in the community radio. It can act as a voice as well as a bridge between the communities and the rest of the world.

Nigeria combines plurality in different aspects—over 250 ethnic groups; multiple religious affiliations of Christianity, Islam and traditional African religion; diverse linguistic variations with over 450 dialects, cultural diversities, amongst others. Naturally, every ethnic group would prefer to have access to the radio and broadcast in its language or dialect. But such needs cannot be realised on existing media channels because of limited capacities. In many cases, English and some few major languages dominate the airwaves with the noticeable exclusion of smaller groups, thus, sometimes promoting alienation and acrimony among communities. Programmes are disproportionately tilted in favour of the urban areas and elite tastes, just as the commercialisation in the system helps to restrict access for the majority of the people. Hence, the needs to further democratise and decentralise the broadcast system by accommodating community radio to enlarge the space for many more languages and interests groups to participate (Pate 2012).

Based on an extensive study in selected African countries, Alumuku (2006) found that community radio is an instrument in the hand of communities seeking their own solutions to problems which for centuries have held them captive and rendered them incapacitated. It is an instrument which renews hope for the democratisation process blowing across Africa. He notes further that, community radio programmes seek to underpin the role of communication in addressing societal issues at a community level such as poverty and social exclusion, empowerment of the marginalised rural groups and acting as a catalyst for the development efforts of the underprivileged.

Alumuku concluded that community radio in individual African countries: serve community needs, are a powerful tool for democratisation, promote conflict resolution, promote democracy, enhance girl-child education, promote healthcare education, combat crime and corruption, as well as promote human rights and good governance. These positive developments can be reaped in different segments of the Nigerian society in view of the country’s multi-sectoral deplorable conditions. For example, in the education sector where The ActionAid Nigeria Deputy Country Director, Akinola Tolulope, in a recent article published in the online version of the Leadership newspaper on July 17, 2012 titled “The Girl-child and Education in Nigeria” noted that, Nigeria accounts for over six million of the 36 million school-age girls who were not in school.

NIGERIA’S COMMUNITY BROADCASTING GOVERNANCE REGIME: THE JOURNEY SO FAR

Visible and coordinated effort to initiate community radio broadcasting in Nigeria dates back to November 2003 when the Steering Committee on the Initiative for Building of Community Radio was formed. Members were drawn from diverse background across the six geopolitical zones, as well as stakeholders from the international community. There were representatives from the media and civil society, academia, women’s groups, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) experts, government officials, the World Bank, AMARC, and the PANOS Institute, among others.

The Committee desired pluralistic sources of information in Nigeria’s emerging democracy, especially at the community level, sought the review of existing legal frameworks
for broadcasting to provide licensing for and establishment of community radios by adopting a road map of engagement and inclusiveness at the zonal, national and international levels to:

- Create awareness and enlightenment through workshops and conferences in all the geopolitical zones.
- Embark on advocacy campaigns for decision makers in the legislative and executive arms of the Nigerian government and other stakeholders for change in government policy.
- Research and publications to document the process and struggle.
- Local and international advocacy tours.

A public consultative mechanism was adopted in 2006 when the Federal Government of Nigeria, through the Minister of Information, constituted a 17-member multi-sectoral committee to draft a policy to guide government in the community radio establishment. The committee headed by distinguished late Professor Alfred Opobor submitted a draft document to establish guidelines governing the licensing regime of community radio stations in December 2006. The then Minister, Mr. Frank Nweke, Jnr acknowledged radio as an important tool in addressing critical issues like poverty alleviation, education, health care, peace building and other aspects of development; but expressed worry that very few people participated in the dissemination of information with the majority simply acting as passive receivers and assured that the government would initiate the process. The Minister’s comments corroborate the purpose of community broadcasting “as a key agent of democratisation for socio-cultural, educational, and economic development” (NBC 2012: 97).

Lack of continuity and government bureaucracy stalled progress despite several advocacy visits to lobby governments at federal and state levels, NBC officials and media campaigns to ensure the subject remained in the public domain and debates. There were also submissions of memorandum to government committees on the Review of the National Mass Communication Policy and that for drafting the Community Radio Policy. This eventually led to Nigerian tertiary education curriculum reforms and community radio courses were introduced and taught to equip communication and journalism students with the prerequisite skills for participation in community broadcasting operations.

Thus, for several years, there were contestations on community radio in the context of existing broadcast governance regime in Nigeria. The First, second, third and fourth editions of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) Code made no explicit provisions on the operations of community radio broadcasting in the country. Bidding for broadcasting license gave community radio stations little chance to compete with wealthy commercial media organisations because radio licenses, as stipulated in the Code, were only to emanate from registered companies whose majority shares were held by Nigerians. Thus, the licenses could only be obtained by limited liability companies and not organisations registered under trusteeship such as Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs), who are not-for-profit organisations. This automatically foreclosed any room for the community radio establishment and flourishing. Yet, these were community advocacy groups that champion the visions and aspirations of various communities.
CHALLENGES
The struggle for community broadcasting in Nigeria should now regenerate from legal provision to practice. Before now, the greatest impediment to the emergence and development of community broadcasting in Nigeria was the absence of appropriate legal, regulatory and administrative framework. However, the fifth edition of the Nigeria Broadcasting Code (2012) provides frameworks for community broadcasting.

The Code now meets some requirements of the African Charter on Broadcasting, as demanded by proponents and stakeholders. It provides community broadcasting as the third tier, after public and commercial broadcasting. Licensing will be approved as terrestrial free-to-air, for both radio and TV. Grant or renewal of license shall be considered based on ownership, funding, constitution of the Board of Trustees, as well as nature and content of programming, with particular reference to the treatment of political and religious matters throughout lifespan of license. Religious organisations, political parties, individuals or corporate profit making organisations shall not be granted licenses. Funding shall be from: resources of the community raised through levies, contributions and membership fees; donations, gifts or grants; and local spot announcements. The nature of operations is to be decided by members of the community with participation of entrusted professionals and the language spoken within community shall be given prominence. It shall be owned and controlled by the community through a trusteeship or a foundation with a Board of Trustees and all its broadcast equipment shall not be sited outside the community. It shall also not use the broadcast equipment to transmit beyond its assigned coverage area (NBC 2012: 33-99).

But “the intent of good laws can be subverted by uneven and inconsistent enforcement or cumbersome and overly bureaucratic regulation” (Kuttab, Duer and Coyer 2007, 17). One major hurdle here, to licensing and success of community radio in Nigeria is the suspicion and fear surrounding the practicability of the system. Decision makers are still unconvinced on its workability in our fragile but complex setting where issues of diversity like religion, ethnicity, and politics can easily lead to explosive conflicts with devastating consequences. To allay such genuine fears, the Community Radio Coalition must continue to advocate at the right places to reassure that with the appropriate Code and other proper operational frameworks, community radio stations would, instead of being sources or promoters of conflict, become a great instrument for national cohesion, harmony and development as in other parts of the world where it is practiced.

Closely related to the above are bureaucratic bottlenecks observed at several levels in the system. Nigeria still has no legal National Mass Communication Policy. In July 2011, the new Federal Ministry of Communication Technology, carved from the old Federal Ministry of Information and Communications (now Federal Ministry of Information), inaugurated a committee to draft a National Information Communication Technology (ICT) Policy (National ICT Policy Draft 2012: 2-3). The committee was to review, among others, the unlegislated and abandoned National Mass Communication Policy. There is yet to be a National ICT Policy too. It is still at the draft and review stage.

The fees and charges for licenses are still too high. The NBC has no official publication on license fees schedule for community radio, even in the new Code. But it was reliably gathered that the first campus radio license (which is categorised under community broadcasting in the Code) granted to the University of Lagos, UnilagFM station in 2002 was granted for one million Naira (now roughly $6,368.017. The Commission has now granted 27 campus radio broadcast licenses to tertiary institutions in the country, with the most recent granted in 2009.
But considering that 60.9 percent of Nigerians presently live in absolute poverty conditions (NBS, 2010), most of the poor communities cannot afford such fees; and this will no doubt put applicants and licensees of small powered community radio stations in severe disadvantage, particularly compared to their commercial counterparts, who can afford to pay huge fees, that can later be ripped-off from advertisements. This is why Kuttab, Duer and Coyer (2007: 16) advised that community radio station should not be subject to the same licensing fees required for commercial broadcasters.

There are also allegations that the forces of commercialism in the broadcast industry are heavily influencing the emergence of a successful community broadcasting structure and regime. The private interests in the broadcast industry consider community broadcasting as unwanted rivals, and hence intensify their lobby at the appropriate quarters in government to discourage its implementation or create overlapping conceptualizations to create legislative confusions. This is probably why there have been conflicting signals and confusing messages from some of the agencies. Other challenges relate to issues of costs, appropriate technology, human resources, electricity supply and sustainability. These are issues that can be conveniently addressed through development initiatives, now that the legal and governance regime have been initiated. According to Kuttab, Duer and Coyer (2007: 16), these should be conducted with transparency and independence of procedures regulating community broadcasting, as well as transparency and clarity of licensing regimes and eligibility criteria.

However, the Code lists campus broadcasting as a form of community broadcasting, despite the fact that it clearly stipulates that it is principally to train students in broadcasting and other related fields and to provide opportunities for practical experience (p.100). It is important to emphasise that there are arguments on whether campus radio qualifies as community radio or not. It should also be clarified that, no where, was it pre-categorised under a community radio by the African Charter on Broadcasting, as well as other relevant global and African legal documents championing freedom of information and expression. Campus radio is already in operation in some Nigerian tertiary institutions, but that does not mean it professionally and sufficiently qualifies to be categorised as a form of community radio. There is therefore, the need to engage regulatory agencies to understand and clarify concepts to conform to international applications. After all, the definition and application of community radio in Nigeria cannot deviate from global concepts and application.

**THE WAY FORWARD**

Nigeria needs a more effective, legally binding community broadcasting regime for true democracy, media pluralism and diversity of information sources. The current structure of broadcasting in the country is deficient to effectively cover the whole country and provide the critical voice for the people. The country’s current imbroglio causing debilitating poverty and unemployment for the multitudes, and the realities of inadequate basic infrastructure, among others; as well as the tumultuous state of insecurity characterised by bloody insurrection and kidnappings across the country, with huge fatalities, among others can be surmounted with good governance through transparency and accountability championed by inclusive participation and collective responsibility. Now that a legal framework has emerged, community broadcasting provides such an opportunity. This paper therefore recommends the following options as the way forward for the development of community broadcasting in Nigeria.
1. **Community broadcast for peace and development:** Community radio, for example, have been used to foster dialogue and peace in communities prone to ethnic and boundary related conflicts. According to Frampton *et al.* (2007: 8), the first independence radio production studio in Burundi, *Studio Ijambo* prevented the spill over of violence from Rwanda to Burundi during the 1994 Genocide. Professionals and community members from bordering ethnic groups were brought together to develop new standards of balanced reporting, to represent all the voices of the community, after which attention shifted to capacity-building through skills training. This strategy was later emulated by numerous other radio stations. The community broadcast station also helped to re-define the public’s media literacy because people could easily identify what real media should look like. Listening and discussion clubs were also formed to engage the community beyond radio, in discussion and mediation forums.

   Peaceful coexistence engenders development initiatives. So do transparency, accountability, justice to all, inclusive participation of the citizenry in governance and decision-making processes. They all engender the culture of collective duties and responsibilities. The strategy adopted in the Burundi-Rwanda case above can be adopted with specific-context modifications to engender development initiatives, dialogue and peaceful dispute resolution in Nigeria where armed insurrections and insurgency against constituted authorities is now a daily affair. It is also applicable to areas with perennial ethnic rivalries and boundary disputes that have led to the destruction of lives as well as sources of livelihoods in communities across Nigeria’s geopolitical zones.

   However, “community radio developers must have a clear strategy and vision of what they want to achieve. With community radio, the focus is on dialogue, on finding solutions, on the future rather than who did what to whom..., on bringing all the stakeholders together and through the radio trying to calm situations down and move the society toward peace and democracy” (Frampton *et al.* 2007: 8).

2. **Inclusive participation:** Starting a community radio or TV for example, requires “… a sense of internal cohesion and community consciousness. There must be a willingness for cooperative work and to pool resources and enthusiastic consensus that the people want their own radio in order to advance their community… the community must analyse its communication needs and determine how radio could help to resolve them. The traditional approach to development is to provide support to agriculture, health and education…” (Fraser and Estrada, 2001: 1).

   The argument is that development can only succeed if it is centred on the people concerned. And it can only be sustained if the people are carried along in the decision about what will affect their lives, albeit positively or negatively. Either way, they are the beneficiaries and must therefore be at the forefront of making decisions about their present and future. This is not to say that, they should be left on their own without any guidance.

   For instance, a way is sought for an agricultural, health, educational or unemployment problem of a community, the people should form the fulcrum of the solution. Ideally, when they are engaged in the process, they generate brilliant solutions. This means involving members of the community to contribute and “... for people to participate actively, their contributions must be respected, and that opportunity must be provided
for their voices to be heard” (Gerace and Lazaro, 2006: 66-67). Inclusive participation also ensures transparency and accountability. These automatically establish trust among members of the community, and provide an atmosphere for development to thrive rather than an atmosphere of mistrust, speculations and deception.

3. **Supportive legislation and proper implementation:** Stakeholders of the community radio project in Nigeria must continue to strive for the right supportive legislative frameworks and proper implementation of existing ones. Kuttab, Duer and Coyer (2007: 15) and Tacchi (2002) note that there have been problems with implementing legislation for community radio either due to lack of supportive legislation for free operation, or due to improper implementation of existing laws. This is important in the Nigerian context because sustainability, among other challenges for the functionality of community radio becomes relevant only when the legal and political environments allow community radio to exist.

Presently, the legislative environment for community broadcasting in Nigeria supports the existence of both radio and television broadcasting. But the NBC Act 38 of 1992 establishing the regulatory agency needs some amendments by the National Assembly to get rid of the overbearing political influence of the Executive arm of government, now hindering its free operation. Currently, only the President is empowered to grant approvals for license applications as provided in the Nigerian Constitution and not the Commission. There is thus the need to amend this provision as well as the Act establishes the Commission to give it the powers of legislation and regulation to grant license approvals as required and prescribed by the Code.

More provisions in the NBC Act to empower the Commission to establish and supervise six community regional radio stations in the six geopolitical zones are also required. Already the Code has provisions for terrestrial radio and TV coverage at the national, regional, zonal, state and city territorial levels (NBC, 2012: 33). These established regional community broadcast stations (radio or TV), can be partly funded from the resources of a National Community Broadcast Fund, which can be instituted upon the amendment of the NBC Act to make provisions for its creation. Additional funding to complement the funding from the Fund can be sourced as prescribed for in the section for establishing community broadcasting in the Code.

The conditions for renewal of licences are equally stringent and subject to multiple interpretations and manipulations, depending on the interests to be served. The Code stipulates that renewal of a license is “subject to the renewal process and fulfilment of the conditions as may be prescribed by the Commission” (NBC 2012: 37). This may be interpreted differently, including or excluding certain conditions as deemed fit by the Commission in order to make it impossible for the applicant to fulfil according to the whims and caprices of the political elites. The conditions for consideration are also rigid and tedious, among others, to include: evidences of regular submission of annual audited accounts, evidences of compliance with levies and fines and evidences of regular payment of staff remuneration and allowances (NBC 2012: 38).

The Nigeria Community Radio Coalition adds that details of the conditions for the renewal of licenses include:
(a) a station must clear all its outstanding financial and administrative obligations to the NBC, which includes 2.5 per cent of their gross turnover as annual charges (b) demonstration of compliance with the provisions of the National Broadcasting Code, which contains strict rules on what may be broadcast (c) a station seeking licence renewal must submit to the NBC its Statement of Account for the period covered by the previous licence, accompanied by 15 copies of the licence renewal application form and a fresh feasibility report for the period for which renewal is being sought (d) submission of a detailed report on the station’s compliance with its statement of intent in the original application for licence (e) submission of a report on its compliance with relevant provisions of the third schedule to NBC Act No 38. This schedule requires stations to submit to the NBC in advance quarterly programme schedules along with a synopsis of the listed programmes (nigeriacommunityradio.org/nbc.php)

These conditions, the Coalition note, are difficult to fulfil, even by existing private/commercial radio operators because the conditions require expertise in the areas of accounting and auditing, feasibility and management, as well as financial buoyancy, which most community broadcast stations may find difficult to comply with too.

Similarly, the current situation, where, all public funded media organisations are controlled by the Ministry of Information at the federal and state levels, makes them vulnerable to all sorts of political manipulations, censorship, as well as unnecessary meddling. There are also fears that, when community broadcast licenses are granted, they would be subjected to the similar restrictions and thus defeat the struggle for a free and independent plural media for sustainable development in Nigeria. Presently, the Ministry controls and directs the activities of the various public-funded media organisations to inform, enlighten, and educate Nigerians on activities, actions, policies and programmes of government. These are hindrances to democratic independence of media institutions, as well as the attainment of the full development aspirations of the people. These media organisations, if granted autonomy as independent public institutions, with budgetary provisions and mandate of revenue generation, can efficiently undertake the Ministry’s current mandate independently, under the watchful eyes of the NBC without the Ministry’s meddlesomeness. However, this cannot be, without the political will to amend the various existing censorship laws.

The success of the global news media Al-Jazeera is today partly due to a wave of media law reforms that swept through the oil-rich state of Qatar, prompting the abolition of previous censorship laws. “In March 1998 the Emir abolished the Ministry of Information, ending press, radio, and television censorship. Overnight the government-owned Qatar Radio and Television Corporation, the Qatari Press Agency and the Department of Printing and Publications became independent public institutions. All the media in Qatar, including Al-Jazeera, found their horizons dramatically broadened in terms of whom they could employ and what they could broadcast or publish” (Miles, 2005: 29).

4. Infrastructure and operational support: In countries where community broadcasting exists, there has also been problems of sustaining funding, uninterrupted electricity supply and maintaining equipment (Clark 2007: 12). Again, Tacchi (2002) emphatically adds that “funding is a clear problem, especially where the stations are serving communities
that are unable to support the station because of serious economic underdevelopment. Community participation is another major issue, simply understanding what community radio [and TV] is and can be for communities, and how they can be managed transparently is recognised as an issue by people on all sides of the community radio [and TV] debate...."

Freedom of expression is the right of every Nigerian as provided in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Section 39 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Chapter II, section 22 of the country’s Constitution also ascribes to the mass media the freedom to uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people. This is where the media derives its watchdog role. Thus, all arms of government are therefore bound by law to utilise state resources to ensure that Nigerians are guaranteed their rights of freedom to hold opinions without interference; and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through the mass media. They are also to without prejudice guarantee the citizenry’s entitlement to own, establish and operate any medium for the dissemination of information, ideas and opinions. This further clarifies the recommendation earlier for the establishment of a National Community Broadcast Fund, to be sourced from tiers of government on the scales to be proposed in the amendments in order to provide financial support to community broadcast stations with regular modest allocations.

However, operators and communities within which community broadcast stations are operated must understand the burden and responsibilities attached to their rights to free information. They should therefore abide by the concept of editorial independence and social responsibility, as enshrined in the journalistic ethical code of conducts, such that a community broadcaster takes responsibility for its broadcasts and not abdicate its editorial and scheduling responsibilities to internal sectional interests or external political, social, cultural or economic interests. There is also the need to further improve community understanding, participation and management skills in community broadcasting.

5. **Local enterprise development**: A feasible option for sustainability of community broadcasting is that of local enterprise development. For instance Tacchi (2002: 8) state that The Ford Foundation has funded a three-year project to make 12 community radio stations sustainable through local development of basic agriculture and community-based tourism. Motivational programmes were broadcast to get local people interested in and see the possibilities for starting up micro-businesses. Collaboration with a business support group was seeking to deliver courses and intensive workshops for both the community and the radio stations. Skills such as marketing, networking, financial planning, etc. were used to develop the communities economically, to such an extent that the initiative generates enough financial activities in the communities for the broadcast stations to benefit economically too, through adverts, sale of airtimes and sponsorships.

The first initiative is to seek funding from development agencies. But because the concept of community broadcasting itself emphasises community ownership, funding from external sources can generate external interferences. However, funding can be safely sourced from advertising, air time sale, sponsorship from corporate organisations within the community. It has to be emphasised too, that, advertising revenue from the community may at times be unrealistic, owing to high unemployment and dearth of commercial activities especially in the remote places where the community broadcasting
is most needed to poster their development needs. Huge revenue can be derived from the sale of air time to development agencies, government programmes and policy initiatives, as well as local functional businesses.

6. **Instituting social welfare to support volunteerism**: One community radio broadcasting concept often put forward is that of volunteerism, which requires a lot of efforts and sacrifice to ensure sustainability and excellent operation. But Tacchi (2002: 8) notes that “volunteerism simply doesn’t work”, especially where the volunteers have no other sources of income, or where there is no public social welfare system to support the socioeconomic basic needs of the volunteers. This not workability of volunteerism could be found in many rural communities in Nigeria where community broadcasting would be established.

However, Fraser and Estrada (2001: 51) suggest a solution to surmounting the problem of volunteers. “One good strategy for the start-up period is to broadcast at weekends only. This will make it easier to find volunteers who have weekend time available. However, the audience must be informed and reminded that the station will be on air only each weekend. This should be done through weekly publicity efforts using means such as mobile loudspeaker, announcements by the religious establishments, posters, etc.”

In addition, communities who want to adopt this participatory strategy can also consider instituting social welfare support systems or encourage participants of community broadcasting to engage in economic activities so that their involvement at the broadcast station would be on a part time rotational basis while they use the rest of their time to earn a living. This is possible if broadcasting hours are conveniently scheduled for the operators of the community radio station and all other members of the community to listen and participate as suggested above.

**CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, the struggle for community broadcasting in Nigeria should now regenerate from legal provision to holistic practice to ensure that the provisions of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The African Charter on Broadcasting, as well as Sections 22 and 39 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria become realities. All legal instruments guarantee the right of freedom to hold opinions without interference; and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media. Though the first two are international legal instruments, to which Nigeria is a signatory and the Constitution, the country’s superior document, which is legally binding on every Nigerian, they all crave to engender an enabling environment to establish and successfully administer a community broadcast regime in consistence with the Windhoek Declaration of 1991 on establishment, maintenance and fostering of an independent, pluralistic and free press; free from monopolies of existence, as well as of governmental, political, economic or material and infrastructure control, which are essential for dissemination of information for development. These are fundamental human rights of every community, and not privileges.
REFERENCES


Pate, Umaru. 2010. Meeting community needs and expectations through sustainable broadcasting in North East Nigeria. Communication Review. 4 (2): 79-118.


## APPENDIX

### Table 1: Campus Radio Licensees in Nigerian Tertiary Institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Licensee</th>
<th>Year of License</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>UNILAG FM (Academic) University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>University of Nigeria Nsukka, Enugu</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nnamdi Azikwe University Awka, Anambra</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife, Osun</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Kaduna</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>National Teachers Institute Kaduna</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Auchi Polytechnic Auchi, Edo</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Madonna University Okija, Anambra</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>National Open University of Nigeria Lagos</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cross River State University of Science and Technology Ogoja, Cross River</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Federal University of Technology Minna, Niger</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Igbinedion University, Okada Okada, Edo</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bayero University Kano</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>University of Port Harcourt Port Harcourt, Rivers</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rivers State University of Science and Technology Port Harcourt, Rivers</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Usman Danfodio University Sokoto</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Akwa Ibom Polytechnic Ikot Osuru, Akwa Ibom</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>University of Ibadan Ibadan, Oyo</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>University of Jos Jos, Plateau</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Babcock University Ilisan-Remo Ilisan Remo, Ogun</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>University of Ilorin Ilorin, Kwara</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Federal University of Technology Akure, Ondo</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Location</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Lagos State University</td>
<td>Lagos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>University of Abuja</td>
<td>Abuja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Caritas University</td>
<td>Enugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kaduna Polytechnic</td>
<td>Kaduna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>University of Uyo</td>
<td>Uyo, Akwa Ibom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** National Broadcasting Commission (NBC); [http://www.nbc.gov.ng](http://www.nbc.gov.ng)
AN EVALUATION OF THE COVERAGE OF POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE MALAYSIAN AND NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS

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ABSTRACT
The word ‘crisis’ has been used to define and identify many serious situations such as protests, terrorism, wars, diseases, among others. In this paper, Crisis reporting could be defined as the reporting of information about the state of affairs in which a decisive change for the worse is about to, or has occurred. Nigeria and Malaysia are no exception to the crisis and each of them do experience crisis now and then. The news media have a unique and exceptionally important role to play when covering a national crisis. In this regard, accurate and appropriate information about a crisis is an expectation that is required if the government of a country wants to allay fears from the public. This is because modern democracy depends on a vibrant news media to keep the public informed. At no point is this more important than in times of crisis. This is a comparative study on how newspapers in Malaysia and Nigeria reported the political crisis that characterized the two countries from 2007 to 2009. The research used content analysis to compare the coverage by newspapers in the two countries. This is aimed at determining the differences in the rate of coverage, observing the trend of crisis occurrence in the two countries, and determining the sources of information for the newspapers. The research relied on the framing theory. One of the findings of the paper is that Nigerian newspapers have significantly reported more of the crisis than Malaysian newspapers. This study has also been able to show how newspapers in the two countries differ in their reporting of the political crisis that occurred between 2007 and 2009.

Keywords: Crisis reporting, political crisis, news framing, news coverage, news media

INTRODUCTION
Since Malaysia’s independence in 1957, its political landscape has been dominated by Barisan Nasional, a coalition of the United Malay National organization (UMNO), the Malaysian
Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). This explains the reason why most of Malaysia’s political crisis arose when it appears the ruling coalition performs poorly in elections. In the words of Razaleigh Hamzah (2010) “The deterioration of Malaysia’s political order did not happen overnight or in isolation. It is part of a more general pattern of the decline of democracy and the rule of law in many newer democracies. Many post-colonial societies that began with democratic institutions saw democracy collapse afterwards into dictatorship”. For instance, at the May 1969 federal elections, the UMNO-MCA-MIC Alliance polled only 48 percent of the vote, although it retained a majority in the legislature. The MCA lost most of the Chinese-majority seats to Gerakan or DAP candidates. The victorious opposition celebrated by holding a motorcade on the main streets of Kuala Lumpur with supporters holding up brooms as a signal of its intention to make sweeping changes.

Fear of what the changes might mean for them (as many of the country’s businesses were Chinese owned), a Malay backlash resulted, leading rapidly to riots and inter-communal violence. The government declared a state of emergency, and a National Operations Council, headed by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, took power from the government of Tunku Abdul Rahman, who in September 1970 was forced to retire in favour of Abdul Razak. Using the Emergency-era Internal Security Act (ISA), the new government suspended Parliament and political parties, imposed press censorship and placed severe restrictions on political activity. The ISA gave the government power to intern any person indefinitely without trial. These powers were widely used to silence the government’s critics, and have never been repealed. The Constitution was changed to make illegal any criticism, even in Parliament, of the Malaysian monarchy, the special position of Malays in the country, or the status of Malay as the national language.

Again, the Barisan Nasional narrow victories in November 2007 two anti-government rallies occurred, precipitated by allegations of corruption and discrepancies in the election system that heavily favoured the ruling political party, the National Front (known as Barisan Nasional) which has been in power since Malaya achieved independence.

On the other hand, political crisis in Nigeria dates back to 1960 when the country gained independence from the British colonial government. During the first republic, the country was split into three geopolitical regions, namely Western Region, Eastern Region and Northern Region. Prior to this period, there was a brief period when the various Ethnic Groups of Nigeria coalesced to form a nationalist political movement - The Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), a political movement that could have established a solid foundation of a true national political party and that would have prevented the crisis from developing. In the elections of 1938, the NYM dominated the Legislative Council and moved to establish a genuinely national network of affiliates. This promising start was stopped short three years later by internal divisions in which ethnic loyalties emerged triumphant. The departure of Igbo leaders from the NYM left the organization in Yoruba hands. During World War II, the NYM was reorganized into a predominantly Yoruba political party - the Action Group thus set the stage for a Yoruba-Igbo rivalry that has become a major factor in Nigerian politics. Undoubtedly, strong ethnic identities and the fear of political domination by other Ethnic Groups, which were developed during pre-colonial Nigeria, created ethnic cleavages in pre-independent Nigeria.

As indicated by Ojo (2012), 1964-1966 would go down the annals of Nigerian history as turbulent and politically explosive years. The federal elections of 1964, which, for all intents
and purposes, was an electoral battle between the Nigerian National Alliance and the United Progressive Grand Alliance, subjected the Nigerian democratic process to unprecedented stress. The electoral battle between the alliances produced a political stalemate which, for the first time since the 1914 amalgamation, left the country without a legally constituted central government for about two days. Although, the deadlock was eventually resolved through a wretched compromise which did not address the fundamental causes of the crisis; the relief was transient. Thus, in 1965, pre and post election violence in the defunct Western Region created unprecedented political instability in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the ethnic and other interests of some of the leaders of the Structural Frame made a quick resolution of the crisis impossible and on 15 January 1966, the military intervened in the Nigeria democratic process to restore law and order. Till date, Nigeria’s democratic process, particularly the transition of power from one civilian government to the other is usually characterized with crisis.

Building positive relationships with the media during crisis helps to establish rapport that will serve well in managing the situation. Understanding that newspapers play important role in informing the public is important during a crisis. Providing timely, accurate, helpful information both in critical situations and in the mundane can enhance the credibility of the government. As noted by Kowalski T.J (2000), one of the most important elements in crisis management is working with the media. Media relations are also one of the most overlooked areas of crisis management. While the circumstances and reactions to crisis differ from country to country, the presence and importance of the media have remained constant. In crisis situation, the government can expect local, national, and even international media attention. So knowing that the media will be a part of any crisis event will help government and its agencies to prepare for media inquiries, while using the media to disseminate the most accurate information about the crisis and what is being done in response to it. This is to say that during crisis, the media plays important role of informing the community of what is going on. Failure to maintain good relations with the media and not having a plan to deal with them have always turned even the most thorough plans into chaos. More so, the centrality of the media in contemporary democracies makes the public to be sensitive to news; particularly to “bad” news that often attracts public attention. The publication of news about crisis could trigger panic among the public. Media influence on public opinion may impact not only the actions of government but also on those of the public directly and indirectly affected by the crisis.

OBJECTIVES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY
The objective of this study is to compare the coverage of political crisis by the Malaysian and Nigerian newspapers. This is achieved by stating some research questions which help in proper understanding of the situations in the two countries. These questions include, the rate of coverage given to the political crisis in the two countries, the difference in the way the crisis was reported by newspapers in the two countries, the trend of political crisis occurrence in each of the countries, the sources of information for the stories, and the frame which is featured more prominently than others. To be able to answer these questions, this study uses the framing analysis.

The findings of this study provide a useful insight into the way and manner newspapers in the two countries cover political crisis. It should be noted that there is no existing literature on comparative studies between Malaysia and Nigeria in the field of political crisis reporting.
in newspapers. However, literatures exist in each of the two countries regarding political crisis or sometimes political conflict. This study in a way will help to fill the knowledge gap that exists in determining how the press in the two countries compare and contrast with each other in reporting the crisis. Again, the findings will deepen readers’ understanding of the media environment in the two countries and how government-owned newspapers determine what constitutes a crisis.

**METHODOLOGY**

The methodology for this study is content analysis. Four newspapers (two each) were selected from Malaysia and Nigeria. The newspapers are the *New Straits Times (NST)*, and *The Star* (Malaysia), the *Sun* and the *Nation* (Nigeria). The choice of these newspapers was made based on the wide coverage they gave to the crisis. Again, they are government-controlled mainstream newspapers, and their determination of what constitutes a crisis is based on their ownership pattern. The *NST*, and *The Star* are linked to Malaysia’s ruling coalition party—Barisan Nasional. On the other hand, *The Sun* and *the Nation* are owned by two former state governors of Abia State and Lagos state. These former governors are still active in Nigerian politics and have their interests represented in government. The time frame for the research is from 2007 to 2009. This becomes necessary owing to the fact that the period was characterized by different types of crises in the two countries, but the major focus of this paper is on political crisis. The criteria for extracting the stories include headlines of the stories, place and time of occurrence. Others are causes of the crisis, the categories of the news and the page numbers where the crisis is reported. In all, a total of 1,106 news stories were collected from the four newspapers, 269 from Malaysian newspapers and 837 from Nigerian newspapers. Each of the stories serves as unit of analysis. Chi-Square test was used to determine the aggregate reporting of the political crisis stories in the four newspapers. This helps to enable us know how the two countries differ in their reporting.

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

While newsmakers may employ many different frames in their coverage of an issue, scholars agree that this abundance in choice in how to tell and construct stories can be captured in analyses as certain distinctive characteristics. Weaver (2007) mentioned that frames can be studied by means of systematic content analysis or more interpretative textual analysis alone. Van Gorp (2007) also observed that some researchers opt for a rather qualitative approach in analysing media frame, such as discourse analysis, while others apply traditional content analysis or other quantitative methods. He argued that the strongly abstract nature of frames implies that quantitative research methods should be combined with the interpretative prospects of qualitative methods. Furthermore, Tankard (2008) remarked that framing might give quantitative researchers a way to approach ideology, a subject mostly dealt with by critical theorists to date.

According to Bryant and Miron (2004), in recent years framing theory has taken over from agenda setting and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communication science. It should be noted however that one of the most pressing issues in framing research is the lack of conceptual clarity and operational definitions. But
one can draw from Entman (1993: 52) who suggests that to frame is to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context.

FINDINGS
A total of 1106 news stories were collected from the four newspapers, 269 from Malaysian newspapers and 837 from Nigerian newspapers.

Table 1: Total number of political news stories in Malaysian and Nigerian newspapers

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<td>The Star</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<th>2007</th>
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<td>The Sun</td>
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<td>101</td>
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<td>Nation</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using Chi-square, the data indicates that Malaysian newspapers (NST and The Star) reported a total of 269 political crisis stories as against 837 by Nigerian newspapers (the Sun and the Nation). The result indicates that there is a significant difference in the coverage between Malaysian and Nigerian newspapers. Nigerian newspapers have significantly reported political crisis more than Malaysian newspapers, $X^2 (1, n = 1106) = 291.703, P < .001.$

Figure 1: Trend of political crisis reporting in Malaysian newspapers
In observing the trend of crises reporting in the two countries, each of the four newspapers was analysed on day by day news stories covered, to find out the percentage of occurrence of the crisis each year. The result is presented in Figure 1.

The bar chart shows that there was 0% political crisis in 2007, 11.2% in 2008, and 88.8% in 2009. This means that the greater percentage of political crisis reports in the Malaysian newspapers within the three years occurred in 2009, but lowest in 2007.

Figure 2: Trend of political crisis reporting in Nigerian newspaper

The bar chart in Figure 2 above shows 54.5% political crisis in 2007, and 26.2% in 2008, and finally 19.3% in 2009. This means that the political crisis occurred more in 2007, followed by 2008, but lesser in 2009.

Table 2: Sources of news for Malaysian and Nigerian newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>NST</th>
<th>The Star</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sun</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>154</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>837</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table above, government sources contributed to a total of 185 stories in Malaysian newspapers, 102 news stories from the NST and 83 from The Star, resulting to 68.8% of the total percentage of sources of information during the period under study. This is followed by police sources with 38 news stories in all, 24 from the NST and 14 from The Star which sums up to 14.1%. Opposition sources recorded a total of 30 news stories, 17 from NST, 13 from The Star, and these constitute 11.2%. Lastly, public source contributed to a total of 16 stories, 11 from NST and 5 from The Star. Put together, this amount to 5.9%. Therefore, this means that both the NST and The Star relied heavily on government sources in gathering information for their stories.
Also in Nigerian newspapers, the findings reveal that government sources contributed to a total of 478 news stories, comprising 281 from the *Sun*, 197 from the *Nation*. In all, government sources contributed to 57.1% of the overall percentage of sources of news in the Nigerian newspapers. This is followed by opposition sources with a total of 140 news stories, 78 from the *Sun*, 62 from the *Nation*, and these amounted to 16.7%. The third in the list is police sources with an overall of 117 stories, 65 from the *Sun* and 52 from the *Nation*, totaling 14%. Public sources were the least on the list with a total number of 102 stories, 43 from the *Sun* and 59 from the *Nation*. These summed up to 12.2%. In this respect, it is evident that government source contributed the greatest percentage of the stories in the *Sun* and the *Nation* newspapers; hence government sources once again dominated every other sources of information during the crisis.

The table above shows the different types of frames that Malaysian newspapers (*NST* and *The Star*) and their Nigerian counterparts (the *Sun* and the *Nation*) used in reporting the political crisis during the period of study. The need for this is to identify the type of frame(s) that featured more prominently than the others. The result shows that *NST* and *The Star* used a total of 19 conflict frames, 8 from the former and 11 from the later, representing 43.2% of total frame in Malaysian newspapers. Consequences frame is the next in occurrence with 9 stories, 3 from *NST* and 6 from *The Star*, and these summed up to 20.4%. This is followed by responsibility frame with 8 appearances, 6 from *NST* and 2 from *The Star*. All makes up 18.2%. The fourth is human frame which was used 7 times, 3 in *NST* and 4 in *The Star*, representing 15.7%. Finally moral frame appeared only once in *NST* and none in *The Star*, and this takes up 2.3%. From this one can deduce that conflict frame featured more prominently in the Malaysian newspapers more than other frames.

In Nigerian newspapers, the result indicates that the frame with highest occurrence is equally conflict frame, with a total of 26 stories, 16 from the *Sun* and 10 from the *Nation*. These put together make up to 31.7% of the total percentage of frames used by the Nigerian newspapers within the period. This is followed by responsibility frame with 18 stories, 11 from the *Sun* and 7 from the *Nation*, (21.9%). The next is moral frame totaling 15 stories, 8 from the *Sun* and 7 from the *Nation* (18.3%). Human frame and consequences frame recorded 14 and 9 stories, representing 17.1% and 11% respectively. With regard to the above, Nigerian newspapers have featured more conflict frame than others just like their Malaysian counterparts.
DISCUSSION

In comparing the political crisis in the two countries, the aggregate report (Table 1) shows that there is a difference in the newspapers’ coverage. Nigerian newspapers (The Sun and the Nation) have significantly reported more crisis stories than their Malaysian counterparts (NST and The Star), hence the chi-square test result $X^2 (1, n = 1106) = 291.703, P < .001$. The year 2007 was the height of Nigeria’s political crisis in the current democratic dispensation which started in 1999; hence the two newspapers recorded a total of 456 political crisis stories.

In 2008, political crisis stories were 219 in number and 162 in 2009. Altogether, a total of 837 political crisis stories was reported. As rightly stated Nigeria witnessed a dramatic political crisis in 2007, resulting from President Obasanjo’s attempt to change the country’s constitution to enable him run for the presidency the third time. This was against the constitutional provision of a Nigeria’s presidential system which allows for two-term tenure for the office of the president. As expected, the opposition parties and Nigerian publics, and even most people from the ruling party opposed this move, resulting to political turmoil. On the other hand, the internal political crisis within the ruling Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP) ensued, leading to a strained relationship between the President and his Vice, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, and also between the executive and the legislative arms of government.

At the expiration of the tenure of the two-term tenure of the President in May 2007, Nigerians had hoped that there would be a smooth transition of power from one civilian government to the other, but this never happened. The Vice President (Atiku Abubakar) who was supposed to have been the Presidential flag-bearer of the ruling party in the April 2007 polls was denied the ticket by the PDP at the dictate of the President (Obasanjo). Instead, the party handpicked Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’Adua as the presidential flag-bearer and Dr. Goodluck Jonathan as his running mate. Following this drama, Atiku defected to the opposition party, All Nigerians Peoples’ Party (ANPP), and became its Presidential flag-bearer for the election.

As envisaged, the April 2007 general election in Nigeria was claimed to have been marred by irregularities and rigging orchestrated by the ruling People’s Democratic Party (PDP). Notwithstanding, the candidate of the Ruling Peoples’ Democratic Party, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’Adua was declared winner of the Presidential election. Subsequently, the result was contested by the opposition parties, resulting to lawsuits and counter lawsuits by both parties which lasted over one year. The Sun newspaper captured the crisis in the following news reports; “Presidential polls: Atiku goes to Supreme Court”, (03/12/2007); “Flawed polls: Labour calls for Yar’Adua’s resignation” (12/01/2008); “Presidential polls: Supreme court decides Yar’Adua’s fate May 9” (13/02/2008).

In the same way, the Nation newspaper reported the political crisis in the following manner—“Britain denounces general election” (29/04/2007); “Atiku heads to supreme court over witnesses” (03/12/2007); “Yar’Adua worried over tribunal cases” (12/01/2008); and “Atiku urges tribunal to cancel election” (22/01/2008). It should be noted that from April 2007 till December 2009, Nigeria was under serious political crisis which almost torn the country apart. As noted by Adejumobi (2001), “the Nigerian political climate from particularly the civil war period or immediately after 1966 was characterized by lack of commitment to the virtues of honesty, equality, social justice, accountability, trust, peaceful co-existence amongst co-ethnics and respect for human rights.”
With regard to Malaysia, the country did not experience any political crisis in 2007; hence the two newspapers have zero record on it. The reason is because the country’s politics was stable during the time, even though the general election the next year (2008) would consequently spark off political crisis. In 2008, a total of 30 political crisis stories was reported, resulting from the aftermath of the general election in which the ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional was almost defeated by the opposition. This point marked the beginning of the build up for both internal and external political crisis that would ensue in the coming year. In 2009, there were a total of 239 political crisis stories. The bulk of the stories came from the Perak Assembly crisis which was a direct result of the outcome of the 2008 election. Other stories are from leadership crisis in Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), the United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), and the Negri Sembilan Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC).

In one of its news reports, the NST of 5th February 2009 stated that “Perak Government in limbo: Barisan Nasional claims power, 3 independents declare support for BN”. Also on 9th February 2009, the paper reported that “Youths protest against new Barisan Nasional Government in Perak. As a result of this protest, the UMNO Youth leader, Khairy Jamaluddin expressed the Barisan Nasional determination to take over power from the opposition when he stated in the following day (10/02/2009) news report “Use all means to stop Nizar: Khairy”. This is a call he made to Barisan Nasional members in Perak to ensure they toppled the leadership of the opposition. In the same vein, The Star report of 17th February, 2009 portrayed a picture of the political situation in Perak State Assembly, “Perak political situation needs fast resolution”. Subsequently, on 20th February 2009, the star report entitled “Battle of wills for Perak” depicts how fierce the crisis was.

In observing the trend of crisis coverage by newspapers in the two countries, the findings show that 2009 was the height of the political crisis in Malaysia. It was low in 2008 and lowest in 2007. Even though this might not be a true reflection of the situation on the ground, yet one can infer that Malaysia’s political environment is more stable than Nigeria’s. One other reason for this is because the media in Malaysia are seen as a partner in the development of the country and is not expected to highlight much on critical issues that could distract government. As remarked by Azizah (2009),

In Malaysia, the media system is an important agent of socio-political, economic and cultural change in our society. We are aware that its power, influence and impact has no limits and if wrongly managed may disrupt and destabilize our society. Therefore, we in Malaysia must think hard and creatively about the role of media in bringing about stability and pushing towards making Malaysia a developed, strong and prosperous nation.

But in Nigeria, the rate was higher in 2007, low in 2008 and lowest in 2009. This is so because of the nature of Nigerian society with its multi-ethnic background and with divergent religious, social and cultural orientations. Whatever that starts as religious or social conflict will boil down to political crisis. As indicated by Lai (1991). The historical accounts of the Nigerian press are premised on its overt political nature. This is probably largely due to the fact that the Nigerian press has its root in the anti-colonial agitation of the frustrated Lagos elite whom a Nigerian historian, Ayandele (1974) described as the “deluded hybrids”. Golding and Elliot have remarked that “Nigerian journalism was created by anti-colonial protest, baptized in the waters of politics, and matured in party politics” (1979).
This study revealed that both Malaysian and Nigerian newspapers hugely depended on government sources in gathering the information for their stories. The reason for this is as a result of the ownership pattern of the newspapers.

Over the years, the media industry in Malaysia has witnessed a growing and troubling trend of media ownership concentration and consolidation, which was triggered by economic and, to some extent, political considerations. Such a phenomenon prevails primarily because of the laws that govern the mainstream media, namely the Printing Presses and Publications Act for the press and the Communications and Multimedia Act for the broadcasting industry and the Internet, which invariably empower the ministers concerned to determine who can or cannot own and run the mainstream press and broadcasting stations. This situation certainly has serious implications on press freedom and the media’s qualitative diversity because media ownership concentration tends to constrain the diversity of content and viewpoints in the mainstream newspapers and broadcasting stations, especially when most owners of these media organizations are associated with the ruling coalition or constitute their economic allies. In other words, the parameters of freedom and space found in the mainstream media are directly or indirectly prescribed by the powers-that-be (Zaharom, Nain & Mustafa K. Anuar. 1998).

In his book, Old versus New Politics in Malaysia; State and Society in Transition, Francisc Loh Kok Wah (2009) questioned whether the mainstream media journalists in Malaysia are professional journalists or propagandists. This stems from the fact that during the electioneering campaign in the country there will be little discussion of serious issues. Rather the media engages in comments by editors and feature writers that there are ‘no important issues’ worth discussing, because in their own thinking those issues have recently been resolved through a new promise or a recent policy initiative. He further noted that from this point onwards, the mainstream media begins to lobby unabashedly for the ruling party—Barisan Nasional, carrying several advertisements on several pages of the newspapers supporting the BN. Even though there are sometimes few advertisements for the opposition, yet it cannot be compared to the volume of same that supports the ruling party. Much of the pro-Barisan Nasional political advertisements will highlight the development achievements of the party, and page after page will recall the major projects the party has delivered since 1957. From this, it is not surprising that they depended on government as their major source of information during the crisis.

Even though, there is much more degree of freedom for the Nigerian press unlike their Malaysian counterpart, yet it is evident that each state in the country has its own government newspaper which serves as its megaphone. The same applies to the Federal government with a national newspaper such as the Daily Times. Apart from these, ownership of the media in the country is dominated by politicians, former state governors, and business moguls who still have their stakes in the ruling government. Therefore, it is not surprising to see journalists depending on government sources for most of their information.

On news frames, the findings indicated that conflict frame was dominantly used by the four newspapers in reporting the crisis in two countries. One of the reasons for this is because political crisis on its own depicts conflict, and this study noted both intra-party and inter-party conflicts. Between 2008 and 2009, there were intra-party squabbles in the United Malay National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC). These three component parties make up Malaysia’s ruling coalition party known as Barisan Nasional (BN). Even the ruling coalition was not
also spared of the crisis because during the period the party was experiencing internal leadership disputes which eventually compelled Prime Minister, Abdullah Badawi to step down and transfer power to his deputy, Mohammed Najib. On the other hand, there were equally ongoing conflicts in the opposition parties, namely Democratic Action Party (DAP), and Pakatan Rakyat.

In Nigeria also, the internal crisis in the ruling Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP) was such a huge issue that tended to threaten the country’s nascent democracy. On their own, the opposition parties in the country were making efforts to wrestle power with the ruling party through legal actions resulting from the perceived electoral malpractices.

It is in view of the above scenarios that conflict frame became dominant in the coverage of the crisis by the four newspapers. In Malaysia for example the New Straits Times and The Star which are considered as government mainstream newspapers presented the crisis in such a frame that portrays the opposition parties as the ones fomenting trouble in the Perak State Assembly. On the front page of the NST dated 3rd February 2009, the disappearance of two state Assemblymen was presented in various ways that evoke a sense of crisis. The paper portrayed the situation in Perak State as a “State of confusion” and accused the opposition of inciting youths in the state to protest against the new state government led by Barisan Nasional, (NST 9th February 2009). As a result of this, the paper concluded that the opposition wants to overthrow the government of the ruling party, “Pakatan planning to topple Barisan Nasional government” (NST February 19, 2009).

CONCLUSION
This study has been able to show how newspapers in the two countries differ in their reporting of the political crisis that occurred between 2007 and 2009. It should be stated that the number of crisis news found in the two Nigerian newspapers is a reflection of how politics dominates other aspects of life in the country. The inability of the Nigerian government to peacefully transfer power from one democratic government to the other has already set the stage for political crisis to always erupt in the country. Successive elections in the country have been allegedly marred by electoral malpractices which in turn have always led to legal and counter-legal battles.

On the other hand, in Malaysia, the political environment is considered a very sensitive issue, so journalists are required to apply caution in reporting about it. Again, journalists in the country are expected to work as partners of government in the development efforts of the country rather than focusing attention on reporting crisis. In this wise, one can deduce that by focusing attention on the good side of government activities, the two Malaysian newspapers have reported the political crisis in the frames they like. On the other hand, by using the language of crisis on the numerous political problems in Nigeria, the two Nigerian newspapers have chosen to direct the attention of the people to this situation. Therefore, by choosing what to report and what not to report, the journalists in the four newspapers have succeeded in focusing the attention of the public on what the media want them to know.

In view of the role of the media during crisis, it is evident that the public becomes almost totally dependent on the media for news that may be vital for survival and for important messages from public and private authorities. The mass media are the only institution with the capacity to collect this escalating mass of information and disseminate it quickly. When
people become aware of crises, they therefore pick a copy of newspaper; turn on their radio or television sets often on a round-the-clock basis, to monitor the event. The presumption is that informed citizens are better able to support or oppose public programs or policies.

There is no denial of the fact that sometimes conflicting interests may arise as the media pursue to tell everything while the government seeks to control the public from “panicking” when faced with crisis. These conflicting interests could be the authorities who may respond either as denial or an apologia covers up or giving out information selectively or wholly. Another point of view is that of the audience. Here the audience could be sceptical or believe the information concerning the situation. On the other hand, the media could be the critical media or straight reporting.

Robert Chandler and Scott (2007) noted that “Communication challenges are exacerbated during a crisis when time is short, decisions are urgent, information limited, and our opportunities for the rich interaction we require are constrained”. Sometimes also, the degree of freedom given to the press in any country determines how much objectivity journalists should ensure in their reporting. As developing countries, the Malaysian and Nigerian press operates under so many restrictions, particularly in obtaining information described as classified. Again the ownership pattern also affects the way and manner news is reported. In Malaysia, most of the mainstream media are owned and controlled by the government and those close to the corridors of power. In Nigeria also, even though some individuals own many newspapers, yet one can see that the owners are either politicians or businessmen closely connected to the government. In this wise, journalists in the two countries have depended heavily on government sources in reporting the political crisis.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOUTHERN MOVEMENT CRISIS IN YEMENI NEWSPAPERS

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ABSTRACT
The stand of the Yemeni government and its failure to address the consequences of the 1994 Yemeni civil war in the south parts for many years made strongly the fractions of the southern movement/Al-Harak Al-Janubiy to call for secession and to restore the former South of Yemen, and moved from peaceful means to the armed struggle. By using framing as the theoretical framework of this study, the content of Yemeni newspapers was analyzed as the research method. Four newspapers were selected, one official, two opposition, and one independent newspaper. The four papers represented different political orientations. Conflict made the most prominent frame across the four newspapers in reporting on the southern movement. The representation of the southern cause expressed the future of the Yemeni national unity by putting it in either frame changing the political system or getting back to zero point when each part may retain its former state.

Keywords: content analysis, framing theory, media coverage, news frames, Southern Separatist Movement.

INTRODUCTION
The Yemeni unity established on 22nd of May 1990 was based on agreement and acceptance between the leaderships of the two parts of Yemen “Yemen Arab Republic and People’s Republic of Yemen to be united into “The Republic of Yemen” with the extension of sovereignty all over the new country. Later, it has been discovered that the unity has only given benefits to certain groups and the North Part has taken the lion’s share of the unity project while the South Part has been marginalized politically and economically. These practices were rejected and resulted in the 1994 civil war and as a consequence of this war, a series of demonstrations demanding secession and restoring the South former independence.
state by the Southern Movement (Al-Harak Al-Janubbiy) which took place in 2007 and led to what is now known as the southern cause.

Dresch (2000) in “Modern History of Yemen” argues that from the Yemeni political scene along with the history of the country, the unity issue was always negotiated regardless of the content due to the closeness and geographical unity. Alsufi (2009) and Abduh (2010) argue that the Yemeni National Unity has been taken for granted by most of the public and political leadership since 1994 until 2007 when the “Southern Movement” came to the surface demanding peace engagement of the southerners’ grievances. According to them, the unity project was based on improper planning and hastiness; that was proven when the civil war erupted three years after the declaration of the unification in 1991.

They also stated that the unity issue was forced on the political powers that were not qualified to complete the mission due to the crises engulfed in the two countries during that time. The Yemeni civil war resulted according to the Middle East Report 2011 in 5,000 to 7,000 casualties and exile for the southern leaders who were involved in the unity’s agreement and declared the demise of their state. Today, the southerners want their state back. Consequently, the war had left political and social wounds, on top of that the strong hand of the government had taken another level when they did not investigate the causes of the war and applying reforms in the system and resolving the problems; but with irresponsible policies and practices, the government suppressed the southern peaceful protests that were organized by southern military officers that generated more rage and drive for severing of ties with the north.

THE SOUTHERN SEPARATIST MOVEMENT /AL-HARAK AL-ENFSALI AL-JANUBBIY

South Yemen Movement, also known as the Peaceful Southern Movement, the Southern Separatist Movement or Al-Harak Al-Enfsali Al-Janubbiy is a term given to a popular movement active in the South of Yemen since 2007, which demands addressing the grievances in the south post-1994 Yemen civil war through peaceful means in the first place. Due to the use of oppressive means by the Yemeni regime such as track down and arrest the leaders of the South, responding to the peaceful sit-ins with various forms of violence. There were also cases of bribing some of the southern leaders with huge sums of money, lands, cars and granting privileges and high positions, the movement accelerated to the armed struggle demanding secession from the North. In 2010, the southern secessionist movement was shown to have the support of 70% of the southern population and it is predicted to be increasingly higher (Yemen Times, November 6, 2012).

According to Horton (2011) and Day (2010), the Southern Movement in the south of Yemen is an umbrella organization for many secessionist oriented groups in the south. These groups utilized the increasing weakness of Saleh’s regime and the heavy handedness of his government in responding to the anti-government demonstrations to provide the movement with both more political capital and more opportunities to assert their authority over the affairs of South Yemen. The southern movement and the southern cause are two faces to the same political crisis in Yemen. That is because the southern would not have been recognized without the rise of the southern movement in 2007 which launched their peaceful protests expressing the hardship of southerners. In the beginning, the media did not pay much attention to the southern crisis due to two reasons, first the regime denied it and promoted that these groups protested to increase their pensions; second the absence
of single leadership for the southern movement and the disagreement among its leaders in fundamental points that makes the movement to be in a weak position inside and outside Yemen. Later, the southern movement demand separation due to the way the government responded to the protests which started to attract media outlets to cover the events in the south which resulted in the banning of some newspapers in 2009 and arrests of journalists.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY
By comparing the coverage of the southern movement by four different newspapers the researchers of this study are able to identify the following objectives:

- The amount of coverage devoted to the Southern Movement Crisis by the official newspaper Al-Thawrah, the two opposition newspapers Al-Sahwah and Al-Thwari and the independent newspapers Akhbar Al-youm.
- The way the Southern Movement is reported by the media from different political orientation which in a way plays in either increasing or decreasing the popularity of the National Unity.
- The news frames used by official, opposition and independent newspapers to portray the Southern Movement which in a way reflect the political discourse in maintaining the National Unity.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS
By analysing the content of the selected newspapers this research aims to answer the following questions:

- RQ1. What is the amount of coverage devoted on the Southern Movement Crisis by the official newspaper Al-Thawrah, two opposition newspapers Al-Thawri, Al-Sahwah, as well as the independent Akhbar Al-youm newspapers?
- RQ2. How the official newspaper Al-Thawrah, the two opposition newspapers Al-Thawri, Al-Sahwah, as well as the independent Akhbar Al-youm report on the Southern Movement Crisis?
- RQ3. What kinds of news frames have been used by the newspapers to portray the Southern Movement Crisis?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
The framing theory is widely used in media researches, therefore in this study framing theory is fruitful to be applied since the theoretical tradition of this theory in mass communication researches concerns with how the media cover different issues, what they emphasize, include and exclude, what tone and language they use, and also what effects these selections have on the audience. The origin of framing concept has been borrowed from the field of cognitive psychology and social psychology (Galande, 2008).

In the media context framing refers to the tendency of media to focus on certain ideas of news and to develop that idea as a prominent feature of the issue or event (Severin & Tankard, 2001; Cherkaoui, 2010). According to Entman to frame is “To select some aspects
of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to prompt a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation for the item described” (1993). Through frames, the ultimate goal would be defining the public opinion and determining people’s actions and perceptions, more specifically under certain circumstances when the public highly depends on media sources (Weaver 2007; Galander 2008).

In the study of social movement, Dardis (2007) defined frame alignment as an individual’s acceptance of an agreement with at least some of the collection action frames advocated by a Social Movement Organization (SMO). He highlighted also that frame alignment is essential in extending an SMO’s cause. Dardis remarked that sociopolitical actors can frame issues effectively through four functions: defining an issue as a problem, blaming a cause, suggesting solutions, and recall a moral appeal. It was believed that presenting a sociopolitical problem while also naming a specific source of the problem should appeal to the basic psychological impulses when persons try to understand the world around them. Besides offering a tenable solution’s framing will inspire individuals to accept it as more value in combating a problem, while the inclusion of a moral appeal should elicit greater alignment with an SMO’s viewpoint (Dardis 2007).

Tankard (2001) focus on the importance of media framing due to the powerful effects have on audiences to change the status quo as well as giving insights for media people on about how careful they should be in selecting frames for a news story.

**Figure 1: Research Framework of the study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The independent variables</th>
<th>Dependent variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The amount of news coverage for the Southern Movement Crisis.</td>
<td>The framing of the Southern Movement Crisis by Yemeni newspapers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The slants in reporting the Southern Movement Crisis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News frames are used for the Southern Movement Crisis by the Yemeni newspapers.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

There are two approaches in this regard, one is *inductive* which is in nature restraint to be analysed in line with prior frames in mind, in other words means the frames emerge from the materials during the course of analysis however, it is criticized that it is relying on small samples and difficult to replicate (Matthes & Kohring, 2008; Neuman et al. 1992). *Deductive* is the second approach which investigates frames that are defined and operationalized prior to investigations.
Entman (1993) suggested that the frame can be identified and examined by “The presence or the absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, source of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing cluster, facts or judgment” (p.52). Tankard (2001) offered the most comprehensive empirical approach when he suggested eleven framing mechanisms for identifying and measuring news frames: headlines, subheads, photos, photo captions, lead, source selection, quote selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts, and concluding sentences and paragraphs (p. 101). In this study the following theoretical framework is suggested.

**METHODOLOGY**

To investigate the research questions, the researchers examined articles in four major and different Yemeni newspapers (Al-Thawrah, Al-Sahwah, Al-Thawri and Akhbar Al-youm) over a time period of one year from January to December 2009. Examining the coverage of newspapers during the year 2009 was because of some reasons: (1) the year 2009 was described by the Yemeni Center for Strategic Studies as the year of political failure when the negotiations between the regime and the opposition coalition reached an impasse; (2) The southern movement shifted from demanding citizenship equality, addressing the grievances of the civil war in 1994 to championing the South independence which was inspired by the appearance of Ali Salem Albeidh the president of former South Yemen on TV officially calling for separation; (3) Influential figures joined the southern movement and give the movement political capital such as Sheikh Tareq al-Fadhli who was a former southern ally of the ruling party GPC ruled by Saleh.

The purposive choice of the newspapers services the objectives of the study. This analysis examined the coverage of the southern movement crisis within four different types of newspapers. The prestige of these newspapers is the fact that they are the mouthpiece of Yemeni political coverage, besides their commanding national circulation figures, these papers were: *Al-Thawrah* (*The Revolution*) daily newspaper is the most official popular widely circulation (110,000), the mouthpiece of the regime; *Al-Sahwah* (*The Awakening*) weekly newspaper with circulation (25,000) represents the Yemeni Congregation for Reform Party as Islamic Party which is considered the strongest opposition party beside the Yemeni Socialist Party; *Al Thawri* (*The Revolutionist*) weekly newspaper represents the voice of the Socialist Party which was the former party in the South of Yemen which its circulation paper increased during the southern movement from 20,000 to 35,000; and lastly *Akhbar Al-youm* (*The News Today*) is one of the respected independent daily newspapers in the country.

The unit of analysis for this study was articles which include straight news, editorial, column, opinion piece, interview and letter. The articles were collected manually from the newspapers’ archives. The total number of articles were collocated was 1189 articles. The amount of coverage was measured in this study by: (1) the number of articles; (2) type of articles; and (3) size of the articles (by inches). There are at least two approaches to content analysis frames: inductive and deductive (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). This study adopts the deductive approach due to its easy ways to identify the kinds of frames in the news.

This study adopted the priori coding approach and modified the five news frames that are commonly used in media discourse known as “generic frames” or “Structural themes” (Semetko & Valkenburg 1999; Matthes & Kohring 2008). These news frames were operationalized as follows:
- **Conflict**: news emphasize on the conflict or the disagreement between two sides or among individuals, groups, parties, institutions; dichotomous or labels the good and bad; refer to two sides or more than two sides of the issue/problem; refer to winners or losers; disputes over the actions and the legitimacy of movements; and construct antagonism between opposing opinion or stances.

- **Human interests**: news that brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an issue/problem/event; refer to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize the news in order to capture and retain audience interest; employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, sympathy or compassion; emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem/event; news items go into the private or personal lives of the actors.

- **Responsibility**: news that present an issue, problem or event to attribute responsibility for causing or solving it to the government, individuals or groups; suggest an urgent action for the issue, problem or event.

- **Consequence**: news items that present an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences on individual, group, institution, region or country; news that report damages, casualties or losses; report the steps taken to solve an issue/problem by the actors; report warnings given by individuals, groups, or parties over action; report the arrests of individuals; report the steps taken by the security force; report the overall outcome of court trials; report interfere by outsiders.

- **Morality**: news that put the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or morals and social prescriptions; emphasizing on collaboration, brotherhood and integration.

The slants of the articles devoted for the southern movement crisis refers to political attitude expressed towards any individuals, group, party or issues by the users. This study uses the categories of favourable, unfavourable and neutral for the analysis of articles’ slants. By using Cohen’s Kappa as the ideal binary reliability, the inter-coder reliability for news frame was 0.88 while 0.83 was for the slant.

**FINDINGS**

This study collected 1189 articles from the four newspapers which reported the southern crisis. It was found that **Al-Thawri** carried the largest coverage (435 articles), followed by **Al-Sahwah** (288 articles), **Al-Thawrah** (276 articles), and **Akhbar Al-youm** (190 articles).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Thawrah</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sahwah</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Thawri</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhbar Al-youm</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1189</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Frequency of coverage for the Southern crisis
The Amount of Coverage
Table 2 indicated that the majority of the articles were straight news in the independent newspaper and the opposition paper, Akhabr Al-youm scored (46.8%) and Al-Thawri (46.4%) respectively, Al-Sahwah (45.8%), and Al-Thawarh (33.7%). The opposition newspaper Al-Thawri published most of the articles in the form of column (12.2%), followed by the opposition newspaper Al-Sahwah (9.0%), Al-Thawarh (6.5%) and Akhbar Al-youm (3.7%). The official paper Al-Thawrah scored the highest percentage of editorial (9.1%) followed by the independent newspaper Akhbar Al-youm (2.1%), Al-Thawri (1.6%), and Al-Sahwah (0.7%). Again Al-Thawrah ran most of the opinion piece in regard to the Southern crisis (29.7%), followed by Akbar Al-youm (28.9%), Al-Thawri (21.4%) and Al-Sahwah (19.8%). Only Al-Thawrah and Al-Thawri published letters about the crisis, which was respectively (5.1%) and (0.5%).

The two newspapers Al-Thawrah and Al-Sahwah published the same percentage of interview news items (6.2%), followed by Al-Thawri (4.1%) and Akhbar Al-youm (2.1%). Most of the report news item on the southern crisis were published by Al-Sahwah (18.4%), followed by Akhbar Al-youm (16.3%), Al-Thawri (13.8%) and lastly Al-Thawrah (9.8%). According to Pearson Chi-square test, the value of chi-square is 120.256 and the P is less than 0.05, which means we confidently reject the null hypothesis of no differences, because there is significant difference between the type of news items and the newspapers from different political orientation ($X^2 = 120.256, P < 0.05$).

Table 2: Type of news item for the Southern crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Al-Thawrah</th>
<th>Al-Sahwah</th>
<th>Al-Thawri</th>
<th>Akhbar Al-youm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Straight news</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinion piece</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Size by inch (mean): 72.425² 47.069² 39.034² 39.413³

$X^2$ for type of news item=120.256, $P < 0.05$

From Table 2 also we can see the mean size of articles by inch. On average, Al-Thawrah devoted most of space by inch (72.425² inches), followed by Al-Sahwah (47.0694²), Akhbar Al-youm (39.41332³), and Al-Thawri (39.03453³).

The Conflict Frame
Based on Table 3 it was found in this study that the most prominent frame across the four newspapers was conflict. It was reported that southern secessionist movement had had the conflict with the regime in Sana’a due to the way it treated the south after the victory in the civil war in 1994. Ali Naser Mohamed the president of the former South of Yemen said the southern cause and the southern movement is one of the political crises that has been created by the regime, and the military victory from the regime’s perspective has put the Yemeni national unity in a debate of whether it is still legitimate or not.
Most of the articles reported by the four newspapers criticized the southern movement in calling for secession as well as criticizing policies of the regime. The leaders of the southern movement were described as “traitors” and seditious figures which will never succeed in splitting Yemen (Al-Thawarh, April 30, 2009). The former President Saleh was criticized in the way he addressed the southern leaders, his denial of the southern cause and the threats in his speeches such as “Yemen is fine and what is happening in the south is just storm in a teacup” (Akhbar Al-youm, May 22, 2009).

### Table 3: Type of News Item for the Southern Crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Al-Thawarh N=276</th>
<th>Al-Sahwah N=288</th>
<th>Al-Thawri N=435</th>
<th>Akhbar Al-youm N=190</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 171.661, P < 0.05\]

Many articles criticized the ways that were used to silence the south. A writer of an opinion piece described the regime as having dry mind when the regime announced that the capital city would be transferred to the south (Aden) in order to silence the southern movement (Al-Sahwah, April 23, 2009). In regard to this, another writer of an opinion piece mentioned that the regime failed to recognize the demands and grievances, and the feelings of injustice felt by the southern people have to be brought out.

The disagreement between the fractions of the southern movement in finding single leadership was also debated since some fractions demanded only correcting the unity road but not separation. This division within the southern movement into two groups increased the conflict between them, besides blaming the opposition coalition in taking the south issue for granted and using it in their conflicts with the ruling party (Akhbar Al-youm, January 8, 2009).

The four newspapers through the conflict frame reflected some voices that justified the southern movement. It was reported that all the Socialist Organizations in the country praised the rise of the southern movement, especially the peaceful fractions in fighting against marginalizing and repression upon the south. An opinion piece described the north as “internal occupation” as the south since 1994 is militarized using power and repression to impose on the unity. He emphasized that using the national unity as a justification to crackdown the peaceful protests by the southern movement has proved the illegitimacy of the unity (Al-Thawri, April 16, 2009).

Except for Al-Thawarh, the other three newspapers criticized the ruling party and the government in their conflict frame. In a response to the presidential speech, a writer of an opinion piece article attacked Saleh by saying that he was using inappropriate words in describing the southern movement as secessionists and traitors. The writer had questioned Saleh by saying, “how can you accuse the south of being separatists while the fact is, there is
no legitimacy of the unity after it had been violated by the regime in 1994?” He added that the persons that should be blamed are the ruling party and its patronage who thought that the south part was valuable stolen goods or a piece of land must be attached to its origin in the North (Al-Thawri, January 1, 2009).

Within the conflict frame, the regime was accused of fighting the project of the national democracy through various means such as unilateral system, failure policies, looting, and marginalization. Since unity is a valuable goal, it is necessary to go back to the original transcript and true content of the unity agreement (Al-Sahwah 12 March 2009). The Joint Meeting Parties criticized the wrong and inappropriate policies and attitudes by the ruling party toward the south and the denial of the southern cause. In addition, the condemnation of the way the regime used their power as well as the fragile and superficial processes in solving the crisis which indicates the failure of the ruling party in running the country (Al-Sahwah, February 19, 2009).

The Yemeni government was criticized in banning six newspapers due to their coverage on the actions of southern movement and the chaos in the south parts. In this respect, the Committee to Protect Journalists warned the Yemeni government of being among the countries which abuse journalists and oppose the freedom of expression (Al-Thawri, May 14, 2009).

**Consequences Frame**

By applying the consequences frame, the newspapers focused on the damages and losses during the demonstrations as well as the actions taken by the two sides. It was reported that during the protests hundreds of people were arrested among them members of the Yemeni Socialist Party as they are the leaders of Al-Harak Al-Janubbiy, clerics, students and youngsters (Al-Thawri, 7 May 2009). In addition, dead and injured people were reported as the victims of the riot act led by the southern movement, which urged the government and local authorities to form a committee to investigate the causes of the riot in the south. The government seriously warned the SM not to destabilize and provoke the public life, and disgrace the national unity by hoisting the flag of the former south of Yemen and chanted slogans against the unity (Al-Thawarh, April 16, 2009).

Some crimes were committed by elements of the southern movement/ Al-Harak Al-Janubbiy against the northerners who lived in the south such as attacking, killing, and destroying their properties. It was reported that these crimes were committed due to the incitement by some leaders of Al-Harrak not to allow or accept anything called northern. Al-Fadhlí who was one of the most influential figures and the leader of one of the Harak’s fractions said, “Northerners are no more welcome in the south” he also gave three days respite to the northerners to leave (Al-Thawarh, 4 June 2009). In this regard, many tragic stories were reported on killings and attacks on northerners who travelled to the south by elements of the southern movement (Al-Thawarh, 3 December 2009). In the consequence frame also it was reported about the mass resignations of the members of the General People’s Congress in parts of the south after the bloody events (Al-Sahwah, June 4, 2009).

**Attribution of Responsibility Frame**

By imposing the responsibility frame the newspapers mentioned that political players either in the regime or the southern leaders and also the Joint Meeting Parties should be responsible in finding an urgent solution for what is going in the south. It was reported that Saleh directed to reveal to the publics who are the benefiters of the south’s lands and ordered to return 300
hectares lands to the southerners (Al-Thawarh, June 11, 2009). It was highlighted that on the one hand there were wrongdoings by the regime and the members of ruling party are not holy men to be exempted of their mistakes; on the other hand that does not constitute an excuse to commit crimes against the homeland and people, in blaming the southern movement and accusing them in committing those crimes (Al-Thawarh, December 17, 2009). Nevertheless, there was a manifestation in some writings in blaming the regime for the southern crisis in particular and all the crises that the country faced in general.

It was said that the regime and its wrong policies towards the south was the major cause for the southern movement which reached the level of diminishing love for national unity from people’s hearts and minds and instead spreading hatred and regionalism. Therefore, the regime meant to find a solution for the deteriorating situation in the south which requires urgent action and showed good will toward protecting the Yemeni unity (Al-Thawri, January 15, 2009).

The urgent solution for the southern crisis and the only way out is to adopt the vision of the national dialogue proposed by the opposition coalition (JMP) which took the initiative of forming the Committee of the National Dialogue and urged all the political and civil powers to join in order to solve all of Yemen’s crises (Al-Sahwah, 28 May 2009). It also asked to get back to the original version of the unity agreement and also follow whatever agreement prepared by the presidential committee led by Abdul Gader Helal and Saleh Basourah. A columnist in Al-Sahwah said that separation was highly presented and the state has now become absent, therefore the regime and the government must resign and leave to protect the unity (Al-Sahwah, May 21, 2009).

Morality Frame
Under the morality frame the newspapers stressed on unity as a religious matter. Furthermore, most of the articles spoke about the necessity of holding a comprehensive national dialogue which includes all the political, social and civil spectrums. The Yemeni people must hold their unity as one of Allah’s commands in the Qur’an as the first step to the unity of the Arabs and the Muslim Ummah (Al-Sahwah, May 21, 2009).

It was stated by the governmental officials as well as the leaders of the opposition parties that the unity is indisputable because it is the Yemenis’ destiny and whoever believes that the unity is rooted in blood is just an illusion. Columns mentioned that the calls for racism, sectarianism and regionalism threaten the social fabric in Yemen and the leaders of both the south and the north must abolish the political tricks and bids; accept the truth; be modest in taking advice and most importantly having the legitimate duty (Shari’ah) and the sense of belonging to the homeland (Al-Sahwah, May 28, 2009).

The Human Interest Frame
The human interest frame was manifest in the newspapers through bringing emotional angle into the presentation of the news. It was dramatically highlighted how individuals have been affected by hatred and discrimination generated by the crisis which took place instead of love and harmony among the one nation which resulted in pain and grief to the people. For example, the celebration of Eid Alfitri was wrapped with pain and sorrow in the families of the detainees. It was portrayed that rather than celebrate the occasion, the families marched demanding release of their sons. The mothers of the political detainees
of the southern movement in Almukla organized a sit-in demanding freedom for their sons (Al-Sahwah, November 19, 2009).

It was reported emotionally how the protesters threw their skinny hungry bodies on the road demanding their simple rights as human beings after they have been dismissed and humiliated by the regime in the south. The leaders of the southern movement faced illegal trials. It was reported that a former Ambassador, Gaseem Askar Gubran and other southern leaders were taken to the special court which was described as a political trial in an illegal court. The detainee responded by rejecting the whole trial as the judge kept quoting some versus in the Qur’an and religious sayings about the unity and accusing them of abusing the national unity without any legal provisions for the trial (Al-Thawri, May 21, 2009).

With regard to unity, a column mentioned the word unity 16 times of the “unity”. The columnist narrated his story about his son who lost two marks in his final exam over a question about the Yemeni unity and whether it caused losses to the south or not. The writer stated that the school textbook remarked that the unity problem has caused losses while the father said there were no losses. The writer said even in the education system there is a culture in discrediting the unity by associating it with the meanings of losses and oppression instead of meanings of virtue, brotherhood, love and harmony (Al-Thawri, April 30, 2009).

The Vice Chairman of Partisan Oversight Committee in Dali governorate the main center of the southern movement described dramatically how the southern people have lost everything even their sense of belonging to the homeland since 7/7/1994 when the unjust and aggressive hands destroyed human being and lands in the south. He added that the homeland in the eyes of the southern people has become a large prison where they harvest only suffering and oppression (Al-Thawri, April 16, 2009).

**Slants of the Articles**

Table 4 showed that in the slant of the articles, it was clear that the southern movement/Al-Harak Al-Janubbiy was favored by Al-Thawri (59.3%). Al-Thawrah and Akhbar Al-youm were most critical in their coverage of the southern movement, namely 75.0% and 72.6% respectively, while Al-Sahwah appeared to be the most neutral.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Al-Thawrah</th>
<th>Al-Sahwah</th>
<th>Al-Thawri</th>
<th>Akhbar Al-youm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N= 276</td>
<td></td>
<td>N= 288</td>
<td>N= 435</td>
<td>N= 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorable</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>72.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>63.9%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DISCUSSION**

A total of 1189 articles on the southern issue were gathered from the four newspapers, Al-Thawri scored the highest number of articles however, Al-Thawrah jumping in the average spaces by inches devoted for the issue due to its association to the National Unity. The data indicated that there was a great difference between the numbers of articles published by the
four newspapers. *Al-Thawri* had 435 articles, while the least was published by *Akhbar Al-youm* with only 190 articles, and this resulted in the difference of 245 articles between the two.

Although the great number of articles was scored by *Al-Thawri*, but the data showed that *Al-Thawri* the mouthpiece of the Yemeni Socialist Party and the major support to the southern cause provided more coverage in the form of straight news or hard news and very few in the other news items such as editorial, letters and interview.

In her study Sabah (2010) found that the Yemeni newspapers differ in their reporting on internal political issues due to the variation of their political trends and ideologies which in a way generate different news frames. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) stated that the frames in media content are not created in a social, cultural or political vacuum, but they are contested and formed by groups, such as social movements, politicians, organizations and the media themselves. Therefore, to examine an ideological formation in the media, framing contests simply rely on political elites. The findings proved that the four newspapers that carried different ideologies defined the southern crisis differently, based on how those in power define it. Each newspaper tended to reflect the point of view of those in the political parties they work with, for example, most of but not all the sources in *Al-Thawarh* were the government officials, *Al-Sahawh*’s source was the leaders and members of the *Islah* Party, similarly in *Al-Thawri*, the independent newspaper was expected to deviate but it sounds like the official newspaper.

Despite the differences in the ideological framework and the conflict between the traditional rivals the Islamic party *Islah* and the Yemeni Socialist Party, there were some unexpected findings. It was found that *Al-Sahwa*, the voice of the Islamic party, carried more reports and interviews on the southern crisis, its causes and its future dimensions in more detailed and analytical manner. In the meantime, *Al-Thawri* as the mouthpiece of the YSP and the main support to the southern cause had inadequate argumentation on the issue and relied on here and now news.

The conflict was the most prominent frame across the four newspapers despite their type difference (official, partisan, and independent). To some extent, *Al-Thawarh* and *Akhbar Al-youm* were much alike in highlighting the aspect of the conflict frame. They associated the southern movement/Al-Harak Al-Janubbiy to be harmful to the Yemeni national unity, for example *Al-Thawarh* linked it with the violation of the constitution by abusing the unity which is one of the national constants which must be protected by every citizen.

The findings revealed that *Al-Thawarh* was trying to turn the true reasons behind the southern crisis and the eruption of the southerners aside. Instead, it labeled and described the leaders of the southern movement and their supporters as traitors and mercenaries while the worst one is the win-lose aspect and sending threatening messages using their power and reminding the southerners of their defeat in 1994. In addition, the newspaper accused the opposition parties in supporting the southern cause and the southern movement and also criticized their stands against the popular committees for protecting the unity in the south parts.

Both the two opposition newspapers in their turn criticized and condemned Saleh in using the threatening messages and the policies in addressing the southern grievances which in a way escalated the situation in the south due to its arrogance and ignorance. It was said that if the government tends not to listen, then peaceful protests and demonstrations would be the legitimate means to express people’s rights and interests (Cottle, 2008). That is why
the southern movement was advised by the supporters to remain peaceful and avoid shifting to the armed struggle which may give the chance to the regime to justify its power upon the southerners. Cottle also stated that demonstrations remain at the forefront of struggles for citizenship rights and democracy in non-democratic regimes around the world.

In placing the consequences frame the partisan newspapers focused on reporting the arrests of the leaders and activists of the southern movements during the protests as well as the casualties from both sides, while the official newspapers tend to focus on reporting the crimes that were committed by the elements of the southern movement against the innocent northerners in the south.

In conclusion, this study found that the four newspapers focused on presenting differently the southern crisis and the southern movement through focusing on the conflict frame as a routine as there are often competing groups within the organized power of the society. That variance in coverage has revealed frames competition, in other words, ideological competition.

It is well known that crises, conflicts and violence are in general the media’s favourite topics, and during this critical time audience tends to rely on the media to get the information and to make sense of the surroundings. By this reliance without a doubt media might have an impact on the audience and shape their opinions towards certain issue due to the way they narrate the news story (Berinsky & Kinder, 2006; Yaser, et. al 2011).

Journalists are encouraged to be objective in providing true information about the problem as well as bringing up the opinion of the two sides of the conflict to motivate the public to take the right decisions and stands. From the in-depth interview with the Yemeni people, it was found that these newspapers have not shaped their frames about the southern crisis due to distrust. However, this study confirmed that the people, until now, have not had a complete picture of the southern crisis and whatever the decisions that have been taken are based on emotional experiences, not rational information.

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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SMS JOKES: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF JOKE STRATEGIES IN PERSIAN AND ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT
SMS is the newest, easiest, and cheapest mode of communication technology uses nowadays and SMS jokes are one of the most widespread kinds of communication opportunity for people. Through SMS jokes people express their philosophical, psychological, sociological, anthropological, and political concerns. In this study, 2400 Farsi and 1500 English SMS jokes are examined to check the underlying strategies used in them for creating fun and laughter. A typology of 20 strategies is presented, analysed, compared, and contrasted by the researchers. The results show that English uses all the 20 strategies while Farsi uses only 19 strategies. There are also similarities and differences in the way people of the two different cultures use these strategies as well as in the frequency of the use of such strategies.

Key Words: SMS, the language of SMS, the functions of SMS, SMS jokes, joke strategies

INTRODUCTION
When Barack Obama wanted to announce his choice of his future vice president, he sent a text message to journalists, Democratic Party senators, and supporters. This aroused emotions in the media and the public. One New York Times journalist characterized the event as Mr. Obama’s widest use of a newfound medium in the history of presidential campaigns. A National Public Radio reporter considered it as the most highly anticipated text message in human history. According to an Associated Press report, Obama’s campaign team wanted to attract additional supporters by doing so. The medium itself was also a powerful message. Obama’s move was interpreted as a sign of promising to be a man of change, a man of the people, and of participatory democracy (Thurlow & Poff, 2011). This is an example of how a
medium talk for someone, how discourse works, and how language use fulfil social functions. This shows how SMS is creating its special discourse.

People acquire, express, and reproduce their ideologies, that is, their ideas or ‘belief systems’ through discourse, that is, by spoken or written communicative interaction, usually in an indirect manner. Ideologies are fundamental beliefs that control and organize other socially shared beliefs and attitudes, for example, a racist ideology may affect attitudes about immigrants, or a feminist ideology may affect public reactions toward abortion, or they may affect cultural values like freedom, equality and justice (Van Dijk 2006). Ideologies have social functions in the sense that they are indicators of social conditions and that they organize groups’ actions, interactions, and social practices. Discourse analysis helps us understand the structures of text and talk and how people indicate their semantic intentions and interpretations and the cognitive abilities that underlie the human use of language (Johnstone 2008; Van Dijk 2006). In this regard, SMS, as a new form of communication facility, and SMS jokes as fresh opportunities to express ideologies have structural and discoursal characteristics worth studying.

MOBILE COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES: A REVIEW OF OPPOSING VIEWS
Mobile text messaging, which is also known as SMS (short message service), text messaging, mobile email, or just texting, has become a common means of keeping in touch especially among young people. It is also available for pocket PCs, desktop computers, and even landline telephones, although it is associated more with mobile phones. Nowadays, we also have MMS (multimedia message service), although the basic simple text messaging has sustained its popularity among people (Adebola 2011; Thurlow & Poff 2011; Lin, 2005).

The development of any communication technology brings excessive hype and hysteria, especially about the kind of cultural, social, and psychological impacts it has on people and societies. Regarding mobile use, we have both optimistic and pessimistic views. On one hand, there are mobile communication companies that talk about the good features of this technology like closer human relationships, closer family ties, and instant and perpetual connectivity. It is also an example of the human need for social intercourse, and a kind of communication imperative. On the other hand, cultural studies researchers generally have a pessimistic tone in their opinions about the social and cultural implications of this new technology (Lin 2005; Thurlow 2003). Williams (1983), for example, believes that people normally use mobile to communicate with special friends and family members, and ignore the need for communication with others; this leads to a kind of ‘privatization’. He states that constant use of mobile communication leads to a loss of human connectivity whose result will be a disconnected society and a gradual loss of traditional ways of life so highly valued by societies and especially by the elderly.

Cooper (2001) believes that modern technologies and especially mobile convert the world into ‘a resource’ to be utilized; when people are constantly on call or in touch, they are ‘instrumentalized’ by others. For example, employees have no more excuse of not answering mobile phone calls or not responding to text messages sent by their boss. Cooper’s views don’t seem to be plausible as enabling people to be in constant touch with others is the most highly appreciated feature of mobile and that employees can find other excuses like lack of credit or discharged batteries; this is also true for those who think that in some cases this technology has turned into a means for controlling husbands or wives. Another view directly
related with the use of text messaging is that texting has a deleterious impact on literacy, standard language use, and especially on the popular notions of ‘good communication’ (Thurlow & Poff, 2011). Yet, there are others (e.g. Chiluwa, 2008; Lenhart, et al, 2008) who believe that texters almost always recognize that language is context specific and that they don’t necessarily view texting as ‘writing’ admitting that they are far apart in the way they use the language to realize their functions. Whatever position we may adopt toward mobile communication and text messaging, the trend ahead is clear and we cannot change it.

The Functions of SMS
Texting was at first developed commercially in the early to mid-1990s and has since gained great popularity as mobile technology has spread around the world. SMS has both relational functions, i.e. doing sociability, and transactional functions, that is, information exchange (Thurlow & Poff 2011). Regarding the relational functions of SMS, there are many researches done. A research in Japan (Ito & Daisuke 2003) showed that Japanese youth uses SMS mostly because it provides opportunities for private conversation free from adults’ surveillance. In Taiwan (Yeh 2004) SMS is used to negotiate subtle gender relations, especially among couples in situations like quarreling, making romantic advances, or when they do not want to hear each other’s voice. It is because SMS is more indirect and will reduce the embarrassment of face to face interactions. It also leaves something pleasurable for future remembrance (Lin 2005). Simple uses of SMS for sending greetings, congratulations, condolences, and jokes are cases of the relational functions of SMS. When SMS is used for commercial or official uses, its transactional function is activated; it can be used as a means for advertisement, media broadcasting, in medicine for patient reminders, by doctors for aftercare treatment, etc. But, sometimes, it is practically impossible to separate the relational intent from the transactional intent. Even information exchanges somehow serve social concerns. Using SMS for participating in television contests and using SMS in political campaigns for introducing the candidates or registering voters are good examples which show this overlap of functions (Thurlow & Poff 2011).

The Language of SMS
There are technical restrictions for texting including the small screen size, its limited character space, and users trying to save touches of the handset keys; these limitations have motivated the evolution of a special language for texting (Daaring 2002). Eco (2002) believes that SMS as one of the most practical aspects of mobile is very necessary as this is the age in which the diminutive, the brief, and the simple are highly prized. Thurlow and Poff (2011) drawing on Grice’s maxims, specify three keys pragmatic maxims for text messages: (1) brevity and speed, (2) paralinguistic restitution, and (3) phonological approximation. Brevity and speed are commonly manifested in abbreviated language. Paralinguistic restitution seeks to redress the loss of socio-emotional or prosodic features such as stress and intonation present in oral interactions, or gestures and facial expressions which are present in face to face interactions but not in texting; this is usually fulfilled by using punctuation marks, symbols, or creating ASCII codes in which letters are combined and arranged in a way to show an image or picture.

Phonological approximation (e.g. ‘novern’ for ‘northern’ or Americanized forms like ‘gonna’, ‘bin’, ‘havin’ for ‘going to’, ‘been’, and ‘having’ respectively) is a kind of accent stylization which is obvious and crucial in oral interactions but again not in texting. SMS has a novice language; over-looking orthographic or syntactic rules (e.g. minimal use of punctuation marks where they must be used, and omission of auxiliary verbs, personal pronouns, and
function words), using compressions (e.g. ‘coz’ for because), using abbreviations (e.g. ‘Nov’ for November or ‘txt’ for ‘text’), using letter-number homophones (e.g. ‘4’ instead of ‘for’ or ‘four’), creating verbal illustrations of names (e.g. ‘kt’ for ‘Katie’), using phonetic spelling to create verbal effects (e.g. ‘hehe’ for ‘laughter’ or ‘muaha’ to express a frightening laughter), using typographical linguistic devices for adding prosodic impact (e.g. ‘quick quick’), phonetic writing (e.g. ‘cu’ for ‘see you’ or ‘chu’ for ‘chew’), use of uppercase lettering or capital letters for emphasis (e.g. ‘YOU r guilty’ or ‘u r a SUUUPER man’), using multiple punctuation for emphasis (e.g. is it true!!!!???), and g-clipping like ‘jumpin’ and ‘showin’ for ‘jumping’ and ‘showing’ are among the characteristics of SMS language (Rafi 2011; Thurlow & Poff 2011; Thurlow 2003).

The Structure of Jokes
A joke is an orderly sequence of sentences (written or spoken) working as a unit intentionally used by a writer or a speaker to amuse the hearer or the reader; it is a mini-text which has clear points of start and ending (Jodlowiec 2012). A joke has two parts: the setting and the punch line. The setting works like an introduction providing access to a set of assumptions or the background knowledge necessary for interpreting the joke. If the background knowledge is shared by the interlocutors, the setting is shortened as much as possible. A good setting establishes a situation or an expectation, is short enough to keep keen attention, is easy to understand for the audience, and usually constitutes the serious part of the joke. The punch line is the second part of the joke leading to the climax followed by an outburst of laughter from the audience; it provides a contrast to the setting, incongruence, surprise, or exaggeration. The punch line contains the funny part of the joke (Jodlowiec 2011; Murphy 2008). One-liners, also called garden-path sentences, are exceptions in this regard because they usually don’t have any setting or have a very short setting.

Functions of Jokes
Society, discourse, and social cognition are connected conceptually and ideologies are reproduced and expressed in discourse and communication (Van Dijk 2009). Jokes make one of the most commonly-used kinds of discourse in any society and the rhetoric of jokes and social life are closely connected; jokes in their very structure are models that imitate the interactions of language and social life and reflect people’s reactions to social events (Muhawi 2002). Also, jokes, like any other kind of talk, have a psychological basis; they reflect the social and psychological states of people. Many of the ideas and emotions that we fail to express directly can be disguised in the form of jokes. We can break restrictions by communicating our thoughts through jokes. We can hide our strong reasons and motives behind jokes, reasons like a bid for love, desire for appreciation, coping with anxiety, expressing erotic and hostile wishes, showing off, etc. (Hui-Ru Hong 2002). The jokes may be used to express superiority, to show defiance of superiority, to establish a group ideology, to break restrictions, norms, and taboos, to degrade or mock others, to free oneself from moral inhibitions, to show off wit, and to express social bonding in groups or to sustain difference; they are used to support racism by including or excluding an ethnic group or they can even be used by minority groups to cope with racialism or by the dominant group to naturalize racial differences (Weaver 2011; Park et al, 2006; Moran 2003). Humour can act as a social lubricant and a humanizing agent which has an important place even during the most serious of times; it can energize people and leave them feeling a lot more alert, it can work like a mind-break, it can reduce anxiety,
it shows creativity, it builds trust in the workplace, and it smoothes the most serious things by creating fun ways to tackle hard problems (Martyn et al. 2011).

**Strategies Used in SMS Jokes**

Ideologies are expressed and enacted by discourse through a number of discursive structures and strategies (Van Dijk 2006). This is also true for SMS jokes. In addition to using the features of SMS language, SMS jokes involve special strategies which distinguish them from other kinds of SMS. These strategies are used to create fun; they center either around a linguistic play or an ideological play or both. The linguistic play makes use of those features of language, which may be considered deviated forms in ordinary discourse or the common use of language. Using words with multiple meanings which create lexical ambiguity and using incomprehensible metaphors which bring about semantic remoteness, transposition of words and creating grammatical ambiguity, which results in formal remoteness, combinations or repetitions of words that jar the ear (incongruity of words), incongruity of letters (e.g. breaking the rules for vowels and consonant clusters), and uncommon lexical usage (e.g. new portmanteau words) is all considered deviations in common language use (Vahid 2002), although they are the rhetorical devices which help produce literature. For ideological play, texters rely on the readers’ shared knowledge of social, political, geographical, anthropological, economic, and historical events. Some jokes are intensely context-dependent and people who make or forward these jokes want to create social bonding through shared humour and taboo breaking (Thurlow 2003). A major strategy for ideological play is creating incongruities in what is said, between what is said and the situation, or between what is said and what is done. What makes us laugh is feeling of superiority over someone who behaves in a dumb way, our surprise at the incongruity of something, or our released anxiety. Seeing our frustrations and concerns reflected back at us by someone who seems to understand a similar predicament or situation, and the levity found in these jokes which are reactions to those predicaments improve our mood (Martyn et al. 2011). In addition to the effect of linguistic play or ideological play, good timing and taking the best advantage within the context are of crucial importance; an important difference between SMS jokes and other kinds of jokes is the very fact that most SMS jokes are made, sent, and forwarded in line with recent events in a society; this clearly makes them more effective and funny.

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Based on the above-stated considerations, the present study addressed the following questions:

- RQ1. What linguistic and ideological strategies underlie SMS jokes which make them funny?
- RQ2. What similarities and/or differences in Farsi and English in the use of such strategies can be specified?

**METHOD**

The data for this study was collected from different sources including friends who sent to the researchers their recent SMS jokes through cell phones or e-mail, Internet sites, and
SMS magazines. These various sources were chosen to ensure the diversity of data and generalizability of the results.

Twenty four thousand Farsi SMS jokes and 1500 English SMS jokes were collected and analysed for their underlying strategies. As there was no framework in the analysis of SMS jokes, the first thing to do was to create a typology of these strategies. Then, the presence, the frequency of these strategies, and the way they were used by the two languages were investigated.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS
Different strategies with different frequencies were observed in SMS jokes. In total, 20 strategies were identified, which are explained briefly below through examples from both Persian and English. One important point to remember is that sometimes a joke uses more than one strategy and there is overlap in the underlying strategies used, but usually one of them is dominant, which has been considered in our classification. The strategies include: the use of ambiguity, mismatch between utterance and context, ethnic slurs, group stereotypes, phonological similarity, juxtaposition, code-switching, exaggeration, reference to special social and historical events, rhythm and poetry, misinterpretation or mistranslation, indirect criticism, use of contradiction, misleading the mind, oxymoron, sophistication, creating images, question-answer riddles, using abbreviations, and absurd SMS.

The Use of Ambiguity
Using ambiguity which is a common strategy is a play on double meaning. It can be lexical, i.e., a word in a sentence has two meanings both of which are true in that sentence, or structural, that is, the structure of the sentence allows for two different interpretations. In Persian SMS jokes, only lexical ambiguity was observed in this study. Puns can be used as an important source for creating ambiguity. A pun is a humorous verbalization that has two interpretations couched purposefully, manifesting itself in one form or two very similar forms (e.g. homonymy, polysemy, or homophony) but allowing for two different interpretations by the audience (Dynel 2009). A pun works like a riddle establishing rapport and pleasing the audience when he/she solves it because it flatters the audience’s intellectual capabilities (Mulken et al. 2005).

A Farsi Sample for Lexical Ambiguity:
Khanoomeh mire bank poole yaranahasho begire, karmande bank mige poolo mibarid ya berizam be hesabe jari toon? Khanoom mige: elahi jari m bemire. Berizesh be hesabe khodam.

A woman goes to the bank to receive her subsidized money. The bank teller asks her: “Will you take it or should I put it in your checking account?” The woman says: “May God kill my sister-in-law. Put the money in my own account.”

In this joke the word ‘jari’ in Persian has two meanings ‘checking’ or ‘current’ account and ‘sister-in-law’. As women are notorious for their relationship with their sisters-in-law, this creates fun and laughter. A reference to subsidized money given to people by the Iranian government per month and the connotation which comes to the Iranian reader’s mind, to the problems this money has caused, intensifies the humour of this joke.
An English Sample for Lexical Ambiguity:
Success is a relative term. It brings so many relatives.

In this joke the first ‘relative’ means not absolute and the second ‘relative’ means family, acquaintances, and kin.

An English Sample for Structural Ambiguity:
Teacher: Tomorrow, here will be a lecture on Sun.
Student: Sorry, I will not be able to attend it.
Teacher: Why?
Student: My mother will not allow me to go so far.

In this joke, the phrase on Sun creates two meanings: about the Sun, and over the Sun, so the student who is ignorant of the necessities of the situation of a classroom misunderstands the meaning of the sentence.

Mismatch between Utterance and Context
Many jokes are derived from serious events and situations in our daily life (Martyn, et al, 2011). Sometimes what is said is incongruent with the present situation creating an atmosphere of fun.

A Farsi Sample
Ghazanfar dare ba narenjak bazi mikone, behesh migan mitereke ha. Mige eyb nadare yeki dige daram

Ghazanfar is playing with a grenade. People say: Don’t play with it; it may explode. He answers: Don’t worry, I have another one.

Ghazanfar, a famous fictitious character in Iran who is famous for being candid and simple-minded, thinks of this dangerous situation, that is, the possibility of the explosion of the grenade, in a way as if it were just a balloon, thus ignoring the danger and saying something which does not match the context.

An English Sample
The best way to propose to a girl: Take her to the sea, ask her to sit in a boat, then take the boat to the sea, then say to her: “Marry me, or leave my boat.”

Surely, asking someone to leave a boat in the middle of the sea is something irrational; this mismatch between utterance and the context produces laughter here.

Ethnic Slurs
Every community has its target groups for its ethnic slurs and racial discrimination. This kind of joke is usually targeted at ethnic minorities pinpointing their points of weakness or
difference; it can take other forms like people of the capital vs. people of small cities, and standard language vs. local varieties.

**A Farsi Sample**
Be torke migan delkharashtarin sahneyi ke didi chi boode? Mige: Too zelezeleye Bam dashtam ye bacha ro khak mikardam, hey migof amoo man zendeam.

A Turkish man is asked to tell about the saddest event in his life. He answers: “During the earthquake of Bam City, I was burying the body of a kid and he kept telling me: “I am alive, I am alive.”

In this joke, Turkish people are shown to be simple-minded people who can’t understand simple things.

**An English Sample**
5 differences between Turkish and ET: ET looked better, ET learned English, ET came alone, ET had his own bike and wanted to go home!

In this joke a strong objection to Turkish immigrants has been expressed through the comparison between the fictitious character ET, a creature that comes to the Earth from space and then leaves, with Turkish immigrants, thus criticizing the government for not taking actions against immigrants.

**Group stereotypes**
Another strategy for creating fun in jokes which is similar to the above strategy is providing stereotypes of different groups; these groups include different professions, social groups, or political groups especially opposing ones.

**A Farsi Sample**
Tarf edeaye payambari mikone, migan ketabet koo? Mige ketab nadaram jozveh migam.

Someone claims to be a prophet sent by God. People ask him; “Where is your book then?” He answers: “I have no book, I will give you a pamphlet.”

In this joke, a straight criticism is presented against teachers, especially university teachers who use pamphlets instead of well published books. The idea is intensified when a covert analogy is made between teachers and prophets and the fact that the most famous prophets had a book, and the fact that in Iran there is the belief that a teacher’s job is as spiritual and valuable as the job of a prophet.

**An English Sample**
A typical student flips a coin and thinks. If head, will go to sleep. If tail, will watch a movie. If stands, will listen music. If stays in air, will study.
This joke is a typical one about students who are reluctant to study and look for ways to escape from studying.

**Phonological Similarity**

Sometimes, homophones are used to create a funny situation or to create a contrast which leads to laughter.

*A Farsi Sample*

*Kaleske* kalameyi ast dar esfahan baraye eshare be *miveye naras.*

*Carriage* is a word in Isfahan which refers to a *fruit which is not ripe yet.*

Here, the joke is founded on the phonological similarity of a whole sentence in Isfahani accent ‘kaleske’ meaning ‘It is not ripe yet.’ and the standard word ‘kaleske’ meaning ‘carriage’.

*An English Sample*

What did the turkey say to the chicken?  *Gobble, gobble.*

Here the word ‘gobble’ which is actually the characteristic sound made by a turkey cock comes to be interpreted as ‘eat’ in the context where a turkey and a chicken meet.

**Juxtaposition**

Collocation has always attracted attention and one of the criteria for literary expertise is the writers’ ability to innovate collocations. By putting two or more words together, we can create extra meaning that is not inferred from the use of just one word. This is also the same for juxtaposing two or more sentences to create bound fun; we would rather call it “bound fun” because the delicacy and the fun of the whole joke will not be understood if we use just one sentence out of a collection of sentences; actually, the first sentences design the setting of the joke for the punch line to be effective.

*A Farsi Sample*

Vakoneshe mardan be range mooye jadide *hamsar:*

.tehrani: vay azizam mah boodi mahtar shodi

.lor: harchi dermiyarem sare mah be ashghal bamal saret

.tork: bebakhshid khanoom ba man ezdevaj mikonid?

The reaction of men to the new color of the hair of their *wives:*

.Tehrani: Wow, my darling, you were pretty, you are prettier now.

.Lor (an ethnic group in Iran): Whatever I earn, you just buy garbage to put on your hair.

.Turkish: Sorry lady, will you marry me?

If you just use one of the three sentences, no laughter will result but juxtaposing them creates a big laughter. The first sentence which shows a normal reaction of men leads to the second one which shows the anger of the husband and then we reach the punch line which is the
simple-mindedness of Turkish people. Although this joke can be classified under the category of ‘ethnic slurs’, it’s better to consider it as one belonging to ‘juxtaposition’ category because the presence of the other two sentences intensifies the effect of the joke greatly.

An English Sample
Calendar of love:
January = Rose        February = propose March = gift April = lift
May = chatting June = dating July = miss August = kiss
September = marriage October = broke up November = rest December = next

In this joke the months of the calendar are put together each one showing the steps of a marriage. The fun lies in the fact that everything is happening so fast which is not rational when we want to decide for our life. The climax of the joke which releases our tension and deep thoughts and concerns! is the last month ‘December’ which brings a burst of laughter.

Code-switching
This happens especially in situations we have diglossia or situations we have different dialects; the switches of the codes, i.e. languages or dialects, usually happen in an inappropriate way and this creates a funny atmosphere. This change of code can be between two different languages or within just one language which has two or more varieties, registers, styles, etc.

A Farsi Sample

Ghazanfar is betrothed to a foreign girl. He decides to show off in front of his mother, so he says to his fiancée: “I love you.” His fiancée answers: “I love you too.” Ghazanfar says: “I love you three.”

In this joke, Ghazanfar (a fictitious character in Iran) whose English is not so good or focuses on something else mistakes ‘too’ for ‘two’ and this mistake is the essence of the joke.

An English Sample
side effect of excess study
A guy went to a restaurant, he wanted to see the menu but he forgot what it is called. He asked the waiter syllabus lana zara

Exaggeration
Sometimes jokes are made by exaggerating one aspect of an event or object usually in a negative way. Exaggeration or hyperbole jokes usually start with a common image, and then highlight one or more aspects of the same image to such an extent that the following pictures in the minds of the readers become ridiculous and funny (Strong, 2008).

A Farsi Sample
Khar bekhar ama az irankhodro nakhar
Buy a donkey but don’t buy anything from Irankhodro.

The makers and senders of this one-liner SMS are dissatisfied with the quality of the cars made by Irankhodro, the biggest car-making factory in Iran; the discontent is so great that they believe buying and riding a donkey is better than buying the products of this factory. The exaggeration strategy used is funny if you have had the experience of buying Irankhodoro cars of course; this is the prerequisite knowledge to understand the sarcasm in this joke.

An English Sample
Guide: I welcome you all to Niagara Falls. These are the world’s largest waterfalls and the sound intensity of the waterfall is so high, even 20 supersonic planes passing by can’t be heard. Now may I request the ladies to keep quiet so that we can hear the Niagara Falls?

The joke uses exaggeration to criticize ladies for their being talkative. The double comparison between Niagara Falls and the supersonic planes, and between the ladies and Niagara Falls adds to the fun of the joke.

Reference to Special Social and Historical Events
Many jokes are people’s reactions to social events; people have come to distinguish SMS as an easy and effective medium which is easily accessed by all for showing their content or discontent with or just the funny point in events around them. Sometimes, joke makers allude to historical events or characters to clarify their points better. They may also involve distortions in the form of phoneme, word, or even phrase substitution, subtraction, or addition to available materials such as famous quotations, poems, or slogans.

A Farsi Sample
harja sokhan az etemad ast man her her mikhandam mahmood reza khavari

Whenever trust is talked about, I start laughing. Mahmood-Reza Khavari

This joke has an explicit reference to the recent embezzlement known as the Great Embezzlement in Iran which was committed by Mahmood-Reza Khavari, the former manager of Melli Bank of Iran who escaped to Canada. At the beginning of this joke, which is not the funny part of course, the slogan of Melli Bank is used ‘Whenever trust is talked about’, and the second part of the slogan ‘the name of Melli Bank glows’ has been replaced by ‘I start laughing’.

An English Sample
One thing’s for sure about Clinton. He sure doesn’t neglect domestic affairs!

The joke has a clear reference to Clinton’s affair with a young woman in The White House. The ambiguity of the term ‘domestic affairs’, also meaning internal problems of the country, helps create the punch line.
Rhythm and Poetry
The use of rhythm and poetry is another strategy which is used to create fun. If the same ideas are expressed in ordinary non-literary language, nothing will be funny anymore. A common technique in Iran is to borrow famous verses from famous poets and change part of it.

*A Farsi Sample*

Bejoz ghome shohar ke virangarand bani adam azaye yekdigarand

Except for the husband's relatives who are destructive Adam’s sons are body limbs, to say;

This joke entails changes to a famous poem by the great Iranian poet Sa’di and his famous verse which has been carved on the United Nations building entrance. The real verse reads:

Adam’s sons are body limbs, to say; For they're created of the same clay
Should one organ be troubled by pain, Others would suffer severe strain, (Vahid, 2004)

*An English Sample*

I love yr smile, yr face, yr eyes. damn, I am good at telling lies

In this joke the poem is followed by a surprise ending; the sweetness of the beginning verse and the bitterness of realizing the fact that what was said at first is just a lie creates a cold fun.

Misinterpretation or Mistranslation
Another widely used strategy both in Farsi and English is misinterpretation by a person or mistranslation which leads to misinterpretation; this in turn, will lead to misunderstanding and a verbal or physical reaction which is in contrast with real circumstances. The reader of such jokes is aware of everything observing the whole scene and this leads to laughter.

*A Farsi Sample*

Ghazanfar mire talime ranandegi, migan chetor bood. Mige khoob bood vali in morabiye man kheyli adame mazhabi bood. Man harja mipichidam migoft ya hosein.

Ghazanfar decides to learn driving. After his first training session, his friends ask him how the training had been. He says, “It was OK. but my coach was very religious; whenever I reached a U-turn, he used to say Jesus Christ!

The fun of this joke lies in Ghazanfar’s misinterpretation of the reaction of his coach. The coach cries YA HOSEIN (an expression of fear calling an Imam, something like Jesus Christ in English) at U-turns because he is afraid of the reckless driving of Ghazanfar, but he thinks that the coach is a religious person.
**An English Sample**

A baby mosquito came back after its 1st flight. Dad asked how did u feel? He replied dad it was wonderful. Everyone was clapping for me.

Interestingly, this SMS joke is a close equivalent of the Farsi one above. The fun of this joke lies in the baby mosquito’s misinterpretation of the clapping of people; he thinks people have been applauding his efforts for his first flight without knowing what danger he has escaped, that is, people trying to kill him.

**Indirect Criticism**

A common strategy in SMS jokes is indirect criticism of different issues. In this strategy, instead of attacking something in a straightforward method, the consequences are listed. The lengthy nature of these kinds of jokes is the main difference of this strategy with other strategies used for objection or complaint. Sarcasm and irony also use indirect forms of speech or writing; here, the literal impact of an ironic utterance is opposite to the implicit meaning intended by the speaker. The copresense of at least two different interpretations and the contextual mismatch of the context and utterance help increase the effect of irony. There is also a general agreement that irony invariably conveys the speaker’s evaluation (Dynel, 2009; Attardo, et al, 2003).

**A Farsi Sample**

*Salam. ma hal nadarim sms beferstim bad began chaharshanbeh eyde chaharshanbe ham began panjshanbe eyde akharesh ham befahmim doshanbeh eyd boode. Hamine ke hast. Az hamin emrooz eydetoon mobarak.*

Hi. I am not in a good mood to send you an SMS, then understand that Wednesday is Eid, then on Wednesday they say Thursday is Eid, then we come to know that Monday has been the Eid. That’s how it goes. From now accept my congratulation for Eid.

If someone doesn’t have the background knowledge of Muslims’ *Fetr Eid* (the festive day after the last day of Ramadan when Muslims celebrate their success of fasting for one month), he/she will not understand the cold sarcasm in this joke. As the Lunar Calendar based on which Muslims do many rituals is not fixed and depends on seeing the MOON, a common problem which is repeated every year is deciding on the last day of Ramadan. On one hand, people are banned from fasting on *Fetr Eid* and on the other hand, they must know exactly when Ramadan ends so that they can have weddings or trips or so, but most of the time they will not know anything about the end of Ramadan until the very last moments. Sometimes there are even mistakes like the mistake the King of Saudi Arabia did in announcing the end of Ramadan in 2011. This joke is an indirect criticism of this problem which affects people’s lives in different ways.

**An English Sample**

A new study finds that it takes humans 30% longer to lie than it does to tell the truth. See, that’s why political speeches are so long.
This joke clearly accuses politicians of lying but it does it in an indirect way. Sometimes a direct attack has less effect than a direct one. The strategy that the joke has used is the one used highly by politicians of course!

**Use of contradiction**

A contradiction between what people say, what people think, and what they do creates funny situations. Paradox jokes in which a statement contradicts itself are of this kind.

*A Farsi Sample*

*pesarjan begir bekhab. Shabe ghadr shabe *bidar Mandan* nist, shabe *bidar shodan* ast.*

Darling, just sleep. Ghadr Night is not the time for avoiding sleep; it’s time for *awakening.*

The joke is using a contradiction between what people do and what they should actually do at Ghadr Night, a very important night in the fasting month of Ramadan; Muslims believe that the destiny of the next year will be decided for the people on this night, so they stay awake and pray. Some people don’t know the real hidden meaning of these prays and cannot benefit from their staying awake because no awakening of their conscience happens.

*An English Sample*

Your future depends on your dreams, so go to sleep.

Usually, our future depends on our efforts to achieve our dreams and no one can reach his/her dreams by sleeping. An ambiguous use of the word dream in this joke creates fun.

**Misleading the Mind**

Another strategy which is used widely in both languages is to mislead the mind of the reader of the SMS. At first the reader is exposed to serious sentences and then at the end something which he/she doesn’t expect is mentioned; the punch line is usually something negative about the reader or something positive about the sender. The result is always a surprise ending.

*A Farsi Sample*

*ba marefat, khoshtip, khosh akhlagh, mehraboon, cheghadr az khodam tariff kardam. Ye kam to az khodet begoo.*

Having manly characters, handsome, well-mannered, kind, I talked a lot about myself. Now, it’s your turn to tell about yourself.

*An English Sample*

U R 100% beautiful, U R 100% lovely, U R 100% sweet, U R 100% nice, and U R 100% stupid to believe these words.

In both jokes the reader of the SMS thinks that all the nice features mentioned are addressed to him/her but the punch line is something against what he/she thinks.
Oxymoron
A strategy which is used in English but not in Farsi is the use of oxymoron. An oxymoron is usually defined as a phrase in which two words of contradictory meaning (e.g. deafening silence) are brought together. The way it creates fun is to put some oxymorons together leading to the last one which is the funniest one among all; it actually uses the juxtaposition technique to intensify the effect.

An English Sample
- Clearly misunderstood!
- Exact estimate
- Small crowd
- Act naturally
- Found missing
- Fully empty
- The only choice
- Pretty ugly
- Seriously funny
- Original copies
  &
  The mother of all
- happily married!!!

Sophistication
In this kind of joke, a deliberately invalid argument displaying ingenuity in reasoning is presented in the hope of deceiving someone; it is a kind of falsification by the use of sophistry, i.e. misleading by means of specious fallacies.

A Farsi Sample
yeki be refighesh mige shenidam too zarf shostan be zanet komak mikoni? mige khob mage chiye? oonam too rakht shostan be man komak mikone

Someone tells his friend: “I have heard that you help your wife with the dishes?” His friend answers: “What’s wrong with that? She helps with the clothes in turn.”

In this joke, the friend who wants to hide his being henpecked talks in a way as if washing the clothes is his own duty and that his wife compensates for his help.

An English Sample
Practice makes perfect ..... but nobody’s perfect ...... so why practice?

Creating images
Sometimes, SMS makers and senders activate the readers’ minds by making a comparison of some abstract idea with something more tangible and more concrete. The readers’ trying to connect these abstract and concrete images leads to a moment of illumination which is funny. It can be done in the form of a simile or a metaphor.
Love is like a sand watch. It fills the heart but empties the brain.

The image of a sand watch which has two parts, one up like a man’s brain or head and one down like a man’s heart, is the key to understand the bitter sarcasm in this joke.

An English Sample
Since light travels faster than sound, people appear bright until you hear them speak.

This joke makes a comparison between people’s face and light, and people’s speaking and sound. The idea is that when people start speaking you will come to know them better and that usually what people say shows their low character and stupidity. In Iran, there is a proverb which goes “The art and the weakness of a man will be hidden as long as he keeps quiet”.

Question-Answer Riddles
Another strategy which is used in both languages, though more in English, is the one which takes the form of a riddle which consists of some questions and answers; they usually ask for finding a similarity between two things which are semantically far from each other, a difference between two things, or the reason for an event.

A Farsi Sample
Midooni shebahate zane dovom ba enerzhiye hasteyi chiye? Ba inke har do haghe mosalame ma hastan vali ma nemitoonim be oona dastresi dashte bashim hata dar hade azemayesh

Do you know the similarity between the second wife and nuclear energy? Although both are our absolute rights, we can’t have access to any of them even for experimentation.

This joke asks for the similarity between the second wife and nuclear energy. A reference to the famous slogan in Iran “Nuclear energy is our absolute right” intensifies the effect. The comparison brings into the mind of the reader the idea that men should be allowed to marry more than one woman!

An English Sample
What is the similarity between Bill Gates and me?
Don’t know?
He never comes to my house and I never go to his house.

Using Abbreviations
Another common strategy used in SMS jokes is using abbreviations to introduce new ideas; another version is to suppose that an ordinary word is made of the initial of some words.
Discourse Analysis of SMS Jokes

A Farsi Sample
Zndgy (pronounced zendegy) az to olgoo migire. z zaviyeye negahe to, n navaye kalame to, d dargahe abrooye to, g gisooye parishane to, y yaroo sarekari baba

ZNDGY (Life) is based on you: Z zaviyeye negahe to (your viewpoint), n navaye kalame to (your tone of voice), d dargahe abrooye to (your eyebrow), g gisooye bolande to (your long hair), y yaroo sarekari baba (I was just fooling you!).

An English Sample
My heart problem has reached a critical stage. Doctor says there r only 2 options left: ICU or UC Me.

In this joke the abbreviation ICU which is a medical ward for seriously ill patients frightens the reader. Then the reader comes to realize that ICU has been used as the initials for I See You. This leads to a sigh of relief followed by laughter. Sometimes we can find fun in the most serious things!

Absurd SMS
Here something is said which is inconsistent with reason, or logic, or common sense. This incongruity invites ridicule.

A Farsi Sample
yaroo miofte too chah mige shans avordam tahesh soorakh nabood

Someone falls into a deep well. When rescued, he says: “Thanks God the bottom of the well was not open.”

An English Sample
Birdy birdy in the sky dropped a poopy in my eye I dont worry I dont cry Im just happy that cows cant fly

In the Farsi joke the idea of the bottom of a well being open, and in the English joke the idea of a cow flying are absurd ideas.

DISCUSSION
Generally, in this study, 20 strategies in SMS jokes were identified. Seven out of these twenty strategies were purely of a linguistic nature, including the use of ambiguity, phonological similarity, code-switching, rhythm and poetry, misinterpretation and mistranslation, oxymoron, and using abbreviations; they used the linguistic resources available in the structure or the lexicon of a language to create fun. The rest, including a mismatch between utterance and context, ethnic slurs, group stereotypes, juxtaposition, exaggeration, reference to special social and historical events, indirect criticism, use of contradiction, misleading the mind, sophistication, creating images, question-answer riddles, and absurd SMS mostly used ideological plays to create fun, using social, political, anthropological, and historical resources in the society. The only strategies which were not observed in Farsi were oxymoron and structural ambiguity. The following differences were observed between the two languages:
No case for structural ambiguity was observed in Farsi, although lexical ambiguity was used freely. This difference is mainly because of the differences between the structure of Farsi and English. For example, using repetition and synonyms, which are a characteristic of Farsi doesn’t leave any room for structural ambiguity.

The next difference is that Farsi texters use the strategy of “mismatch between utterance and context” twice as much as English texters do. This is compatible with the fact that in Persian literature and the Iranian society, there are many fictitious characters such as Ghazanfar, Molānasreddin, Bohlool, etc. who are famous for their low understanding about the situation, though sometimes their remarks include heavy sarcasm in which they criticize people, especially kings and people of power.

Moreover, it seems that “ethnic slurs” is used heavily in Iran showing that different ethnic groups in Iran try to pinpoint the weaknesses of other groups, or their own superiority over others through jokes. Sometimes these jokes circulate all over the country, as it is the case for different ethnic groups in Iran, like Lor people for being simple-minded, Turkish-speaking people for being simple-minded, Rashti people for being unbiased, Isfahani people for being Scottish, and Tehran people for being spoiled or being clever, and sometimes these jokes are just specific to a certain geographical area, as it is the case with Hamedani people for being stingy, Malayeri people for their going to Hamedan for even the smallest needs and shopping, etc. English jokes of this kind are made and sent to others about ethnic minorities like black people, American Indians, red-colored inhabitants, and immigrants, especially Chinese and Turkish. More recent jokes focus on Arabs and Middle East immigrants; this shows how people, and even jokes, are affected by political debates and propaganda. These kinds of jokes serve to establish group identity, to sustain difference, or to declare superiority over others (Moran, 2003). There are strong pessimistic views about these kinds of jokes. Many people consider them as offensive. Salehi (2011) believes that these kinds of jokes are new in Iran dating the phenomenon back to a short time before the revolution of Iran; he believes that making jokes about Lor, Turkish, Arab, Azeri, Kurdish, and Balooch people was and is an attempt for separating these races and breaking the unity and solidarity of different races of Iran. On the other hand, Park et. al (2006) have a positive view toward these kinds of jokes concluding that, for example, comedies starring racial minorities have facilitated racial tolerance and acceptance of minorities by the mainstream culture of the United States.

Contrary to ‘ethnic slurs’, the number of English jokes using group stereotypes is more than that of Farsi. English people make fun of different groups almost four times Iranians do. In Farsi, teachers vs. students, fathers vs. children, mothers vs. children, doctors vs. patients, and a favourite one, that is, husbands vs. wives are the target of these kinds of jokes. In English, in addition to these groups there are stereotypes for different university disciplines (mathematics vs. physics), doctors vs. nurses, customers vs. barmaids, the blue-collar vs. the white-collar, etc. There are also many mama jokes, computer jokes (about computer experts and computer addicts), marriage SMS (in which the main themes are either women who are very eager to trap and marry a man, or the foolishness of a man who wants to marry, or ladies’ love of jewellery, shopping, and appearance, unhappy spouses, husbands betraying wives, etc.), bar jokes, exam jokes, blonde jokes, cricket jokes, college jokes, etc. English people include more groups, especially professions, in their jokes. One reason for this may be the fact that “profession” is a determining factor of social class in England and especially the United States but not in Iran; people in England and the United States are more concerned about their jobs and there is a hidden competition between people so as to show that their
jobs are superior over other jobs. The point here is that for all these groups there are defined characteristics known by all people and an explicit or implicit reference to these characteristics creates laughter. We even have jokes inspired by famous characters, for example, Clinton jokes or Mr. Bean jokes in English, and Jokes about “Ostad Asadi” (a football player famous for his mistakes, which had disastrous results for the National Football Team of Iran), “Ali Daei” criticized for his insistence to play football and his bad record in the World Cup of 2006, in Farsi. These kinds of jokes circulate the country as long as these characters are at their jobs or they are salient and effective in the society; they diminish after a while and lose their freshness, an important aspect which intensifies the effect and the fun of the joke.

Also, in Iran, the strategy of “phonological similarity” is frequently used when the joke teller or sender wants to show the difference between the standard Farsi language which is Tehrani Farsi in Iran and other local varieties of Farsi. In English, this strategy is mostly used to find a similarity between animal sounds and real words, though we have some rare cases of this kind in Farsi too.

The next is that “juxtaposition” is used more in English jokes; one reason may be that these jokes have a lengthy character and people of Iran, who are concerned a lot about their costs try to avoid using lengthy SMSs. Another difference found is that Iranian people use more “exaggeration” joke, which is exactly a reflection on the culture of the Iranian people, a reflection on the fact that they are used to exaggerate; this is seen a lot in their everyday life and Persian literature.

Also, Iranian people are a lot concerned about social and political issues, especially after the Islamic revolution of Iran which has a record of an election per year and the involvement and interest of Iranian people in talking about such issues even if they have no expertise in these issues; this has led to Iranian people’ overuse of the strategy “reference to special social and historical events”. This may also be a reflection of the fact that Iranian people find SMS jokes the easiest way to express their ideas and reactions to social and political events.

Regarding the use of the strategy of “misleading the mind”, a common technique in Faasi is to start with a famous sentence or proverb or quotation and then change the last part of the sentence in a way that is not expected. In English, this kind of joke which leads to a kind of cognitive incongruity is widely used for April Fool jokes, a concept which is absent in the Iranian culture.

Sophistication is also a good indicator of the culture of the Iranian people; they use the “sophistication” strategy almost four times English people do. Iranian people are skilled at justifying their acts through sophistry, especially when they have done something wrong and they need a way out.

Also, Iranian people seem to be more imaginative and creative in making comparisons between abstract and concrete notions; they do so almost two times more than English-speaking people. And finally, using abbreviations is more common in English maybe because the Latin alphabet used by the English language lends itself more easily to create such jokes.

An interesting case was also observed. The presupposition of the researchers was that Iranian people use “rhythm and poetry” more because they are more concerned with literature and especially poetry, but the results showed that there is no significant difference in the use of this strategy by Iranian and English texters. The following tables summarize the results of the corpus analysis done in this study.
Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4: SMS Joke Strategies and Their Frequencies
Farsi (2400 samples) and English (1500 samples)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of Strategies</th>
<th>Structural</th>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>The use of ambiguity</th>
<th>Mismatch between utterance and context</th>
<th>Ethnic slurs</th>
<th>Group stereotypes</th>
<th>Phonological similarity</th>
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<td>296</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>12.33</td>
<td>7.66</td>
<td>1.33</td>
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<td>31.4</td>
<td>1.26</td>
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<tr>
<th>Use of Strategies</th>
<th>Juxtaposition</th>
<th>Code-switching</th>
<th>Exaggeration</th>
<th>Reference to special social and historical events</th>
<th>Rhythm and poetry</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>128</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.66</td>
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<th>Use of Strategies</th>
<th>Misinterpretation and mistranslation</th>
<th>Indirect criticism</th>
<th>Use of contradiction</th>
<th>Misleading the mind</th>
<th>Oxymoron</th>
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<td>17.33</td>
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<th>Use of Strategies</th>
<th>Sophistication</th>
<th>Creating images</th>
<th>Question-answer riddles</th>
<th>Using abbreviations</th>
<th>Absurd SMS</th>
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CONCLUDING REMARKS

Language is an intrinsic part of our everyday reality and we put our linguistic knowledge to use to give shape to our internal thoughts (Widdowson 2007). People negotiate, realize, or reject ideologies and even identities through the use of language, a factor for expressing our thoughts stronger than cultural artefacts such as dress, food, housing, etc. (Wardhaugh 2006). Human cognition and human experience are closely related to humans’ use of language (Johnstone 2008). An important manifestation of language is making jokes about different issues. People use SMS as a new form of communication technology which is fast, cheap, and indirect in the sense that they can freely express their thoughts and ideologies without having to see their audience face to face. SMS can fulfil both transactional and sociability functions; people exploit the sociability aspect of SMS through SMS jokes. Similarities between strategies used by different nations show how the concept of “global village” is spreading and the fact that there is a transfer of cultures between cultures and that technologies may bring new concepts and cultures with them. The differences also show the local dyeing of these concepts. SMS jokes may be the most common way of expressing concerns by people. Victor Borge, the Danish comedian, says, “humour is something that thrives between man’s aspirations and limitations. There is more logic in humour than anything else. Because, you see, humour is truth.”

REFERENCES


DIGITALIZING THE MALAYSIAN CLASSROOM:
BARriers, INSIGHTS and FEASIBILITY

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ABSTRACT
Many schools in both developed and developing countries are making the move
to e-books, tablets and multimedia enhanced curriculums. Malaysia is also joining
the bandwagon by adopting Google Apps and Chrome books for use in the local
classroom. In-depth interviews have been conducted with 12 informants comprising
teachers from four different government or government-aided schools in Sabah.
The interviews revealed some of the main barriers, insights, implications and an
idea of how feasible it is for the local classroom to adopt the tablet PC. The study
revealed amongst other findings, the tendency for parents, teachers and students to
view the tablet PC as a tool for entertainment, not education. The informants also,
for variety of reasons preferred that the move be started at a young age, preferably
in elementary school, or even in preschool. Feasibility will depend on a stable and
fast Internet connectivity, a stable supply of electricity, a customized syllabus-based
software that is easy and intuitive to use and the training of teachers to confidently
embrace a digital future in their careers.

Keywords: e-books, education technology, syllabus-based software, digital contents

INTRODUCTION
Ever since education was made available to the masses, print has always been the favourite,
if not the only, medium of learning for scholars and students. For years, teachers have been
using the blackboard and textbooks to relay lessons to their students, sometimes switching
to projectors and transparencies, or visual guides in the form of large posters, but no other
tool is more important and more prevalent to the classroom than the textbook. However,
as we enter an age where an Internet connection and mobile gadgets are becoming more of
a necessity than a luxury, it is perhaps time to prepare for a technological boost in digital learning tools, edging the classroom towards a paperless future.

It may be a while before the tablet PC and e-books can make their entrance into the curriculum and classrooms in schools, including schools in Malaysia. Nonetheless, it is important to conduct proper research to find out two things: if the idea of introducing tablet PCs into the Malaysian classroom will be received well by the teachers and to highlight possible implications from introducing technology into a still rather paper-based classroom setting.

This paper endeavours to: (i) Find out the Malaysian teacher’s view of teaching with tablet PC and e-books; (ii) analyse the personal innovativeness and attitudes of teachers in using learning technologies in the classroom; and (iii) Identify the possible implications and barriers of using tablet PCs in the Malaysian classroom.

**PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The Preliminary Report of the Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013-2025 revealed that despite having spent RM6 billion on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in initiatives like the Smart Schools, around 80% of teachers were found, in 2010, to spend less than one hour per week using ICT. At this rate, even if the government’s plan to provide all 10,000 schools in Malaysia with Internet access and “virtual learning environments” succeeds, history will probably repeat itself and these facilities will be wasted, if the government refuses to address the elephant in the room – where do Malaysian teachers stand in the adoption of ICT and technology in classrooms? Are they tech savvy enough to take the leap from traditional paper to electronic text? Can they adapt to a wireless and paperless classroom? Will they approach the idea with caution, embrace it urgently or maintain an indifferent stance based on their previous experience with early ICT initiatives? How are teachers actually using the ICT facilities provided in their schools?

**ADVENT OF GLOBAL CLASSROOMS**

Many schools around the world are starting the revolution of swapping printed textbooks with e-textbooks. If Malaysia was to join this digital revolution, this would be another change at a massive scale. To give an idea of how much is at stake, the Terengganu government has already spent RM100 million to provide 92,224 units of e-books for primary school students since 2007 (The Star 20 November 2011). The total number of students in both primary and secondary schools as of 31 Jan 2013 is 5,042,906 (Ministry of Education 2013), 50 times the number of the e-book recipients. A conservative estimate of the same project would push the budget required to RM5 billion.

As more nations start figuring out their plans to incorporate tablets into their classrooms, it may soon be time for Malaysia to do the same. Near the end of the writing of this paper, Google announced on their blog, plans by the Malaysian Education Ministry to adopt Chromebooks and Google Apps as their solution to digital classrooms. The move will probably bank on Google Apps for Education and YouTube Edu which are already used in top universities as well as 500 schools in the US (Yeung 10 April 2013) and a help from Frog Asia, which is part of YTL Communications. Frog Asia provides the learning platform while
YTL communications is providing 4G Internet connections for the 10,000 schools under the 1BestariNet project. The move was a result of a year-long of roundtable discussions, focus groups and interviews involving 50,000 people (Google 2013) although there was no mention of whom were involved in the talks.

Mobile learning or m-learning is touted as the future of learning because of the mobility and immediacy it affords the student (Mahat et al. 2012) as well as its apparent value in distance learning (Al-Fahad 2009). In a wireless learning environment, notes need not be downloaded and can actually be delivered to the students by their lecturers via blog streams or even SMS. Additionally, this learning mode can be easily integrated into the existing teaching-learning modes practiced by the student (Mahat et al. 2012). Research has been made in determining the suitable use of mobile devices in the classroom such as mobile phones (Maniar et al. 2008), smartphones, tablet PCs (Ando & Ueno 2010; Molnar 2012), e-readers (Marmarelli and Ringle 2010) and computers.

A wave of change is sweeping across global classrooms, and tablet PCs are riding that wave. The tablet PC has been the rising frontrunner (Cohen 16 Feb 2011; Madan 17 May 2011) when it comes to bridging the gap between a paper-based classroom and a paperless one. It is preferred over computers, laptops and netbooks because of its portability, ease of use and powerful features, and many nations are already implementing the systems and delivering these tablets into the hands of young schoolgoers.

In Kenya, Africa, Lavington Primary school pupils will become part of a pioneer project that will see pupils learning with tablet PCs and 65-inch electronic boards (Herbling 12 December 2012). The developed platform, dubbed the Samsung Smart School, features multimedia resources, which allows teachers to give quizzes, monitor class attendance and expose young children to a new way of learning, made possible with IT. In India, Pearson Education announced in December 2012 that they were providing tablet-based education solutions for schools there. Students can choose between a 7 or a 10-inch MX Touch-ActiveTouch which contains digitized textbooks and other content, including videos, animation and quizzes (tech2.in.com 3 Dec 2012). Elsewhere in Hong Kong, China, e-textbook applications have been approved for development. The task will be taken up by 5 non-profit organizations, which are to incorporate the benefits of e-learning in 30 textbook submissions. Each textbook set will be given a development budget of USD$4 million, and delivery is expected by 2014 (HKSAR Government 29 Nov 2012).

In Thailand, a bold project by the Thai Government to put tablets into the hands of school-goers is underway. The “One Tablet Per Child” (OTPC) policy is a close to USD96 million project which seeks to put close 900,000 tablet PCs into the hands of elementary students and teachers in Thailand. The tablet PC chosen cost USD82 per piece, featuring an Android OS and a storage capacity of only 8 GB. Teachers will get tablet PCs of different specifications. Schools that do not have access to the Internet can fall back on teaching with the loaded content, offline (Kunakornpaiboonsiri 15 January 2013). In the second year, the project opened up the choice of tablets in an e-auction, welcoming tenders from manufacturers like Huawei, Scope, Haier and more.

Each tablet is priced at around USD91-98 (Kunakornpaiboonsiri 13 March 2013) and the government will be providing tablets of different sizes for the students as they progress higher up the academic studies. Other nations like Turkey are aggressively pushing for a massive reform that could rival Thailand’s efforts. The local government is bent on putting
15 million tablet PC into the hands of school children from 40,000 schools, over the next four years. The project will set the government back USD4.5 billion. The Turkish government has been in talk with Microsoft and even Apple to make this feasible (Faas 7 February 2013). Millions (or maybe billions) are being invested into making the digital classroom happen.

South Korea is home to the world’s highest broadband speeds. The nation is reported to have the highest average peak bandwidth of 47.9 Mbps (Duncan 2 May 2012) as of mid-2012, with further plans to push speeds even higher. Even before producing amazing Internet speeds for the whole nation, South Korea has already revealed massive plans to fully digitize their textbooks and convert all their textbooks to tablet PCs by 2015 (Knapp 6 July 2011). The move would set the government back $2.1 billion. However, the plan was pulled in March 2012 because officials were concerned that they are making the next generation too dependent on tech gadgets and addicted to the Internet (Strauss 26 March 2012). In essence, the project is not entirely pulled, merely delayed, and rather than completely phasing out paper textbooks, the ministry has decided to allow both mediums to co-exist in their classrooms but only from the third grade onwards; the first and second grade will be taught with paper textbooks. It is apparent and imperative that we must first understand the implications of a move like this and there is no better source to find this out than the teachers themselves.

METHOD
The research, which began as a quantitative research using the survey as the instrument, was changed into a qualitative one due to several limitations. Pilot tests of the initial survey revealed that tablet usage is still very low amongst teachers in Tawau, Sabah. The scenario found most common here is that apart from a handful of teachers, most of the teaching staff and students do not use tablets or smartphones in school for learning purposes. They prefer instead to stick to the chalk-and-talk method for their classes.

A first few test respondents viewed tablets as a hindrance to the learning process as in their opinion, tablets are considered as gaming tools for their students. Even smartphones are frowned upon if found in the hands of students in schools. The initial thought of using a survey questionnaire to gather information was basically shattered. The switch to in-depth interviews was fuelled by the need to understand what the teachers think about the usage of technology in the classroom, the feasibility of the idea is and what schools are up against in terms of implementation. Twelve informants from four different government or government-aided schools were involved in this interview. The teachers were approached at random and are interviewed on a voluntary basis.

FINDINGS
The interview data has revealed a few insights about the barriers towards implementing tablet PC and implications from adopting the tablet PC for use in the classroom.

Realigning Expectations of the Tablet PC
A matter of great concern when it comes to identifying barriers was the thought that the idea of a tablet-driven classroom could be greatly impeded by our association of the tablet as a device for pure entertainment. There is a need to realign how we view the tablet.
“At this point of time, students are using the iPad as an entertainment gadget. So if they can change their mind(set) [to understand that the iPad can] be used as an educational tool, then it will be different, it will be effective.” (S9)

Rather than look at it as a gaming device or a device solely for social networking or surfing sites that are not education-related, efforts must be made to reinstate its role as an educational tool for the idea of a tablet-driven classroom to work. To tackle this problem requires a widespread ‘conditioning’ in the way we, not just the students, view tablet devices. This lead to the question of how young should a student be exposed to these devices, specifically for school use i.e. at which level of study should we start introducing the tablet into schools? S2 states that the sooner we expose children to these tablets, the better, as it is important to teach them young. It is also easier to start afresh than to change an ingrained habit.

“If we limit their usage to learning applications, that’s the only thing they will play with. When they are older, they [will already be] used to using the tablet for learning apps… Students who are in form 5, they will view the tablet more as a toy, rather than a learning tool.” (S2)

Finding the Right Starting Age
At this point, it is important to note that three other teachers believe that we should start teaching with the tablet with younger children. S11 believes that “the younger, the better”. Even S6 who prefers the non-digital way of teaching believe that starting them young, “in kindergarten or Year 1” can be a great deciding factor. S12 further illustrates this by saying, “Australian kids do not download mp3 or illegal software. Upbringing should start early.” S9 states that at this point in time, the tablet is probably better suited for use at the university level where the students are deemed more mature and can better handle their devices for learning. Lastly S2 also adds that if students are used to the tablet before the proper lesson begins (say, at Primary 1) then it will not eat into the lesson time in class.

“If the child uses it for the first time, he wants to try everything, explore what is in the tablet. So they will learn less of the syllabus, they would focus on doing other things.” (S2).

Based on this, it is easy to surmise that the longer we delay this transition of learning from text to tablet, the more conditioning we will have to commit to, particularly when it comes to uprooting the mindset of several entire generations. But do they think that it is time for the shift?

“… for our time, books are ok, but for kids nowadays, it’s a new period. Something new [like the tablet], there is motivation [for them] to learn.” (S7)

“Digital devices is the new trend of learning in school, maybe some of us cannot see the opportunity of learning online by using the iPad. Sooner or later the younger citizens will pick up. We (educators) have to be open-minded about this.” (S11)

“The kids who are now in primary 1, 2, they are used to tablets because they are born in this generation. They have gotten their fill of the tablets.” (S2)
The Role of Parents

Inevitably, the role of parents came to light. Teachers would only get access to students in kindergarten or Primary 1. Meanwhile, children are being exposed to tablets at younger ages as more educational apps are continued to be developed for children as young as 2 (Rothman 6 May 2010).

S11 states that “if you teach [the children] the good values young, they will be able to control themselves” and since it is the parent who spends more collective time with their children, the onus, as many of the respondents insist, falls back on the parents.

“In school each teacher gets 1 hour tops with the students, then they go to other classes. At home the parents can monitor them for longer.” (S2)

“I think it is important for parents to know how to use the device because students only come to school for 5 hours. I teach you one subject, which takes about 40-50 minutes only; the rest of the day, I may not even see you again. Then how will I know [what you download or use the laptop for]… for the older students, we can still talk ‘reason’ with them, they may be able to think for themselves – whether or not they want to follow your advice is another matter.” (S5)

“…after my class, I’m not sure how they will use it… Parents also can control usage, hopefully. If the students listen to their parents.” (S6)

Not only do parents spend more time with their kids than the teachers do, they are also the rule-makers at home. S2 raised the idea that parents can instill certain behavioural rules around the usage of these devices at home. He actively practices this with his children, allowing them to only use the tablet during weekends and after they have done their homework, and washed their shoes. S11 made behavioural rules for her children too but with the personal computer, the device of the day when her children were growing up. However, it is probably S9’s account of how important the role of parents is that marks a crucial key to unlocking the tablet’s potential in school.

“Actually the iPad, there is nothing wrong with it… [it’s the] Parents [who] use the thing to babysit their children, 4-year olds, 5-year olds.”

She describes how parents and grandparents take small kids out and let them play with the iPad while they wait for their meal to be served. While she has no clue as to what is so interesting about the tablet, she sees that the users do not care what happens in their surroundings and are too absorbed with the gadget. “If it is an educational thing, of course it is good” but most of the time, it is to play with games. While parents may dote on their children by getting them a tablet (which functions as a babysitting tool to alleviate their parental responsibilities as well), she states that parents don’t have the time to sit down and teach [their children] how to properly use the gadget, which “is different thing.” More and more parents are using technology to help them keep their children busy while they work or rest from a hard day’s work.

In S9’s view, today’s parents are fueling the attachment of students to the tablet as a tool to pass the time with. The result:
“at home, they lock their door in their room... either they are socializing with their friends, chatting (online)... watching videos... they use it for entertainment, or to play game, DOTA, Farmville. They spend maybe 5 hours a day in this, not the beneficial type of activities... They create a few accounts, they send [game requests] to themselves. They might be using ICT for 5-6 hours, but whatever info they get is very minimum.” (S9)

Further research is required to see how widespread this activity is in Malaysia and in the Asian region.

**Fear of Technology**

The urgency to adopt the tablet into the classroom for today’s young ones may be more evident in other countries such as Thailand, Turkey, Australia and the U.S. but in Malaysia, as the following few paragraphs will show, adopting tablets and e-books face a few challenges that are harder to overcome than other forms of technical barriers. First, there exists the fear factor:

“[When it comes to trying] something new, the fear factor is always there, it is human nature. We resist until we cannot, then we try it, then we learn. When we learn then we realize, oh it is actually very easy. [The fear factor] is always there.” (S11)

“Computer tech is too fast [for us to catch up]. We haven’t gotten used to the old version, and we have a new version out... Those who have been teaching all this while, suddenly they need to swap to ICT. They cannot cope. Some of them, I teach them to buy airline tickets online and even after I’ve taught them, they are still fearful of buying online.” (S2)

S4 and S6 are actual proof that this phenomenon is present in our teachers. A recurring answer from S4 shows that the main problem inhibiting proper usage of ICT in her part is ‘technical problems’. She stated that she would prefer an e-board that is already setup in the class so there is no need to set equipment up or configure settings etc. She did not specify what sort of technical problems she faced but admitted that she uses ICT rarely, at most, one or two times. Ease of use is a crucial factor for these types of teachers when using the tablet in the classroom.

S6, in this researcher’s opinion, is a dedicated teacher who will take it upon herself to force her students to improve but does not use ICT to make her life easier. In fact she gives off a most sceptical vibe.

“Maybe they will improve in terms of the skills to use a mobile device, but not in the subject.” (S6)

When faced with the thought of using tablets in school, she worries instead about students bringing uncharged tablets to school and how much the school will have to pay for to power these devices on a daily basis.

“The two biggest problems with using the tablet in class is one, funding. Understandably, it’s a big sum. Secondly, our electrical supply problem. I’m going to need a lot of electrical plugs to power these tablets.”
Interviewer: The tablets can last a full 8 hours without recharging.
Informant: But what if the student forgets to charge?

Interviewer: I doubt that so many students, say 20 out of 40 will forget to charge.
Informant: [ignores] Yeah, then I cannot use it. Where am I going to find 20 electrical plugs to help them charge this?”

This negative view towards using tablet PC was also reported in the Ifenthaler and Schweinbenz (2013) study and was said to be caused by the respondent’s beliefs and hopes rather than actual knowledge and experience about the technology. Both S4 and S6 only go online for about an hour a day, for the purpose of social networking and to keep up with current issues. Both also own a laptop (their preferred device to go online with), a personal computer and a mobile phone each¾ neither owns a tablet or a smartphone. They seem content to continue with their current method of teaching without much use of ICT. Ifenthaler and Schweinbenz (2013) reported the need to have a comprehensive support system for teachers with less affinity to technology to aid adoption. Without proper training to help digitalize their teaching styles, the outcome will probably remain in a traditional form (Garavaglia and Ferrari 2012). Not only will this idea face resistance from teachers who prefer to use their own way of teaching, without the use of ICT, we also face resistance in terms of our local culture.

“If you say nations abroad can do this, why can’t we do this, don’t forget, foreign countries, the way they educate their youngsters is that they give them independence from a very young age. Here it is different. Here we (teachers) have to work together with parents. If you are a parent and you want to give your children the freedom (to use these devices as they like) I believe there will be problems.” (S5)

She does not specify what the problems are or will be, but the next section may reveal clues. One of the questions posed to the teachers involved the description of the Samsung Smart School, “One of the major highlights of the system is that the teacher can send all the information written on the e-board to their students’ tablets in real time. They can also use the e-board to monitor the activities of the students on their respective tablets.”

S6 was very agreeable to this feature.

“I think it is good that you can correct things immediately, like a math question, get a student to do [the problem] in front of [the] class. If I correct his work, immediately you can see what this student did wrong, and what is the right way.” (S6)

**Effect on Teacher-Student Relationship**

Enriquez (2010) in studying the Interactive Learning Network found that immediate assessment was a favourable feature in increasing learning efficiency. This Smart School concept allows teachers to do that. However, while it may look good on paper, several respondents were quick to point out how the system may in fact backfire. S1 thinks that we can develop the students only academically if the class is fully digitalised in this format.

There is no wholesome development on the other three aspects: physical stamina, spiritual and emotional development. The relationship between the teacher and the student may also be affected due to the loss of communication between student and teacher.
“When we teach students by sharing information between teacher and student, student and student, there is a lot of development in the group spirit, the sense of belonging.”

She does however state that there are students who don’t like to listen when a teacher speaks; the concept can be helpful in this sort of situation. S9 notes that this concept lacks the human factor, which is important for weaker students. Also, when students face the machine instead of the teachers, they may lose more than the teacher-student bond.

“[Kids today] have lost their communication skills. They only know how to handle machines... They are too involved [with the tablet].” (S9)

This situation, which was referred to as “total absorption” syndrome (in the interview) has been happening with books, the TV, video games, and the computer but S9 has only associated this extensively with the tablet PC. When asked why this is, S9 reiterated that it’s probably because the tablet and the smartphones are so portable. “It is so small. And everyone has their own device,” so much so that when gathered at the same table for a meal, everyone whips out their own smartphone or tablet to play with rather than engage in conversation with the person they are dining with.

“They become very funny, when they see their friends, they don’t talk. They use nonverbal communication. Using words but no sound, no communication.” (S9)

It is thus very important to make an effort to add the element of face-to-face or human interaction into the digital classroom. A digital classroom may need classroom content that is not just interactive in the tap and swipe sense, but also one that focuses on enhancing verbal and presentation skills, communication, exchange of opinions, debates and the likes.

**Absenteeism and Loss of Attention**

Another problem that may occur is the absenteeism:

“Given the culture and mentality of the locals, I can foresee a lot of absenteeism. Because I (the student) have the tablet, the teacher is going to send [the lessons] to the tablet. I don’t even have to attend classes. Even [with] the classroom kind of teaching, the absenteeism is [already] so high. With this, they will totally disappear.” (S11)

Even more importantly, although the notes-syncing system may be good for PnP, one thing it cannot make sure of is if the student is focusing on the lesson. S7 mentions that in this kind of class setting, students would go to school just to listen.

“But they may listen in, one ear, out, the other.”

In this matter, S5 said that if everything is given to the student, they will only look at it without taking the effort to process the information given,

“That’s it, you just look at it.”
S2 feels that the student’s ability to take notes is not there. He probably meant data retrieval rather than copying blindly, and illustrated the point with the example of drawing a microscope:

“…when a student draws a microscope, [they take note of] where the light comes from, the path the light takes. If you give them the microscope straight [in a single picture], they won’t learn… which parts make up the microscope.”

The act of note-copying is also viewed as a sign that the student is following the lesson. The way S6 put it:

“How do you know if the student is actually paying attention in class?... the personal attention? If you ask them to copy something, you know for sure ... how far they are. Yes, they may not be surfing on other sites because you monitoring, but are they really involved in what you are teaching? He has that page or site [you want] open, but is he reading it or is his mind somewhere else?” (S6)

S11 shared the same concern saying that the monitoring system is not absolute and a teacher cannot be 100% sure the students are doing the activities asked. In this sense, this can be developed from the publisher’s or programming side. Teachers may have remote access to the students’ device to check and correct individual work without having to move around the classroom (Garavaglia and Ferrari, 2012). This will not disrupt the class or inhibit a child’s motivation to try and err as many times as required to learn the concept. What is harder to develop is getting everyone on the same page yet still ensure that the content is catered to the student’s respective proficiency levels.

“If they are not in sync, they are not learning together (with everybody at the same time). And you have to resort to remedial activities, to get students that do not grasp the concept, to grasp the concept.” (S11)

To make the lessons effective, teachers may need to repeat the lesson a few times to get the students to understand the lesson (Kunakornpaiboonsiri 15 January 2013) or they will need several versions of the content (beginners, intermediate, advanced) to suit the students’ academic levels. Alternatively, the school can sort the students to their proficiency levels, good students in one class, weaker students in another, then cater different lessons to each class. Content publishers may need to create multiple levels of content: introduction, enhancement, remedial etc. for the same topic, allowing students to work on the content as many times as they want without the fear or rejection or being criticized (Kunakornpaiboonsiri 15 January 2013).

### Alternatives to Using Tablet PC

There lies a risk of over-complicating and pushing too hard to stick to ICT. S3 in his interview, emphasized from the get-go, a rather good alternative. S3 states that there is no need to give a tablet to each student. It helps to lighten the bag load but it is more cost-efficient to improve on the LCD screens.
“If you can see it clearly on your iPad, you can see clearly on the LCD screen as well. Same difference.” (S3)

He suggests improving the student seating, replacing the cement walls with plant walls that will help absorb the echo, make sure the LCD screen is clear, the audio works – basically optimizing the classroom for a full “Lessons on LCD” experience. It also does not consume so much electricity, a prevalent problem in the state of Sabah. This electricity problem is also mentioned by S6, and in fact the interviews conducted for S10, S11 and S12 were done in the midst of a power outage in school. S3 also wonders about who the students can turn to in the event of an out-of-order tablet as well as how classes can continue in the event of a blackout. He is also aware that the real-time syncing feature will require a fast and stable Internet connection, preferably of the fibre optic sort. The technology is far from established in the state of Sabah as of March 2013.

Security and Implementation
Another problem is that school security will have to be heightened in this type of classroom setting. LCD projectors are more cumbersome to move about, however laptops and mobile phones, being the handy, portable mobile devices they are, are common victims of theft in schools. S5, S6, S9, S11, S12 explained that thefts are rampant in school and there were cases where students brought devices to school and the device was stolen.

S9 reported a case where an outsider had wandered into the school compound and made off with a teacher’s laptop. S13 has the same problem in her school and suggests to students to bring their laptops to the teacher’s staff room for safekeeping until it is needed for class. Still, this is not a foolproof solution for all schools. In S5’s school, students are required to report the devices they bring to school and spot-checks will be conducted in the event of a lost device. However, not all stolen items were found. In all the theft cases, there is added responsibility for the teachers to deal with.

Another point to consider is a nationwide implementation of this system and if it would actually be feasible in rural areas where there are schools that still suffer from the lack of basic necessities. Besides, these students may find no need for it.

“Some of them don’t think that learning is important, for instance, in Semporna. Or in Mabu Island, they are so carefree. They just go out and catch fish. The teacher asked the mother why is it that your son didn’t go to school. [She said] if my son [goes] to school, who is going to bring me back my dinner?... You see the sea gypsies, they splash in the water all day; they catch fish. To them this is enough. You say this is poverty but they won’t come out of this.”

The type of funding required to make this feasible in all 10,000 schools in Malaysia is undoubtedly a huge sum and the question of whether to send tablets into rural areas or not, is one for the policy makers.

Health Issues and Other Effects
When asked what are the implications of studying long term on the tablet, six respondents were concerned about the vision of the students. S2 thinks that students will get dizzy due to overuse, and S5 fears that our future generations will inevitably be bespectacled. S3 says
although kids can be real smart from the use of these digital tools but what happens if they aspired to be a soldier or police officer? Without a 20/20 vision, their chances to enter the forces would be affected. Not only are the respondents sure that the students will need spectacles eventually, they think that the teachers will also have it tough handling the screen time required to mark their student’s papers and their progress in class.

In a study by Sommerich et al. (2007), students using the tablet PC were found to experience discomfort in not only the eyes, but also the shoulder due to lugging the tablet PC around, neck, upper and lower back due to the sitting posture, as well as the wrist and head (headaches). Also of concern are data retention problem, an over-reliance on technology and the possibility of losing the text-reading initiative. S12 who has been supportive of the idea throughout her interview was asked if she suffered any side effects from working on her lessons on her laptop for long hours. She answered:

“I find that I lose concentration easily... I’m more forgetful. I can get what I want so precisely... but I cannot remember the information [or recollect from memory]. And [I] lose attention easily... I think this problem exists with students as well.” (S12)

S12 terms it as a data retention problem. Since we can find information so easily, we do not have to remember any bit of it. Whenever there is a need, we go to Google to look it up. Another thing she brought up was the over-reliance of tools. She gave the example of the humble calculator to illustrate her point:

“10 x 1000, the students even need calculators for this.” (S12)

When it comes to text, S13 mentioned that the use of visuals (pictorial, videos, multimedia) may create a natural aversion for text.

“I think it will slow down the reading initiative. They will start to prefer images, because it is so easy to put pictures into your e-text now. But text is important to explain the concept. If they don’t read, [the teacher] will have to explain more.” (S13)

The data found for these implications are limited as only S12 and S13 use these devices more often than the other respondents. There will probably be better and more conclusive findings in a larger population sample preferably one that is actively using the tablet in their daily online dealings.

**Print Has to Stay**

After all this back and forth, came the issue of the style of classrooms the respondents want. It was no surprise that 11 out of the 12 teachers wanted print to stay (S3 finds no relevance to print for his Physical Ed classes). However, there are interesting revelations to share. S2 was the only respondent who not only owned both a tablet and a smartphone but also could identify the OS of his devices: iOS 6. However, he is rather against the idea of using the tablet to study, saying that one would miss out on the feel of the book:
“One bad thing is you don’t have the feel of reading the book, the flipping of the pages. The smell of the paper. It’s cold electronics… you cannot draw on the iPad like you do with printed textbook.” (S2)

S2 also added:

“If they are in primary 1, then they got to learn to write on paper as well; we can’t let them [learn] A, by press[ing] A.”

Whether apps on the tablets can do a better job to help students learn the basics of reading and writing remains to be seen. One of the biggest problems to overcome in this sense is the limitation of suitable input methods. Typesetters face great difficulty in inserting mathematical symbols and operators into the layout of a book and students may face a similar difficulty with their homework on the tablet. Studies are being conducted on how handwriting recognition technology can help allow students to write, than type, on the tablet for mathematical subjects (Anthony, Yang, and Koedinger 2012) but thus far, it is a developing situation. For now, it is safe to say that print may be the best platform to enhance a student’s writing skills and basic understanding of concepts.

Despite her awareness that digital learning is coming to the classroom, S12 says,

“It cannot be a paperless society. It is impossible. When education is concerned, I cannot imagine paperless. We need hard copies of proof of work, of results.”

Print is tangible proof of work done: homework, projects, essays etc. When a student ‘hands in’ his or her work, teachers know that the student has gone through the content and possibly learned a thing or two about what was taught in class. For S9, proof of writing is “proof that you are studying.” It is also hard to abruptly make the switch from print to digital. “We are used to working on paper. And teachers need to see the student’s paperwork. (S4)”

Additionally, due to the workload teachers face e.g. when an essay assignment is assigned, the teacher will have to mark dozens of copies. Doing the marking on the tablet is harder to manage—“If I mark certain parts inside the soft copy, they don’t know where I marked (S10)” —and marking on the tablet is perceived to cause more eyestrain, especially due to the sheer amount. Marking on paper not only shows clearly where the mistake has been made, paper is easier to manage, carry around and store away.

According to S6, when one actively writes something, one will feel more “engage, involved and alert” compared to when you are just staring at the screen. Apart from that, S11 also insisted on the need for tests to be done on hard copy instead of digitally. She shared an incident where teachers who had to take online exams suffered bad grades due to what she described as either a coding bug in the system or unclear instructions. Instead of submitting answers to 5 questions, the test-takers clicked the ‘Submit’ button too soon and were graded only for the one answer they had actually completed. The repercussion from this was that the teachers had to take a weekly course to rectify their ‘poor performance’.

The idea of receiving a bad grade due to poor programming of online tests or a fault in the system is not only unfair to test-takers (be they students or graduate teachers) but also a blow to user confidence, undermining the efficiency of a digital education. Any test
implemented digitally has to be flawless for this to never happen. Otherwise, print is still the best option to take important examinations on. Another respondent vying for print to take precedence over digital is S5 who over the course of the interview asked me how I go this far academically to explain her point:

‘‘...how do you normally revise for your exams? You look at the information, absorb it then think about it, and if possible, write it out. It takes you through the process... if it is already there, you are not invested in it... When you write out the information, the amount you can write out (from memory) is what you have absorbed so far.’’ (S5)

No matter how much the respondents insist that print must stay, the jury is still out on whether the main bulk of the teaching and learning process should be digital or print.

CONCLUSION
The need to equip our younger generations with the skills to survive in a digitally driven world is pressing and is already here. The idea to introduce the tablet PC into schools is a means of ensuring that the young children of this country will be able to gain access to a digital education regardless of financial background, upbringing, race or religion. It is obvious from the findings of this research that there is a lot of further research required to iron out the creases and ensure a painless, seamless transition phase for students, and teachers alike. Identifying the problems that do and may exist is part and parcel of a successful implementation process. While not all answers have been asked or all questions have been found, this research paper provides a starting point that will hopefully branch out into solution-finding efforts from all quarters to realize this move.

This research has unveiled more than what was expected probably because the teachers spoke freely under the promise of confidentiality and unbridled by any question structure. Nothing can be proven conclusive because of the small amount of teachers interviewed—the sample is too small to represent any group of teachers in the whole of Malaysia.

However the data collected has been more than sufficient to show to us the barriers and suggestions that could make or break a learning by tablet PC initiative, if one ever comes to be. The findings from this paper can also be the grounds for a larger-scaled, more widespread survey involving more teachers from more levels and more places.

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PUBLIC RELATIONS MEASUREMENT AND REPORTING BEST PRACTICES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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ABSTRACT
This research aims to identify the Public Relations (PR) measurement and reporting best practices for Arts and Culture-related CSR programmes in Southeast Asia. Interviews were conducted with senior PR consultants and in-house communicators to identify these practices. The author found, through in-depth interviews that (at the time the interviews were conducted), the PR practitioners and the organizations they represent, did not use any specific measurement and reporting methodologies for Arts and Culture-related CSR programmes. The methodologies used to measure and report Arts and Culture-related CSR programmes were the same for other PR programmes. And despite the debate and criticism surrounding its use, the Advertising Value Equivalent remained the most popular measurement method.

Keywords: Corporate social responsibility, public relations measurement and reporting, Advertising Value Equivalent

INTRODUCTION
Corporations used to be perceived as economic institutions. Now they are also viewed as social, cultural, and political institutions. This emerging view is the source of the growing demand for revised standards for business behaviour (Anshen 1980). Traditional cost and financial control systems have not been designed to illuminate most of the resource management issues associated with socially responsive policies and programs (Anshen 1980). Relatively little is known about how to measure the social cost throw-offs of social and cultural changes, how to measure the social gains related to social and cultural changes, and how to measure costs and benefits in almost every other area in which elements of society are pressing for business response. Without such knowledge, expressed in some kind of quantitative terms, however crude, businesses will be a long way from rationality in
allocating resources to social programs and in appraising their contribution as quasi-revenues to compare with investment and expense. Private business will not be allowed to delay social responses until some appropriate quantitative measures can be developed (Anshen 1980).

Scholars have acknowledged this concern with a strong research agenda regarding whether and how CSR-related practices lead to specific economic, social and ecological performance outcomes (Wartick & Cochran 1985; Wood 1991; Tencati et al. 2004 cited in Apostolakou & Jackson 2009). Still, the measurement of CSR remains a rather elusive task. Researchers have yet to achieve a consensus regarding the validity of various measures (Mattingly & Berman 2006; Fryxell & Wang 1994; Waddock & Graves 1997; Tuzzolino & Armandi 1981 cited in Abbott & Monsen 1979). Several approaches have been used to measure CSR: evaluations by industry experts, the use of single-issue and multiple-issue indicators, and surveys of managers, each with their own limitations (Maignan & Ferrell 2000; Graafland et al. 2004 cited in Apostolakou & Jackson 2009).

Nonetheless, a growing demand exists among practitioners for ratings and metrics of corporate social responsibility. Stakeholders, such as NGOs and lobbying groups, have tried to develop metrics for compliance on particular issues. However, investors are also beginning to use CSR performance indicators (Marquez & Fombrun 2005 cited in Apostolakou & Jackson 2009). Almost all large and most medium-sized corporations now make annual appropriations for philanthropic, educational, artistic, and non-profit purposes (Anshen 1980).

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Public Relations

Pioneer public relations educator Rex Harlow once compiled about 500 definitions of public relations (Wilcox, Ault, & Agee 1992). However, the evolution of the public relations and the numerous attempts to describe the practice lead to the following definition: “Public relations is the management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics on whom its success or failure depends (Cutlip, Center, and Broom, 2000).”

Despite the varying definitions and terminologies, one thing is certain – that today’s business environment is changing and the degree of uncertainly faced by most business enterprises are escalating. Modern organizations need to be externally oriented if they are to survive and be successful since problems quite often originate from a firm’s inability to cope with changes emanating from the external environment (Andriole 1985).

Cutlip, Center and Broom (2000) stress that PR must do more than build and maintain relationships with employees and neighbours, it must help businesses create an environment in which owners or investors are satisfied with the return on their invested capital. This increasingly important role that PR play is reflected in the CSR theories is discussed below.

Corporate Social Responsibility Theories

The Legitimacy Theory proclaims that the idea of a contract between society and business exists (Keinert 2008). This theory emphasises on how organizations are dependent on their environments, the expectations from the society that might be changing across time and how firms attempt to justify its existence in society by legitimising its activities—this is because organizations continually seek to ensure that they are perceived as operating within the
norms of their respective societies and that their activities are perceived by societies as being ‘legitimate’ (Guthrie & Parker 1989; Lindblom 1994; Newson & Deegan 2002; Patten 1992).

Another crucial advancement in CSR theory is Freeman’s stakeholder theory: He declares that not only the owners of a firm have a legitimate interest in and claims (“stakes”) on the firm, but every individual or group that may affect or be affected by the company’s activities has a right to be considered in the process of decision-making. Today, stakeholder relations management has become a crucial task when running a successful business, and managers of corporations are expected to not only consider the interests of the firm’s owners, but to balance a multiplicity of competing, heterogeneous interests and needs (Burchell 2008).

Carroll’s “Pyramid of Social Responsibilities”, which categorised for the first time a company’s diverse obligations helped to clarify the nature of businesses’ responsibilities with regard to society at large. At the bottom of the pyramid lie the economic responsibilities of the firm to indicate that they constitute the very basis of corporate existence, followed by legal, ethical, and discretionary responsibilities (Carroll 2008).

The Agency Theory was employed in other CSR studies (Belkaoui & Karpik 1989; Gray Javad, Power, & Sinclair 2001; Gray, Kouhy, & Lavers 1995) to argue that the legitimacy and stakeholder theories are neither separate nor competing, but they are viewed as overlapping perspectives between the political economic assumptions stating that CSR information was voluntarily disclosed by firms as a means to reduce agency costs or future agency costs that could arise in the form of regulation (Gray et al. 2001).

The latest buzzword is the concept of Sustainable Global Development that increasingly intends on placing responsibility on private companies as a constituency became an ever more important driver of development (Keinert 2008). The UN Global Compact (UN Global Compact n.d.) and European Commission, which has published a Green Book in 2001 (EU’s CSR Documents n.d.) clearly supports this shift in paradigm. Sustainability can be defined as the “capacity for continuance into the long-term future” (Tang & Porritt 2007). This concept was created out of the necessity of preserving the environment for future generations. At first addressed to governments, it was later addressed to private businesses to ensure stable long-term growth instead of short-term profit achievement, whatever the cost (Keinert 2008).

**CSR Measurement and Reporting**

Earlier studies on CSR were confined to defining the themes or dimensions relating to CSR (Keinert 2008; Schreck, 2009). These were followed by theoretical attempts to understand and rationalise CSR practices (Belkaoui & Karpik 1989; Burchell 2008; Carroll 2008; Keinert 2008; Lindblom 1994). These dimensions were later extended in empirical research relating to quantity and perceptions on CSR disclosure, characteristics of disclosure companies and reporting medium (Zeghal & Ahmed 1990; Matthews 1997; Carroll 1999; Gray et al. 2001)

More recent studies focus on measurement as it has emerged as the critical link between performance and the principles of sustainability, and it facilitates continuous improvement (Epstein 2008; Watson & Noble 2005; Wright, Gaunt, Leggetter, & Zerfass 2009).

Francisco Roman (2007 in (Herrera, Roman, Alarilla, de Jesus, & Uy 2012) pointed out that in the Philippines, “The evolution of CSR networks starts with the decade of donations when companies primarily provided financial assistance to NGOs and charitable institutions. The second phase is the decade of partnerships...
with intermediaries or established their own foundation to undertake CSR. The third phase is the decade of citizenship when companies—incorporated end-users in the design and implementation of the CSR programs. The fourth phase is the decade of continuous improvement when companies internalized CSR programs in policy formulation. The current phase is the decade of engagement where corporation’s CSR programs address the concerns of society in general.” He added that although CSR is at varying levels of development in various Asian countries, CSR has generally followed a similar evolution; as such, studies on CSR are likely to be aligned to this evolution.

The subject of evaluating PR is related to how effective PR programmes have been in creating a conducive environment for business owners to operate and the measures of the returns of such programmes.

Patton (1982) in Watson and Noble (2005) defines the broad nature of evaluation as one that involves ‘… the systematic collection of information about the activities, characteristics, and outcomes of programs, personnel, and products for use by specific people to reduce uncertainties, improve effectiveness, and make decisions with regard to what those programs, personnel, or products are doing and affecting”. James Blissland narrows the definition to “… the systematic assessment of a program and its results. It is a means for practitioners to offer accountability to clients and to themselves” (Wilcox et al. 1992).

Some definitions emphasize effectiveness, for example: “systematic measures of program effectiveness” (Cutlip, Center, & Broom 2000), “evaluation research is used to determine effectiveness” (Pavlik 1987), and “measure public relations effectiveness” (Lindenmann 1993). Others emphasize objectives: “we are talking about an orderly evaluation of progress in attaining the specific objectives of our public relations plan” (Cutlip et al. 2000). Evaluation as a social scientific practice can be traced back to attempts in the 1930s to evaluate Roosevelt’s New Deal social programmes. Patton (1982 cited in Watson & Noble 2005) argues that the evaluation did not emerge as a “distinctive field of professional social scientific practice” until the late 1960s, about the same time as evaluation began to emerge as an issue in public relations.

In the 1980s and 1990s, communications practitioners left their practice to form companies offering media monitoring, measurement and evaluation services. Such companies are, among others, Media Monitors (Australia 1982) (Asia Media Monitors n.d.), KDPaine and Partners (USA, 1986) (KDPaine & Partners n.d.), and MediaBanc Sdn Bhd (Malaysia, 1997) (MediaBanc (M) Sdn Bhd, n.d.). It became a trend to contract with such specialized companies providing these services (Cutlip et al. 2000). It was also around this time that a Delphi study among UK practitioners and academics of research priorities was conducted by White and Blamphinin (1994). They found that the topic of evaluation was ranked at number one in the development of PR practice and research (Watson & Noble 2005).

Associations for establishing standards and methods of measurement and evaluation such as The Commission on Public Relations Measurement and Evaluation were formed under the auspices of the Institute for Public Relations in 1998 (Institute for Public Relations n.d.). The International Association for the Measurement and Evaluation of Communication (AMEC) (International Association For The Measurement and Evaluation of Communication, n.d.) was established in 1996 to provide a forum for information and knowledge-sharing and to introduce the best practice in all matters related to research and evaluation of media coverage and related communication issues (International Association for the Measurement and Evaluation of Communication n.d.).
In a study conducted by AMEC in 2009, it was found that external communicators use a variety of criteria to assess the effectiveness of their activities, including clippings, internal reviews, Advertising Value Equivalency (AVE), benchmarking, media evaluation tools, blog measures, dashboards, traditional opinion surveys, reputation index, focus groups, league tables, and others. Clipping is the most popular followed by internal reviews, AVEs, and benchmarking. However, there is no clear consensus as to which is the best evaluation and measurement tool (Wright et al. 2009).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher chose the Interview method because this is a major technique for collecting factual information as well as opinions. It is a face-to-face interpersonal role situation in which the researcher asks respondents questions designed to elicit answers pertinent to the research (Naoum, 1998). The method allows the researcher to uncover in-depth information on current practices, which provides useful and meaningful insight. It allows respondents to elaborate on their opinions, values, motivations, recollections, experiences, and feelings about the best practices of PR measurement and reporting both within their company and in the industry, and to describe in detail the methodologies used. Since it is very likely that each company observe different PR measurement and reporting practices, this method allows for flexible questioning. The researcher is able to probe the various responses provided by the interviewees.

The research questions were:

- **RQ1.** What are the PR measurements and reporting best practices in Southeast Asia?
- **RQ2.** What are the measurement and reporting tools that are being used for cultural philanthropy?

The researcher spent a total of three months to complete the interviews. The interviewing process began in December 2005 and it was completed in February 2006. The researcher targeted a sample size of 10 senior PR consultants. From the population of PR practitioners, the researcher had stratified the sample by local (5) and international PR consultancies (5). The researcher approached 18 PR consultants and only nine senior PR consultants agreed to be interviewed. The sample now comprises practitioners from five local consultancies, four international PR consultancies. The rejection rate of 50% was encountered, which is within the acceptable drop-out sample of between 10% to 50% (Wimmer and Dominick, 2003). The nine consultancies are as follows: Rantau PR, Edelman, Perception Management, Arc Worldwide, Prestige Communications, WestCoast Communications, Bridges Strategic Communications, Fleishman Hillard, and Hill and Knowlton.

Since the interviews are conducted in person, the researcher approached PR practitioners working with local and international PR consultancies located within the Klang Valley. Only senior PR consultants were approached as they would be the most qualified candidates to provide useful and meaningful responses.

Local PR consultancies are companies wholly-owned and run by Malaysians. International PR consultancies are foreign-owned entities with offices across the globe, including Southeast Asia and Malaysia. Other than representing themselves, the international
PR consultancies located in the Klang Valley would also act as proxies for counterpart agencies located elsewhere in Southeast Asia. International consultancies have been existing and streamlined operations and practice guidelines, systems and processes, which are adhered to throughout the world. Since the author intends to find out only “what” the best practices are and not “how” it is implemented, it is therefore, not necessary to travel to each Southeast Asian country to research the different ways of implementation in the environments unique in each country.

FINDINGS
The researcher found that, with regards to Research Question 2 (What are the measurement and reporting tools that are being used for cultural philanthropy?), none of the interviewees used any specific measurement and reporting tools to measure Arts and Culture-related CSR programmes.

The findings below found answers to Research Question 1 (What are the PR measurements and reporting best practices in Southeast Asia?). Table 1 below reveals the definition of PR measurement as understood by senior PR consultants.

Table 1: PR Consultant’s Definition of PR Measurement

<table>
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<th>PR Consultancy</th>
<th>Definition of PR Measurement</th>
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| Consultant 1   | Qualitative (content of articles)  
                  Quantitative (number of clippings, PR value) |
| Consultant 2   | PR value                      |
| Consultant 3   | Impact                        
                  Objectives met  
                  Issues are properly managed and does not escalate to a crisis |
| Consultant 4   | AVE                           
                  Key messages  
                  Analysis of objectives and evaluation of results |
| Consultant 5   | Publicity garnered - clippings, television and radio coverage  
                  Research and audits before and after on attitudes and perception, dipstick, and in-depth interviews |
| Consultant 6   | Largely intangible  
                  Size of media clippings (column cm) |
| Consultant 7   | A survey should be done quantitatively and qualitatively to find opinion of target and prior to campaign. 3 to 6 months later, find out if there is a change of opinion. |
| Consultant 8   | Output - column cm.  
                  Outcomes - the degree of behaviour and perception change |
| Consultant 9   | Depends on clients. Most in Malaysia measure media exposure and AVE  
                  Deliverables - fulfillment of deliverables  
                  Error-free - “did we get the best for the client?”  
                  How well it’s written |
The PR consultancies’ definition of PR measurement is consistent with the item considered to be most important to their clients, which is media coverage.

Informants from three agencies (Rantau PR, Edelman and Arc Worldwide) define PR measurement as an “output”; meaning, PR measurement is seen mostly in terms of media coverage, either quantitatively or qualitatively. Quantitative measurements included calculating the value of news clippings (print, television and radio) in terms of advertising value equivalent and PR value. The quality of news clippings is measured qualitatively in terms of placement of the article, messages included, branding included, and so forth.

Other agencies define PR measurement as both “output” and “outcomes”. “Outcomes” means that audits and research needs to be conducted before and after a project to identify behavioural and perception change in the target audience. These are done either in-house or outsourced to research companies in the case of bigger samples.

One informant, in addition to “output” and “outcomes” also define PR measurement in terms of their agency’s overall performance. They look at fulfilment of deliverables, and the quality of service and commitment given throughout the project.

PR Consultancies’ Media Measurement Methods
The researcher found that there is no one consistent way of measuring outputs or news clippings.

Print
Two agencies provide clients with AVE (Formula: column x cm x advertising value + colour surcharge). The interviewee admitted that this was not the best method, but it is the most generic. The interviewee from another agency said that he didn’t use a PR multiplier because he is not able to find the justification for the multiplication.

Three agencies (Perception Management, Prestige Communications and WestCoast Communications) uses the PR multiplier of 3 in their measurement (Formula: column x cm x advertising value x 3 + colour surcharge) while one agency (Bridges Strategic Communications) uses the PR multiplier of 4 (Formula: column x cm x advertising value x 4 + colour surcharge).

Rantau PR and Hill and Knowlton use the highest PR multiplier, which is 5 (Formula: column x cm x advertising value x 5 + colour surcharge).

Edelman only provides message analysis stating that they had taken out PR value from the reports and have stopped pro-actively offering measurement of PR value. Perception Management and Hill and Knowlton are also discouraging the use of PR value and prefer to provide message analysis instead. Items mentioned in message analysis include headlines, picture carried, tone (positive, negative or neutral), comparison with competitors, exposure in top tier media or circulation of media, placement of articles and messages featured.

Electronic (Television and Radio)
Perception Management and WestCoast Communications measures electronic coverage by considering the duration of the broadcast, advertising value and a PR multiplier of 3 (Formula: broadcast duration x advertising value x 3). Bridges Strategic Communications uses the same formula but with a PR multiplier of 4 and consideration of the airtime belt (Formula: airtime belt x broadcast duration x advertising value x 4). Fleishman Hillard only considers
the duration of broadcast and advertising value (Formula: broadcast duration x advertising value). The other PR consultancies do not measure electronic coverage.

**DISCUSSION**

Overall, all the PR consultants interviewed called for improvement in measurement and reporting methodologies, but they also acknowledge the many challenges to overcome in order to do so.

Several informants offered suggestions for improvements:

- According to Rantau PR, “Clients should look at qualitative measurements. We now do both qualitative and quantitative for clients.”
- Edelman lamented that, “The industry has not evolved. We are still using AVE and it is not accurate. We need to conduct word-of-mouth marketing and generally, clients lack understanding that PR is a strategic tool, and not mere publicity. Sometimes the reach is to the niche and not to the ‘public.’
- Prestige Communications said that, “Clients should stop asking for clippings/coverage. They should focus more on research before and after campaigns. They must have a place for research.”
- Arc Worldwide commented that, “PR is hard to measure. For example, how does one measure reputation? When developing a PR plan, we need more considerations to ensure consistency of key messages.”

Some respondents highlighted that cost is a primary barrier:

- Perception Management said that, “Now we push perception audits to our clients as the main form of evaluation. However, because it is expensive, not many interested to invest.”
- According to WestCoast Communications, “Clients should have better educated Brand Managers who are aware that PR is not free advertising. They need to understand how the media works. And most important, PR should be included in the overall business plan and not as last minute marketing support. PR should be budgeted for and not activated with leftover budget.”
- For Bridges Strategic Communications, “There is a necessity to economise measurement of PR (for example, one focus group costs around RM7000). Someone has to make it cheaper to measure and develop other perspectives of measurement. How else can we look at outcomes? There must be an urgency to find different perspectives to increase the perception tagged to PR services. Also, the global economy has gone very volatile especially with terrorism. Most Multinational Corporations are very reluctant to spend on marketing and brand building; budgets go down year after year. Retainer values go down as well.”
- Bridges also said that companies are more willing to pay for research if their investment in a campaign is huge. “Nestle pays RM200,000 to find out if their direct marketing campaign works because they spend RM3 million on direct marketing.”
- To Fleishman Hillard, “PR measurement is very important. However, the cost is in USD and this is a huge barrier for companies in Malaysia. Since PR budgets are very small, companies are not willing to put more money to track outcomes.”
• According to Hill and Knowlton, “We have not reached ‘there’ yet. PR measurement costs money and we are not willing to invest in research. We normally try to provide a budget for them to conduct an audit before they start and one year after, when the campaign ends (especially for ICT clients). Ours is more qualitative. There’s more measurement now than last time (over the last 5 to 6 years) and there are more research companies out there.”

CONCLUSION
The author found, through in-depth interviews that (at the time the interviews were conducted), the PR consultants, did not use any specific measurement and reporting methodologies for Arts and Culture-related CSR programmes in Southeast Asia. The methodologies used to measure and report Arts and Culture-related CSR programmes were the same for other PR programmes. And despite the debate and criticism surrounding its use, the Advertising Value Equivalent remained the most popular measurement method.

PR consultants have called for improvements in measurement and reporting methods and this should also address some of the budgetary concerns and management mindsets. The improvements should also factor in the quality of measurement while at the same time, be simple and time effective to implement.

REFERENCES


ABSTRACT

ELECTRONIC BOOK: LITERATURE REVIEW ON AWARENESS AND ITS USAGE

With the development of technology, digital publishing is gaining attention. After e-journals, e-books are now getting attention from key players in the book industry. From the library, e-books began to enter the mass market after the emergence of dedicated e-readers like the Kindle and Nook as well as free software like Adobe Reader, Microsoft Reader, and ePub. However, how well is e-book publishing known, or accepted in general? Based on an analysis of previous studies, it is clear that the existence of e-books is generally known, but its use is still low. In fact, many people do not realize that apart from purchases, e-books can be borrowed for use in most public and university libraries. Although e-books have advantages such as acquired mobility, space saving, and 24/7 access, problems in long on-screen reading is still the main reason print is the crowd’s favourite. In addition, the choice of title in e-book form is still relatively low due to several obstacles that exist in the form of pricing and distribution, digital rights management, e-reader compatibility and others.

Keywords: digital books, e-readers, libraries, digital rights management, electronic publishing

PENGENALAN

Industri penerbitan sentiasa berubah selari dengan perkembangan teknologi. Daripada penghasilan dalam kuantiti yang sedikit menerusi tulisan tangan yang mengambil masa yang lama untuk disiapkan bagi sesebuah judul, produk penerbitan kini dapat dihasilkan dengan mudah dalam masa yang lebih singkat. Malah, produk penerbitan kini berdepan
dengan revolusi baharu dengan perkembangan teknologi pendigitalan yang mengubah bentuk maklumat. Produk penerbitan tidak lagi hanya hadir dalam bentuk cetakan. Bagi Hoss (2010), platform penerbitan semakin berkembang maju dengan munculnya penerbitan digital, termasuk buku elektronik (e-buku) yang menjadi suatu norma. Ini kerana pembangunan maklumat dan teknologi rangkaian menyeabakan cara bacaan tradisional tidak lagi dapat memuaskan keperluan bacaan pembaca.


DEFINISI BUKU ELEKTRONIK


Buku Elektronik: Ulasan Persurat Terhadap Kesedaran dan Penggunaannya

merangkumi multimedia, sistem hiperteks atau hipermedia serta diperluas bagi melibatkan judul-judul buku yang tersedia dalam talian, yang boleh dibaca sebai e-mel, boleh diakses dengan peranti bacaan elektronik mudah alih atau fail yang boleh dimuat turun ke komputer (Carvajal 1999; Clister 1999; Allen 2000).


KESEDARAN DAN PENGGUNAAN E-BUKU

E-buku dilihat menjadi semakin popular dalam kalangan penerbit, pustakawan, dan aggregator atau penjual dengan lahirnya beberapa inisiatif, termasuklah peranti pembaca e-buku seperti perkakasan e-buku, PDA, perisian e-buku di samping permintaan berasaskan


Menurut OverDrive (www.overdrive.com), sebuah pengedar kandungan digital global, 60 peratus pengguna mengakses koleksi e-buku di perpustakaan awam untuk mencari kandungan baharu berbanding mencari judul-judul khusus dan antara genre popular yang


**E-BUKU ATAU BUKU BERCETAK?**


Kajian oleh Rojeski (2012) pula mendapati tidak ada seorang pun responden yang menunjukkan kecenderungan yang kuat sama ada pada e-buku atau buku bercetak walaupun majoriti responden menyatakan ketersediaan teks secara elektronik untuk pembelajaran sangat penting atau agak penting manakala 33.3 peratus menyatakan tidak penting. Ini mungkin kerana pelajar merasakan bahawa e-buku belum lagi menjadi sesuatu yang berguna dan praktikal dalam pembelajaran akademik kerana keseronokan dalam proses membaca e-buku tidak begitu tinggi.

Walaupun ciri dan fungsi yang tersedia dalam perisian e-buku dilihat mudah untuk dipelajari dan digunakan, terdapat kebimbangan terhadap aspek teknologi yang lain seperti mencari dan memuatuirukan e-buku, perkakasan dan proses membaca itu sendiri, dan ini memberi kesan secara negatifnya kepada pandangan mereka terhadap kebolehgunaan, kegunaan dan kecenderungan menggunakan teknologi ini secara aktif (Lam et al., 2009). Malah, soal selidik oleh Smyth dan Carlin (2012) menunjukkan pelajar menyatakan keutamaan mereka adalah pada buku bercetak, tetapi ia bergantung pada keperluan pengajian atau pembelajaran.


KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan perbincangan terhadap kajian lepas yang dilakukan oleh pelbagai pihak sama ada sarjana mahupun industri, jelas bahawa e-buku walaupun disedari kehadirannya, penggunaannya masih belum meluas. Pada awal tahun 2000-an, e-buku lebih banyak mendapat perhatian pustakawan dan perpustakaan sebagai sebahagian koleksi mereka dan kebanyakannya didigitalisasikan daripada format bercetak kepada format PDF, LIT, dan HTML untuk memudahkan pembacaan di skrin. Oleh sebab itu, kebanyakan dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa e-buku lebih banyak "digunakan" sebagai bahan penyelidikan, bukannya sebagai bahan untuk "dibaca" kerana e-buku hanya disemak imbas bagi mencari kandungan yang relevan dengan kajian mereka dan tidak ramai yang membaca dari halaman ke halaman untuk sesuatu e-buku. Ini disebabkan kesukaran membaca di skrin dalam tempoh masa yang lama.

Menyedari kelemahan ini, e-buku kini bukan hanya boleh digunakan atau dibaca menerusi komputer, malah dengan adanya peranti pembaca elektronik (e-readers) seperti Kindle dan Nook yang mesra pengguna yang menyediakan penyampaian kandungan yang mudah dan segera melalui wayarles mudah alih, pasaran e-buku mula menasarkan pasaran massa. Malah perkembangan pasaran e-buku didorong dengan kehadiran peranti pelbagai fungsi seperti iPad dan komputer tablet. Dengan pembangunan teknologi dan kecanggihan peranti pembaca yang menawarkan pengalaman yang hampir sama dengan membaca buku bercetak, penerimaan e-buku di luar Amerika Syarikat dijangka memperlihatkan perkembangan yang memberangsangkan. Oleh sebab itu, beberapa faktor pendorong dalam penerimaan teknologi baharu ini perlu diambil kira: kualiti, penyerapan kognitif, tanggapan kegunaan, tanggapan mudah digunakan, tanggapan keseronokan, tahap harga, dan niat untuk menggunakan e-buku (Weniger & Loebbecke, 2010).

Kajian oleh Bowker (2012) yang menunjukkan Australia, India, United Kingdom, dan Amerika Syarikat merupakan peneraju dari segi penerimaan e-buku dengan lebih daripada 20 peratus responden melaporkan mereka membeli e-buku dalam tempoh enam bulan sebelum kajian dilakukan. Lebih 50 peratus responden di India dan Brazil menyatakan mereka berkenalan dengan e-buku dalam tempoh enam bulan akan datang manakala kira-kira satu per tiga responden di United Kingdom dan Amerika Syarikat mempunyai perancangan untuk membeli e-buku berbanding satu per lima di Perancis dan satu per tujuh di Jepun.

RUJUKAN


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THE REPRESENTATION OF ISLAMIC TEACHING IN THE NOVELS BY HABIBURRAHMAN EL SHIRAZY
(The Study of Literary Sociology, Literary Reception, and Education Values)

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ABSTRACT
The study is mainly focuses on the representative of the Islamic concepts on the novels written by Habiburrahman El Shirazy. It aim to explain the Islamic concepts laid inside the *Ayat-ayat Cinta* (*AAC*) and *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* (*KCB*) novels which consist of the representative of Islamic belief, Islamic law (the acts of devotion and the *muamalah*), Islamic morals, the aspects of Islamic social culture consists of the author’s ideology and the reader’s response on the impacts and the benefits of the *AAC* and *KCB* novels toward the society, and the education values delivered by the *AAC* and *KCB* novels. The education values consist of the social, the morals, and the cultural values on the novels. The method used on this study is qualitative descriptive method. The result of the study is that the *AAC* and *KCB* novels consist of the high of the education values and Islamic concepts which are implemented on the Islamic belief, Islamic law (the acts of devotion and the *muamalah*), and Islamic morals.

Keywords: Ayat-ayat Cinta and Ketika Cinta Bertasbih novels, Islamic concepts, literature sociology, literature receptions, education values.

PRELIMINARY
Novel is one of the literary works which is interesting to study. Its presence means to explore the aesthetics values, and is expected to realize universal values prevailing in society, such as religious values, educational, humanitarian, moral, ethical, and others. The presence of a novel certainly cannot be separated from the socio-cultural background of the author’s life and ideology, the environment when the creation of the novel, and the reader’s society who will appreciate the work. The author proposed the literature as an alternative method to deal
with existing problems since literature is closely related to people's lives. This is consistent with the assumption that literature is not created in a vacuum state culture (Teeuw, 1988: 20).

One of the literary work, novel, is interesting to study because it represents the social culture of the people and contain high values so that appropriate to reception are the novels of Ayat-ayat Cinta (AAC) and Ketika Cinta Bertasbih (KCB) by Habiburrahman El Shirazy. The readers were not familiar with the AAC novel when it newly published serialized in the Republika daily newspaper in 2002–2003, but after the work published in the novel form by Jakarta Republika Publisher and Pesantren Karya Basmala Semarang, AAC immediately became the subject of conversation among the societies. Many people have highlighted the novel as a religious-themed novel of love and represent the teachings of Islam. Ahmad Tohari (in Lampung Post, March 16, 2008) says that AAC is a novel about the students' salaf-metropolis and travellers who thirst for knowledge. Additionally, AAC successfully describe the socio-cultural background of the Middle East with a very lively without having to use Arabic terms (Ahmadun Yosi Herfanda, Lampung Post, 16 March 2008). Helvy Tiana Rosa (in Lampung Post, 16 March 2008) praised the novel AAC as an innovation novel in each chapter. Reading the AAC novel makes the readers’ dream fly to the land of a thousand towers and feels “the rainbow” of character which beautifies its charms (Ratih Sang, Lampung Post, March 16, 2008).

The presence of novel AAC and KCB were then filmed is a phenomenon that a lot of public attention from all segments of life and ages, even the mass media, both print and electronic, noted that the AAC film broke the record as the most watched film by the people at the cinema recorded record-breaking films as many people watch a movie at the cinema, the film outperformed Ada Apa dengan Cinta film in 2002, which also brought the world of Indonesian cinema after vacuum so long time. The discussions about AAC and KCB were not only conducted nonformally in everyday life, but also became an interesting discussion theme in the forums or formal seminars especially in universities. Not only in the formal forums that the discussion held, but also in the virtual world, the discussions were intense conducted by the bloggers. When we are online with the Internet, we will find many articles or discussion about AAC and KCB nonformally. On the television, the theme about AAC and KCB often became the main topic of discussion in the talk show events. Also in the various infotainments on the television made the phenomenon of AAC and KCB as the main program.

Before the presence of novel AAC and KCB, people are tired with novels which assessed less educated, even some novels talked about sex vulgarity. Therefore, the presence of these novels provide many new insights primarily taught Islamic Teachings because after reading the novels, many people change their way of life into the goodness ones because touched by the Islamic Teaching inside. During this time many novels are attempting to load the teachings of Islam but did not bring significant changes to the public favour because Islamic teachings contain in it is told with a vague and shadowy in accordance with the ideology of the author (Maman S. Mahayana 2008: 1). However, the presence of novel KCB AAC and delivered to the language mannered, beautiful, and wore (easy to understand readers) was able to teach the teachings of Islam to the people without intending to patronize. The society understand about the aqidah, sharia, and moral values, for example, in one part of the novel in one part of the novel is told that AAC was originally represented Islam with violence and terrorism, but actually in the end of the story it is untrue. Habiburrahman El Shirazy could provide insight as it certainly cannot be separated from his socio-cultural background and ideology that in fact, he was graduated from Islamic boarding school so that it made him aware of the religion issues.
Maman S. Mahayana (2008: 1) stated that the novel AAC and KCB treated as an ideal portrait of Muslim youth behaviour. They were successfully to present a story that is in line with the expectations of readers horizon who idolized Islamic values.

In addition, the success of the AAC novel followed by KCB novel can not be simply separated from the psychological factors of the Indonesian literary readers because when AAC novel published in 2004, Indonesian literary echo was hit by the spirit to exploit the sexual appeal. Or, at least, the novels which were published in the early 2000’s were dominated by the women novelist which created story told about sexual vulgarly, such as the the novels by Ana Maryam, Stefani Hid, Dinar Rahayu, Maya Wulan, Riyanti Yusuf, and Djenar Maesa Ayu. The AAC and KCB novels came at the right time, when most of the readers (Indonesian literary) started to feel a bellyful of the novels which present the body exploitation which does not comply with the morals and the Islamic teachings espoused by the majority of the Indonesian people. This phenomenon also occurs in the Harry Potter novel that also manages to present the horizon of readers’ hope because when Japanese comic books and adventure stories rains hit our teen readers, Harry Potter, in many ways, it comes like offering all expectations which cannot be met entirely by the number of Japanese comics and adventure stories.

Then the question is why the novels which were also trying to present the Islamic teachings were not successful as the AAC and KCB novels? The answer is because it does not match the expectations of readers horizon, the reader hopes to literature.

The AAC and KCB novels were very phenomenal and represent the Islamic teachings which presented by the main characters such as Fahri and Azzam who strongly in maintaining the principles of Islam, Islamic boarding and Egyptian background which were convincing, the pattern of youth romance framed in mahrām and non-mahrām corridor is an important part that makes it different from other novels that came before. The specificity was also supported by the narrative that flows smoothly and well mannered, a wealth of Arabic expressions and style that is somewhat hyperbolic. The specificity of the language such as poetry because poetry can also contains the actual teachings of Islam through language, grammatical, and stylistic (Stewart 2009: 1). The appropriate language contained in the poem could provide a positive experience (Kazemek, 2006: 38). Even the features inside the poem were influenced by the phenomenology and ideology of the author (Olivier 2009: 59). Literary works can also help the reader (students) to understand the language and cultural symbols (Cudak 2004: 101). In addition, it contains the knowledge power and the social life (Sekeres & Gregg 2007: 473).

Therefore, the author simply took the data source from the AAC, KCB 1, and KCB 2 novels because the novels represent the teachings of Islam so significant implications on people’s lives. In addition, the AAC and KCB novels were considered as the best seller novels in domestic and abroad. One of the reasons was because in the AAC and KCB novels contain particularly high values of education which can contribute to young people (students) in the case of muamalah (romance). Therefore, teachers must be able to teach literature with appropriate media and methods in order to make the literature subject learning can be accepted by the students well (Ingvarson 2008: 5). Based on the facts, the research on the representation of Islam in the novel AAC and KCB in terms of the sociology of literature, literary reception, and education values were appropriate to be conducted.
THE THEORY FRAMEWORK
The theories used in this study were the literary sociological, literary reception, and educational values theories. The theory of literary sociological used the trilogy theory of the author—the literary work—the reader (the literary work as well as in relation to the subject of creator and audiences) by Rene Wellek/Austin Warren. While the reception theory used in this research is the review method to know the readers’ responses about the impacts and the benefits of the Ayat-ayat Cinta and the Ketika Cinta Bertasbih novels to the societies.

The Nature of Islamic Teachings Representation
Representation is production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language (Hall 1997: 17). Nyoman Kutha Ratna (2008: 122-123) explains that representations can also be interpreted as similarity and imitation which would be a representation of actual and mental imagery. Mental images are formed by different individuals that resulting different interpretations. Shape representation is based on a certain ideology messages that cannot be separated from the social and political power. Something that is represented in a work of literature by the author is not a thing as such, but it is understood according to the diverse perspectives of the authors.

Representation is the production of meaning derived from notions conveyed through language, as well as influenced by an ideology. In a literary work (novel), a novel represents the contents of the social and cultural of the readers and authors. In the AAC and KCB novels there were representations of Islam consists of theology, sharia (religious and muamalah), and morals educations.

The Nature of Sociology
Literature is closely associated with the community and social environment that is the origin born of literature. Literary works arise because of the views, thoughts, and imagination of the author related to the reality of life. Therefore, literature is a reflection of the cultural environment and dialectic tests between the authors and the social situation which shape or an explanation of a historical dialectic developed in the literature.

The sociology study which conducted by the Marxisme that suggested literature is a reflection of the people who are affected by historical conditions. Wellek dan Warren (in Melani Budianta 1993: 111) makes the social classification of literature as follows: (a) The sociology of the author, the approach is to talk about the social, economic basis of literary production, status and ideology of the author regarding to the author as producer of the work, (b) sociology literature, this approach is talking about literary content, purpose, and matters relating to social issues contained in the literature, and (c) the sociology of literature relating to the readers’ problems and social’s impact of the literature to the society.

Sociology of literature is the relationship between the literatures with aspects of sociology. Based on this approach, it can be obtained the real image of the relationship between the social culture condition with the author’s life, the literature, and the readers. The theory of the literature sociology can be applied in the AAC and KCB novels by interviewing the author and read his biography to know the sociological condition of the author, examine the novels to determine the condition of the sociological literature, and interviews to the readers to determine the social impact of the novel on people’s lives. The theory that will be used in this research is the theory of the author-works-reader trilogy (works of literature as well as in relation to the subject of creator and audience) by Rene Wellek / Austin.
Literary Reception
Literary Reception are responses or readers receptions either individually or jointly or in mass to literature, and these responses are influenced by the historical process, the reader in a certain period. Therefore, responses that lead to the interpretation of literary texts are different depending on the readers’ mindset or schemata. Literary reception theory can be applied to the interview technique to the reader to determine the readers’ responses to the content of the AAC and KCB novels.

Educational Values
Educational values that will be used in this research are the educational values of social, moral, and cultural. The values of religious education are not used because the writer will be already researching the representation of Islamic teachings in the novel. So, the value of religious education is included in the representation of Islamic teachings. The educational values are everything good and bad that is useful to humans and can be acquired through learning.

THE RESULT AND DISCUSSION
This study aimed to describe the representation of Islamic teachings contained in the AAC and KCB novels (aqidah, sharia, and morals); socio-cultural aspects of Islam that are in AAC and KCB novels consisting of the author’s ideology contained in the AAC and KCB novels, and readers’ response regarding the impact and benefits of AAC and KCB novels on the society, as well as educational values that can be found in the AAC and KCB novels consisting of social, moral, and cultural.

The Brief Biography of Habiburrahman El Shirazy
The novels of AAC and KCB are phenomenal novels and have hypnotized its readers which then the novels filmed. AAC and KCB novels are the Indonesian novels written by Habiburrahman El Shirazy. He was born in Semarang, on Thursday, September 30, 1976. He started his secondary education at MTs Futuhiyyah 1 Mranggen while studying the yellow books at the Al Anwar boarding school, Mranggen, Demak under the guidance K. H. Abdul Bashir Hamzah. In 1992, he moved to Surakarta to study at Madrasah Aliyah Program Khusus (MAPK) Surakarta and graduated in 1999. He graduated Postgraduate Diploma (Pg.D) S-2 in The Institute for Islamic Studies in Cairo founded by Imam Al- Baiquri in 2001. The profile of Habiburrahman El Shirazy and his literature works had ever graced in several newspaper and magazines, both locally and nationally, such as SoloPos, Republika, Annida, Saksi, Sabili, Muslimah and others.

Habiburrahman El Shirazy or commonly called Kang Abik by his brothers, when in the high school he had ever written the theatrical poem entitled “Dzikir Dajjal” as well as directing the play with Teater Mbambung in the Sriwedari Arts Puppet Theatre Surakarta in 1994. When he was studying in Cairo, Egypt, Kang Abik had ever led the study group of MISYKATI (Majelis Intensif Studi Yurisprudens dan Kajian Pengetahuan Islam) in Cairo in 1996–1997.

In the mid 2000s, Kang Abik arrived in the country, at that time he was also directly asked by the Education Quality Development Center (P2MP) Jakarta to participate editing the Popular Arab-Indonesian Dictionary compiled by Diva Pustaka Jakarta in June 2003.
In 2003-2004, Kang Abik dedicated his knowledge in MAN 1 Jogjakarta. Then in 2004-2006, Kang Abik recorded as a lecturer at the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Language Abu Bakr Shidiq UMS Surakarta. In addition to being a lecturer at the UMS Surakarta, Kang Abik fully dedicate himself in the world preaching and education through his work in Pesantren Karya dan Wirasusaha Basimala Indonesia which he established with his younger brother, Anif Sirsaeba and the famous humanist Prie GS in Semarang and through other wajihah dakwah.

Some works written by Kang Abik which have been published are Ayat Ayat Cinta, Ketika Cinta Berbuah Surga (the second printed, MQS Publishing, 2005), Pudarnya Pesona Cleopatra (the second printed, Republika, 2005), Di Atas Sajadah Cinta (the third printe, Basimala, 2005), Langit Makkah Berwarna Merah, Bidadari Bermata Bening, Dalam Mihrab Cinta and Ketika Cinta Bertasbih. Among of some novels above, the most phenomenal were Ayat Ayat Cinta and Ketika Cinta Bertasbih.

The Representation of Islamic Teachings in the AAC and KCB Novels
The AAC and KCB novels contained the teaching of aqidah, syariah (worship and muamalah), and morals. Among these three things, the morals part are more portion than the aqidah and sharia. This is because in the novel much going dialogue and daily relationship between characters that represent the ideology of the author. For example, Fahri showed the good morals in the neighborhood to the Boutros family although they have different beliefs. Fahri often assist Maria, gave a birthday present to Madame Nahed and Yousef, etc. Those were interpreting the moral which presented by the main character, Fahri.

The Benefits and Impacts of AAC and KCB Novels toward the Society
The AAC and KCB novels have the different impacts and benefits based on the segment of Indonesian societies which could be categorized as the blind societies to the educational systems in Egypt, they were the ordinary societies for the fiqh law, the moslem ordinary societies, the non-moslem ordinary societies, and the people who had already understand the fiqh laws. Considering the AAC and KCB novels loaded with the Islamic laws especially rich in legal jurisprudence, so that the public acceptance also varies based on the segment but basically the AAC dan KCB novels dedicated to all faiths, not only moslem, because Islam is a religion which rahmatan lil ‘alamin. Thus, the author through the novel wants to spread Islam by the term bilhal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society Group</th>
<th>Impacts/Benefits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People who do not know the education system in Egypt</td>
<td>The society could get a picture of religious life in Egypt through the work of literature. For example, in Indonesia rarely Taraweeh prayers read one juz of the Quran, in Egypt was used. The natural life in Egypt was difficult but the characters still obey running the worship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who do not know the fiqih law</td>
<td>People indirectly could obtain the Islamic fiqih inserted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The general society of the Moslem</td>
<td>People could interpret about a loving relationship in the Islamic corridor including the polygamy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The General Society of Non-Moslem

Understanding the rules of Islamic law and can understand the harmony of inter-religious outside Indonesia, especially Christianity. Meanwhile, the Indonesian public only understand about Catholic Christianity and Protestant Christianity. Eastern Christian (Coptic) is almost unknown in Indonesia. Coptic Christians have in common with Islam.

For people who already understand fiqih

Nothing new interpretation of Islam. This novel is simply echoed the laws of Islam.

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### The Educational Values in the AAC and KCB novels

The AAC and KCB novels contain the educational values that can be applied in educational field such as the values of religious, social, cultural, legal, and health. All the values are reflected in the characters which greatly affect contributed to the readers' paradigm.

Literary, education, and values are inseparable things. The literary is basically a reflection of life. Relation to education, literary and values are two complementary phenomena. The education is functioned as the attempt to establish the values of life, attitudes, and personality. The educational values are everything good and bad which are useful to humans and can be acquired through learning process. Related to the human existence, the educational values in the AAC and KCB novels are:

- **In AAC novel**
  1. **Educational values** can be proven by the flow of introductions that Fahri is an Indonesian student who **studies abroad**.
  2. **Religious Values** can be proven that Fahri was for marriage whiles still a student. So, it is better immediately **to marry** when ready physically and mentally.
  3. **Law Values** can be proven on the story when there was a conflict that Fahri was maligned to rape Naura. The law is very strict in the country of Egypt i.e. when someone conducted rape, he will accept the **death penalty**. However, Fahri's wife immediately survives her husband from the penalty.
  4. **Social values** can be proven by Fahri character in the story when remained in **ukhuwah** or good friendship despite having friends like **Mary Christian**.
  5. **Cultural values** in the story of **Ayat-ayat Cinta**, although Fahri lived abroad still maintaining the **personality traits of the East** when he still have a sense of sympathy and helpful when someone need a help. For example, with Aisha when he was in the bus, and Naura when carrying fruit falling by the wayside.

- **KCB Novel**
  1. **Religious Values** can be proven in the episode one and two of the **Ketika Cinta Bertasbih** novel. All of the storyline contained the elements of religion especially Islam.
  2. **First**, the introductory stage when the figure Azzam met Anna, they can keep a view on a city bus, and the homestead where Azzam and his all brothers do not mix with the boarding family or women do **not carelessly accept friend** like thugs or unknown status because the story told that one of Azzam's friend had been receiving guests for overnight and Azzam were angry because these people are fugitives.
3. **Second**, the character named Furqon when engaged Anna using the Islamic procedures, started from *ta'aruf* and *khitbah* until married still keep the Islamic sharia.

4. **Third**, the flow of conflicts and the resolution when Azzam's mother died in an *accident*, and Azzam broke his leg. Azzam family stays firm receiving such trials and did not blame anyone (the impactor, heavy rain or icy road) they resigned because the destiny God has set in Lauhil Mahfudz or book of records maintained.

5. **Educational value** can be proven that a lot of students received scholarships abroad, for example, Azzam and his friends from Indonesia joined lecturing *S1 degree* in Egypt. It taught the Indonesian people to keep optimistic in the struggle and keep study hard to get the school scholarship or free college abroad.

6. **Cultural Values** can be proven that when Azzam character met with one of the ambassadors’ family as well as a film actress named Elliana who were known as a beautiful woman but does not properly veiled. Azzam and his family keep the respect to her or **construct the ukuhauh** without vilifying Elliana's esteem, in fact it became new motivation to dakwah and finally it was success. **Elliana started to veil by wearing sharia clothes** and was more polite as the Indonesian character.

7. **Social Values** in the *KCB* story can be found when Azzam character selling tempe after graduated and returned to Indonesia, he and his sisters started to open a business that is selling meatballs. It is evident that entrepreneurship is a way of following the Prophet to work by trading. So, by this way, invites students to try an action and do not idle. Beside study, the students are expected to do business or trading in order to practice independently.

8. **Health Values** in the story when Azzam character stricken by accident that causes his leg broke and should be conducted the surgery. Azzam attitudes remain patient delaying marriage and seek treatment and practice walking using a walker. Eventually, he recovered and could return to normal by a few months.

**CONCLUSION**
The AAC and KCB novels represented the Islamic teaching which known as aqidah, Islamic laws (worship and muamalah), and also morals. The morals portion is more than the aqidah and Islamic laws. This is because the novel much going dialogue and daily relationship between the characters that represent the ideology of the author. For example, the Fahri showed the good moral very well in the neighborhood with the Boutros family who different beliefs. Fahri often help Maria, gave a birthday present to Madame Nahed and Yousef, etc. It is the moral representation which presented by the main character, Fahri. The Islamic representation on the novel was influenced by the author’s ideology that in fact, he is the Indonesian and follows the Syafi’I mazab and also the Islamic ideology in Egypt which follows Hanafi mazab.
REFERENCE


Harakah pada Zaman Pemerintahan Mahathir: Peranan dan Cabaran

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ABSTRACT

Harakah, an official political organ of Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) was established in 1987. Since its establishment, Harakah became the main alternative newspaper in Malaysia and was consistent in providing a counter discourse as compared to the role played by the mainstream media. In playing its role as a check and balance newspaper, Harakah had to encounter various challenges and obstacles from the powers-that-be. During the 22 years rule of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad as the Prime Minister of Malaysia, the strength of Harakah fluctuated depending on the freedom and control of media policy.

Keywords: alternative newspapers; press freedom; Mahathir and media; political journalism

PENDAHULUAN
Akhbar alternatif mempunyai dasar dan falsafah editorial yang berbeza daripada akhbar arus perdana. Akhbar ini mempunyai perspektif yang berbeza dengan akhbar arus perdana, terutama berkaitan dengan politik, ekonomi dan dasar pemerintah. Memandangkan semua akhbar arus perdana tempatan dimiliki oleh entiti yang rapat hubungannya dengan kerajaan, maka slant pemberitaannya sering memberikan sisi positif kepada pemerintah dan pada masa yang sama cenderung memberikan sisi yang negatif kepada apa-apa jua pihak yang dilihat menentang kerajaan. Justeru dalam konteks Malaysia, akhbar alternatif muncul hasil penguasaan kerajaan terhadap media. Oleh itu, media yang memberikan sorotan yang berbeza dengan arus perdana dilihat perlu untuk merealisasikan kebebasan bersuara yang menjadi hak asasi manusia.

PERANAN AKHBAR ALTERNATIF: MELEBARKAN RUANG AWAM


Oleh itu, media alternatif dapat menjadi wadah komunikasi pelbagai pihak, termasuk parti politik, asalkan tidak menjadi alat propaganda yang memanipulasi sentimen ras dan agama. Media ini hendaklah menjadi saluran untuk menjelaskan salah faham dan membina persefahaman atau konsensus (Netto 2002: 182). Netto percaya bahawa “rather than muzzling the media in divided societies, freedom of the press should be cherished so that the voices and views of all segments of society can get a just, rational, and reasonable airing in efforts to find common ground. We should have enough faith in the maturity of our people to allow them the space to express themselves that they so richly deserve” (Netto 2002: 183). Anggota teori demokratik seperti Milton umpamanya, menekankan peranan bebas media dalam mengekalkan demokrasi dengan bertindak sebagai mata dan telinga kerajaan. Akhbar menjalankan fungsi tersebut dengan memantau kegiatan kerajaan dan mengkritiknya jika berkaitan dengan penyelewengan atau pelanggaran (Gurevitch & Blumer 1990: 270).


They were constantly threatened with criminal or legal sanctions, and in some cases, the threats materialized in the form of arrest, detention and criminal prosecution... Censorship was heavily imposed on most forms of media, information flow and entertainment...The authorities took a paternalistic and undemocratic attitude toward censorship, treating its citizens with little regard for their maturity and intelligence, often citing as reasons for the suppression of free speech certain moral, community, religious and racial sensitivities.

Wacana dalam akhbar alternatif lebih merupakan hegemoni tandingan terhadap akhbar arus perdana. Akhbar alternatif merupakan mekanisme yang menyampaikan mesej politik yang berbeza dan bertentangan perspektifnya daripada media arus perdana. Dasar dan kandungannya lebih kritis, bebas, bersahaja, bias, malahan vokal dan bersikap popular, serta komersial, selain bersikap anti-establishment terhadap parti yang berkuasa (Hussein 2005). Kewujudan media alternatif yang berkecualian dan bebas daripada campur tangan politik akan memungkinkan khalayak mengetahui sisi lain daripada realiti sosiopolitik dalam negara kerana “perjuangan menubuhkan akhbar bebas, sebagai sumber maklumat tentang kegiatan pemerintah, dan sebagai wadah penyataan pendapat awam merupakan aspek penting perjuangan panjang sistem pemerintahan demokratik.” (Scannell & Cardiff 1991). Di Malaysia, kebanyakan media alternatif diterbitkan dalam bahasa Melayu; justeru fokus akhbar berkenaan adalah pada isu politik dan pergolakan parti politik Melayu seperti UMNO dan PAS.

Antara ciri media alternatif ialah (i) kalau yang disiarkan ialah realiti politik, maka komentar dan analisis tentang realiti tersebut mendapat bahagian atau tumpuan yang lebih banyak berbanding laporannya; (ii) mengungkapkan kaitan yang jelas antara penyiaran berita dan perspektif politik yang diamalkan oleh sidang pengarang; (iii) memperlihatkan sikap bangkangan dan perseteruan terhadap keputusan semua lembaga eksekutif yang dominan; dan (iv) cenderung menyiarkan peristiwa atau isu yang oleh media arus perdana dianggap tidak merupakan kelanjutan daripada peristiwa atau isu terdahulu (Ana Nadhya 1997: 148).

Jika dibandingkan dengan media arus perdana, dari segi modal, teknologi percetakan, kekuatan jabatan pengarang, rangkaian pemasaran, kekerapan penerbitan, media alternatif dapat dianggap sebagai media atau senjata orang yang lemah. Media arus perdana berperanan sebagai “senjata ideologi dan politik” elit pemerintah, utama dalam keadaan apabila ia menanggapi atau berpendapat, sama ada betul atau salah, bahawa kedudukan politik dan kepentingannya
terhakis dengan teruk (Mustafa 2004: 492). Pihak kerajaan tidak memberikan peluang kepada suara kritis media massa kerana pertimbangan sosiopolitik semasa dalam negara, tanpa menyedari kesan dan implikasinya terhadap media arus perdana.

**POPULARITI DAN KESAN AKHBAR ALTERNATIF**

Media alternatif berperanan sebagai wadah penimbal, penimbang, dan penapis kerana ia dapat membongkarkan ketempangan, kecuaian dan kealpaan pemerintah dan masyarakat walaupun tindakan ini akan menimbulkan keresahan di pihak pemerintah. Perpindahan khalayak daripada media arus perdana berpunca daripada tindakan diskriminatif kerajaan terhadap media alternatif, khususnya terhadap lidah rasmi pembangkang dan akhbar tabloid yang dianggap propembangkang. Beberapa tindakan kerajaan terhadap akhbar alternatif bertukar menjadi senjata makan tuan apabila lebih ramai pembaca beralih kepada media alternatif. Kegagalan media arus perdana mengamalkan sikap profesional dan objektif menyebabkan rakyat hilang keyakinan terhadapnya.


Dengan pergolakan dan perkembangan politik pada waktu itu, khalayak kelihatan semakin kritis terhadap media. Mereka tidak lagi menerima seadanya apa-apa yang dilaporkan, sebaliknya mereka bersifat analitis, menjadikan hegemoni pemerintah terhadap maklumat kian terhakis, terutama dalam kalangan kaum intelektual dan kelas menengah di bandar. Orang ramai dapat membezakan fakta dengan pembohongan atau fakta yang diputarbelifkan. Dengan sikap kritis itu, mereka berkemaharian dalam membaca makna yang tersirat hingga menyukarkan kerajaan melahirkan dominasi ideologi dalam kalangan rakyat.

Peningkatan minat yang ketara terhadap media alternatif bertitik tolak daripada dasar dan sikap terlalu memihak media arus perdana dalam melaporkan isu yang

**HARAKAH: MENCABAR DAN MERAGUI METANARATIF**


Sebagai lidah rasmi parti, matlamat *Harakah* bersifat politik demi memperjuangkan matlamat, dasar dan ideologi parti berkenaan meskipun turut memuatkan isu dan berita parti-parti lain. *Harakah* dijadikan wadah untuk rakyat yang menghadapi masalah dengan kerajaan. Menurut Nakhaie Haji Ahmad, tujuan penerbitan *Harakah* adalah untuk menampung pandangan PAS kerana pandangan PAS tidak diberikan ruang dalam akhbar lain, selain pandangan oleh akhbar lain itu tidak selari dan tidak seimbang dengan pandangan PAS. *Harakah* juga bermatlamat untuk memberikan pandangan kedua yang mendukung pandangan kerajaan, serta menerima kritikan dan pandangan orang lain terhadap PAS (Ashrab 1988), dan dalam proses tersebut sering mencabar dan meragui metanaratif.


*Harakah* cenderung memaparkan laporan tentang kepincangan kerajaan dan sebarang wadah mempertahankan diri dan menangkis segala kritikan dan laporan negatif akhbar arus perdana yang dikuasai kerajaan, selain saluran memaparkan dasar dan propaganda parti, termasuk rencana Becorak dakwah. Akhbar ini mempunyai kelebihan kerana diterbitkan dengan kadar yang agak kerap, sedangkan lidah rasmi parti lain pada amnya diterbitkan


Jika sebelum kes pemecatan Anwar, Harakah lebih bersifat sebagai lidah rasmi PAS dengan banyak menyiarkan berita tentang dasar dan kegiatan parti itu, tetapi ia menjadi kian popular, malah menjadi bacaan wajib pembaca menggantikan media arus perdana selepas kes Anwar memuncak. Hal ini disebabkan akhbar itu mempunyai keberanian untuk melaporkan berita yang tidak disiarkan atau yang cuba disembunyikan, diselewengkan dan diremehkan oleh akhbar arus perdana. Harakah menjadi nadi utama gerakan reformasi dan pembangkang dengan pendekatan yang lantang dan berterus terang. Ketika edaran dan populariti akhbar arus perdana merosot, Harakah mengambil kesempatan daripada krisis keyakinan khayalak, dan hal ini dibuktikan daripada edarannya yang meningkat dengan mendadak.

Kehadiran media alternatif, terutamanya Harakah, termasuk laman webnya tidak mungkin dapat diabaikan perananannya oleh kerajaan dan media arus perdana dalam proses delegimitasi dan penyebaran berita dan maklumat saingan, khususnya melalui penampilan struktur wacana tandingan awam yang bertunjangkan “ideologi pembebasan” seperti demokrasi, hak asasi, keadilan, reformasi dan sebagainya. Wacana tersebut jauh lebih memiliki pesona berbanding “ideologi pembangunan” seperti perpaduan, kesatuan bangsa, kedaualatan negara, kestabilan sosiopolitik, dan pertumbuhan ekonomi yang didendangkan oleh media arus perdana.

Bagi khayalak—seperti yang berlaku terhadap media di Indonesia zaman Orde Baru Suharto—halangan terhadap dominasi pemaknaan oleh rejim penguasa mulai meluas. Masyarakat mampu melakukan *oppositional readings* yang membuat mereka berupaya melakukan *reading between the lines* mahupun *reading between the lies*, dan disebabkan itu tidak mudah tunduk kepada dominasi pemaknaan yang diupayakan oleh pemerintah (Hidayat et al. 2000: 7) dan media arus perdana. Dalam keadaan yang demikian, media alternatif terus mendapat tunjangan dan dukungan kuat dan akhirnya mengalahkan media perdana dari segi edaran dan kredibiliti.


Sebelum Reformasi, anggota PAS hanya sekitar 450,000, namun terus melonjak kepada 800,000 selepas tercetusnya Reformasi, termasuk mereka yang keluar dari UMNO dan mereka yang tidak memasuki mana-mana parti sebelumnya. Dengan mengambil kira bahawa jualan dua buah akhbar bahasa Inggeris utama, NST dan The Star masing-masingnya hanya sekitar 200,000 naskhah, maka Harakah dapat dianggap sebagai akhbar de facto selepas kejatuhan Anwar (Hwang 2003: 320).


Walau bagaimanapun, angka itu memperlihatkan trend edaran yang merosot apabila hanya mampu dijual 250,000 pada tahun 2000 sebahagianya kerana semangat reformasi dan menentang kerajaan semakin kendur dalam kalangan rakyat. Kemerosotan itu juga berpuncah daripada pengurangan kekerapan penerbitannya daripada lapan atau sembilan kali seminggu kepada hanya dua kali sebulan mulai Mac 2000 sehingga menyebabkan akhbar itu hilang momentum.

Tindakan mengenakan pelbagai syarat kepada Harakah termasuk mengurangkan kekerapan penerbitannya dan hanya membenarkan akhbar itu dijual kepada anggota PAS merupakan percubaan UMNO untuk menyekat pengaruh akhbar itu dan PAS. KDN turut mengeluarkan arahan agar penjual Harakah tidak mempamerkan atau menjual Harakah secara terbuka. Harakah hanya boleh dijual di markaz dan di cawangan PAS yang berdaftar sahaja. Pihak penguat kuasa KDN dan polis telah merampas naskhah Harakah yang dijual di kaki lima, gerai, dan kedai. Tindakan KDN menyeleweng orang ramai membeli dan membaca Harakah tidak mendatangkan kesan. Walau bagaimanapun, akhbar Harakahdaily tidak pula dikenakan tindakan atau diganggu oleh kerajaan.


Selain itu, *Harakah* juga dikenakan tindakan hanya dibenarkan untuk diedarkan dalam kalangan anggota PAS sahaja. Langkah ini dapat dianggap langkah mengurangkan kesan dan pengaruhnya, selain memberikan tekanan kepada sumbangan kewangan parti. Dengan mengambil kira bahawa keuntungan bersih bagi setiap naskhah ialah 50 sen selepas ditolak kos-kos lain, termasuk dalal pengedar, pada waktu puncak, keuntungannya sebulan ialah sekitar RM1.6 juta sebulan. Dengan itu, dari segi edaran, pengeluarannya telah dikuangkan sebanyak 75 peratus. Tetapi *Harakah* bertindak balas secara pragmatik dengan meningkatkan jumlah halaman dan harga bagi memastikan keuntungannya tidak terjejas. Selepas arahan...

HARAKAH: CABARAN DAN KAWALAN
Harakah berhadapan dengan pelbagai cabaran dan masalah. Antaranya ialah tiada latihan staf atau penataan kemahiran dan ilmu yang sistematik, kualiti laporan dan mutu penerbitan yang rendah, gaji wartawan yang rendah, dan rangkaian pengedaran yang lemah dan terbatas, berbanding media arus perdana. Tidak ada pihak yang berminat menyuntik modal, berpunca daripada kesedaran bahawa permit penerbitannya boleh ditarik balik pada bila-bila masa. Harakah juga berhadapan dengan masalah sukar mendapatkan kerjasama sumber, misalnya tidak boleh menghadiri sidang media anjuran pihak jadual kerajaan. Pemimpin UMNO dan pegawai kerajaan enggan diwawancarai atau dikutip pendapat mereka.


Permit untuk menerbitkan Harakah berakhir pada 28 Februari setiap tahun. Selepas UMNO tidak lagi mendapat sokongan kuat daripada rakyat, kerajaan bertindak mengenakan

1 Malahan, seorang ketua cawangan UMNO di Kelantan telah pun membuat aduan polis di Kota Bharu berhubung dengan “perlanggaran” permit akhbar itu yang tidak membenarkannya dijual secara terbuka. Lihat laporan Berita Harian, 11 Jun 1992, hal. 2.

Kerajaan Mahathir terpaksa mengambil langkah yang drastik bagi mengembalikan kerelevanan dan hegemoni UMNO yang didapati bersaing hebat dengan PAS. Tindakan itu merupakan strategi kerajaan untuk menyekat atau mengurangkan pengaruh Harakah. Mengikut Mahathir tindakan itu diambil sebagai “hukuman” kepada Harakah kerana melanggar syarat permit penerbitannya dengan menjual akhbar itu secara terbuka, meskipun telah diberi amaran banyak kali oleh KDN.

Dalam pada itu, meskipun laporannya cenderung mengkritik kerajaan, hal ini tidaklah pula bermakna bahawa Harakah dapat mengkritik sesuka hati tanpa batasan. Memetik kata-kata Pengarangnya, Ahmad Lutfi Othman, “Harakah juga menghadapi tekanan batin yang amat menyekat” kerana sesuatu isu mengenai kemungkaran pemerintah hanya dapat dibongkar sepintas lalu saja. Jika editor mendedahkan segala kebenaran, ia takut permit penerbitannya ditarik balik tanpa amaran. Untuk itu, pengarangnya terpaksa mengekalkan Harakah dalam keadaan yang tidak terlalu menyerang kerajaan, atau lebih tepat lagi dalam keadaan yang lemah dan tidak menggugat kerajaan UMNO (Ahmad Lutfi 1993: 13).

Sebenarnya, seperti akhbar arus perdana, pengarang dan wartawan lidah rasmi PAS itu juga berhadapan dengan cabaran yang serupa dari segi kawalan operasi. Mereka juga perlu melakukan kawalan dalam sebagai mekanisme saringan editorial. Mereka perlu memenuhi agenda dan matlamat pemilik atau penanggung. Falsafah bahawa lidah rasmi parti berperanan sebagai alat promosi, propaganda, dan hamba parti menyebabkan ruang bergerak dan melakukan wacana terbuka terbatas. Biasanya editor ditegur supaya mencari dan menggunakan perspektif yang lebih lunak. Isu yang membangkitkan kontroversi adalah apabila Ahmad Lutfi menyiarkan berita bagaimana anak Mahathir menggunakan alamat Sri Perdana dalam perkara yang berkaitan dengan perniagaan. Walhal, wacana bebas untuk membincangkan kepentingan dan kemajuan parti perlu juga dibenarkan untuk dibincangkan melalui organ parti (Ahmad Lutfi 2005).

Sedar akan hakikat bahawa Harakah merupakan lidah rasmi parti, Ahmad Lutfi tidak menyalahkan pihak pengurusan. Sebaliknya, dia menganggap dirinya sebagai bukan petugas parti yang baik. “Saya faham bahawa Harakah ialah organ parti, tetapi keputusan kita sebagai editor selalu bercanggah dengan kehendak kita sebagai petugas parti. Sebagai petugas parti saya sedar saya perlu mendukung kepentingan dan strategi parti (Ahmad Lutfi 2005). Dari segi ini, pengarang organ parti berada dalam keadaan yang serupa dengan pengarang media arus perdana. Mereka tidak boleh mengkritik dasar parti sewenang-wenangnya, meskipun
akhbar alternatif sering mengkritik bahawa akhbar arus perdana dikongkong dan tidak mempunyai kebebasan.

KESIMPULAN
Dapat dirumuskan bahawa salah satu sumbangan besar gerakan Reformasi ialah kesedaran akan pentingnya prinsip kebebasan media di negara ini. Terdapat pertarungan sengit antara media arus perdana yang menjadi wadah pemerintah dengan media alternatif. Meskipun terdapat pelbagai sekatan dan kawalan, termasuk dari segi undang-undang, namun masih terdapat individu yang gigih menerbitkan media alternatif untuk rakyat yang kehausan maklumat yang telus dan adil tentang peristiwa yang berlaku ketika itu.

Sebenarnya, akhbar alternatif mempunyai ruang yang agak terbuka untuk mengkritik kerajaan. Dalam keadaan biasa kelihatanannya, kerajaan tidak begitu mengambil peduli akan laporan dalam akhbar alternatif. Banyak laporan dalam *Malaysiakini*, *Harakah* dan akhbar dalam talian lain begitu provokatif dan negatif terhadap kerajaan. Bagaimanapun, ruang awam dan kebebasan yang dinikmati oleh akhbar alternatif itu cuba dibataskan, terutama jika isu itu menarik perhatian umum dan menjadi terlalu panas atau ketika keadaan politik tidak begitu stabil dan juga menjelang pilihan raya.

Kawalan kerajaan adalah dalam bentuk perintah halus seperti peringatan dan amaran hingga tindakan keras seperti menggantungkan atau menamatkan permit penerbitan, yang menyaksikan penamatan riwayat penerbitan berkenaan. Yang jelas, institusi kerajaan seperti pihak KDN, polis, Jabatan Penerangan, dan anggota politik pemerintah berganding bahu secara bersepadu secara bermusim, tertakluk kepada keadaan politik UMNO dan kerajaan untuk memastikan media suara alternatif tidak tertlalu bebas dan nyaring sehingga dapat menggugat imej dan kedudukannya.

Kesimpulannya, selain masalah kekurangan modal, syarat pembaharuan permit penerbitan yang ketat, edaran yang tidak meluas dan hanya dibataskan kepada anggota parti di pejabat dan cawangan parti sahaja, kekerapan penerbitan yang dihadkan sekali dalam dua minggu dan sifatnya bukan sebagai akhbar harian telah menjemput keberkesanan akhbar itu.

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