

EJ

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School of Communications
Elon University

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Welcome to the nation's only journal devoted to undergraduate research in communications.

The website of the Council on Undergraduate Research lists about 120 undergraduate research journals nationwide (http://www.cur.org/resources/students/undergraduate_journals/). Some of these focus on a discipline (e.g., Journal of Undergraduate Research in Physics). Others are university-based and multidisciplinary (e.g., MIT Undergraduate Research Journal).

The Elon Journal is the only one with a focus on undergraduate research in journalism, media and communications.

The School of Communications at Elon University is the creator and publisher of the online journal. The first issue was published in Spring 2010. The journal is published twice a year, with spring and fall issues, under the editorship of Dr. Byung Lee, associate professor in the School of Communications.

The three purposes of the journal are:

1. To publish the best undergraduate research in Elon's School of Communications each term,
2. To serve as a repository for quality work to benefit future students seeking models for how to do undergraduate research well, and
3. To advance the university's priority to emphasize undergraduate student research.

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Celebrating Student Research

This journal reflects what we enjoy seeing in our students—intellectual maturing.

As 18 year olds, some students enter college wanting to earn a degree, but unsure if they want an education. They may question whether communication theory has anything to do with real life. Ready to start their media careers, many would rather focus on workplace skills than analyze issues and concepts.

In Elon's School of Communications, we strive for a balance among concepts, writing and production. All are important.

Student media and organizations are terrific venues for the practice of journalism, broadcasting, public relations, advertising and cinema.

In turn, this journal celebrates the life of the intellect through undergraduate research. It represents the intellectual maturing that occurs by the senior year.

These published articles make us aware of the solitary hours that students spend in research and the untold hours in which student and teacher-mentor work together to revise a paper for public consumption. It's exciting to see students conducting research in such arenas as social media and press freedom.

By focusing attention on undergraduate research, this journal helps reinforce all that we think a university should be.

Dr. Paul Parsons, Dean
School of Communications

Editorial Board

Twenty-four faculty members in Elon's School of Communications served as the Editorial Board that selected the nine undergraduate research papers appearing in the 2014 spring issue.

From more than 100 research papers written in advanced School of Communications classes, 19 papers were submitted to the journal by communications students through the encouragement and mentoring of capstone teachers and other professors in the school.

Professors who served as the Editorial Board were Vanessa Bravo, Lee Bush, Naeemah Clark, David Copeland, Dianne Finch, Kenn Gaither, Jessica Gisclair, Don Grady, Vincent Hal, Jonathan Jones, Derek Lackaff, Julie Lellis, Harlen Makemson, William Moner, Phillip Motley, Thomas Nelson, George Padgett, Paul Parsons, Glenn Scott, Michael Skube, Jessalynn Strauss, Amanda Sturgill, Frances Ward-Johnson and Qian Xu.

Thanks should also go to Bryan Baker, who videotaped student introductions to their projects, and Colin Donohue, who uploaded the articles in this issue and student videos.

Editor's Note

This issue has nine manuscripts covering a wide gamut of topics: film design production, the TV industry, Guerrilla advertising, content analysis of newspaper articles, sports teams' tweets, Superbowl advertisements, cell phone addiction, and *Saturday Night Live*.

In her study on "Film Production Design: Case Study of *The Great Gatsby*," Kelsey Egan found that design production is essential to transporting the audience to the time period the movie depicts. Her analysis showed that the movie excelled in reflecting the art decoration style, atmosphere and people in the 1920s that the movie portrayed. Nicole Chadwick interviewed 13 TV journalists to find out the impact of online and mobile technology on TV journalism. She found that web presence and mobile apps are getting more important in most cases, and the industry tries to license third party digital assets for its web sites as well as TV.

One study about advertising focused on the efficacy of Guerrilla advertising campaigns on public health issues. Kendal Cinnamon invented a new scale to measure this efficacy based on emotional appeals, sensory involvement and environmental circumstances. She used this scale to measure the efficacy of three advertisements. Another study on advertising was conducted by Baron Smith: "Conveyance of Brand Identities and Portrayal of Minority Groups in 2013 Superbowl Automobile Advertisements." This qualitative content analysis concluded that the advertisements communicated clear brand identities through storytelling, but they contained stereotypical gender roles and sexualized or marginalized portrayals of women.

For her study on "Palestinian-Arab Media Frames and Stereotypes of the 'Other' Israeli-Jews," Katy Steele content analyzed articles from three Palestinian media websites. The biggest frame she found out was the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that was defined in terms of land and territory disputes. New York City has many athletic teams. Through content analysis of tweets from two NFL and two NBA teams in the area, Jordan Johnston found that basketball teams issued more tweets than their football counterparts. The analysis also found that the NBA teams implemented excellent Twitter practices. In her study on music fans' Twitter activities during the 2013 MTV VMAs, Kyrstin Wallach found that the topics of tweets converged, supporting Social Influence Network Theory.

For her study on "Students' Cell Phone Addiction and Their Opinions," Tessa Jones found in her field study that the need of self-gratification achieved through excessive cell phone use has negative psychological effects on college students. Jessica Leano did secondary research for her study on "The Agenda-Setting Power of *Saturday Night Live*." Her conclusion was that *Saturday Night Live* influenced the 2008 Presidential Election through its satirical "news" coverage of Sarah Palin, raising the possibility that an entertainment program may influence viewers' political beliefs.

In this issue, student authors used diverse methods, such as interviews, web story analysis, field observation, tweet analysis, and secondary research. I hope future students would do the same: effectively applying research skills they learned in class to the analysis of contemporary media issues.

Dr. Byung Lee
Journal Editor

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Film Production Design: Case Study of *The Great Gatsby*

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Abstract

*The author examined the significance of production design in film. This paper reviewed scholarly articles on the evolution of production design and applied her findings to analysis of Baz Luhrmann's 2013 rendition of *The Great Gatsby*. This study revealed that accurate and creative production design is essential to success in film. Analysis of *The Great Gatsby* showed that production design reflected an Art Deco style, the period of 1920s, and the representation of characters in the film. Without the intricate and well-planned production design, the themes of the F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel would not have resonated with the film's audience. This paper shows how production design effectively transported the audience to a different time period.*

I. Introduction

Going to the movies is an activity all Americans love. Whether it is for the story, characters, atmosphere or the simple joy of spending time with friends and family, cinema is an essential part of our culture. A large attraction to cinema is its ability to transport an audience to an entirely new world. If the story is fictional or based on a real event, movies can take the viewer to any location, time period, or economic status that they've never experienced before. Production design is the secret behind the magic.

Because of production design, movies have overcome the constraints of time and wealth. Only few people experienced the sinking of the Titanic or what it was like when Abraham Lincoln finally passed the Thirteenth Amendment. Outstanding production design allows viewers to feel like they were undergoing these events. It allows an audience to relive history. In *Production Design and the History of Film*, C.S. Tashiro explains, "Film design works from the difference between the physical world as it exists and the requirements of a particular narrative" (Tashiro, 2004, p. xvi). The powerful mixture between history and cinema offers the ultimate experience.

Production design, of a period film in particular, creates an intriguing world and enhances the story through style, exemplification of a time period, and representation of character. Beverly Heisner explains in *Hollywood Art: Art Direction in the Days of the Great Studios*, "Visual ambiance of the film may enhance its emotional dimensions, nonverbally further the plot, draw character profiles, and in enumerable ways add to the content of the film" (Heisner, 2011, p. 2). The design and intricate details of a film's set encompasses the story, thickens the plot, and brings the audience back in time.

Baz Luhrmann's 2013 rendition of *The Great Gatsby* is an excellent example of how production design can make a well-known story and loved characters come to life. As suggested by pertinent literature, production design of a period film should consider style, period, and characters. This paper analyzed the three main elements of production design in *The Great Gatsby*: the style, time period, and representation of character.

* **Keywords:** production design, art direction, set design, *The Great Gatsby*, film
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II. Background

Production design began in the 1920s and 30s, when filmmakers started to realize the role movies had on social values and ideals of American culture. Emphasis on production design began as a marketing technique during the Great Depression to promote a better life during a difficult time. It quickly became obvious that set design had the power to “mitigate the social and economic crisis of the Depression by exploiting the standards and mores of the burgeoning consumer culture” (Esperdy, 2007, p. 198). Movie sets had the ability to set trends, arbitrate public taste, shape public opinion, and inspire millions of Americans. Elaborate production designs could take a film’s audience out of hard times, and into a world of wealth, elegance, and even a completely different era. As explained by Maggie Valentine in *Escape by Design*, “In the movies, actors—guided by a director, aided by a set designer, and enhanced by a costume designer—interpret a script developed by a screen writer. Everything is fictional, manipulated, changeable” (Lamster, 2000, p. 158). The intricate manipulation of these worlds, through production design, can inspire and influence audiences.

At the start of production design, real architects were called to design and create the sets. Not only did filmmakers receive beautiful results, but architects were additionally able to reach audiences up to 80 million people. The American Institute of Architects said, “The buildings they depict are not permanent to be sure, but they reach many more people with their message than do many permanent buildings” (Esperdy, 2007, p. 198). In the 1920s, publications such as *American Architect*, *The Architectural Record*, and *Pencil Points* claimed motion pictures were the ideal field. In his book *Architecture for the Screen: A Critical Study of Set Design in Hollywood’s Golden Age*, Juan Antonio Ramirez writes, “One might say that film has welcomed without reserve the so-called ‘Renaissance Architect’ [i.e. an architect skilled in many areas]” (Ramirez, 2004, p. 14). Production design was described as an unparalleled opportunity because of the ability for creative exploration. While this creative freedom was liberating, it also came with a lot of pressure. Production designers and art departments, even today, have to coordinate with screenwriters, costume designers, cinematographers, directors, and studios to meet the demands of a particular look.

Much of the difficulty and pressure production designers experience results from the fact that they must be able to design anything from anywhere at anytime. Production design is a form of architecture where full environments are created. Everything from living spaces, to facades, and even entire towns are designed and built. Additionally, more people will see these sets than those who would see the actual town or building the set is based on (Heisner, 2011, p. 2). Whether the set was an established look or avant-garde, production designers should be able to represent all periods and all nationalities. The earlier days of production design tried to portray what the audience would see in present day America, especially an wealthy urban America that “depression era movie-goers want to believe existed somewhere” (Esperdy, 2007, p. 201). Production designers were hesitant to try to produce period pieces because they did not have the means to make the films authentic. Early production design focused on duplicating a world that many audiences wished to be a part of.

When period pieces became more popular, the measure of success for films relied on the accuracy of the details in the production design and set decoration. Art departments and studios launched research departments to ensure every detail was exact to the time of the film. These research departments consisted of libraries of art, architecture magazines, books, photographs, etc. (Esperdy, 2007, p. 205). The sets and their overall atmosphere were highly expected to be flawless so the “story and character could proceed without fear of tripping over a wayward, incorrect detail” (Tashiro, 2004, p. 40). Historically accurate production design did not only affect the film’s viewers, but also the success and validity of the actors. Production designer of *The Great Gatsby*, Catherine Martin, says, “You cannot underestimate the impact that creating an environment has on the cast—to actually sync them into the world” (Neilson, 2013). Production design uses various elements that come together and bring a discrete “string of associations” among the set dressing and decorations (Kenaga, 1999). The actors and the audience equally benefit from accurate and eccentric sets.

Production designers are able to use their creativity, while staying true to the time period, by stylizing a period piece. Tashiro explains, “Surfaces must be manipulated, a design has to be imposed in order to convince that the past has been recreated” (Tashiro, 2004, p. 40). Exact replicas of the past are not interesting because it does not energize history. Sets are either simplifications or exaggerations of the architecture on which they are based. Again, Tashiro says, “The past can come to life only when the research is accompanied by an imaginative vision that recognizes the differences between the past and today, weaves material production into a broader canvas of period reconstruction” (Tashiro, 2004, p. 40). Even though the details may be off, the impression is successful in creating another elaborate world. William Cameron Menzies, an independent

art director of the 1930s writes:

. . . in many cases authenticity is sacrificed, and architectural principles violated, all for the sake of the emotional response that is being sought. My own policy has been to be as accurate and authentic as possible. However, in order to forcefully emphasize the locale I frequently exaggerate—I made my English subject more English than it would naturally be, and I over-Russianianize Russia. (Heisner, 2011, p. 2)

Suspense of a film arises when the viewer does not know how the filmmakers will interpret a particular event. Historical accuracy mixed with particular exaggerations makes a movie exciting. This creative use of production design can be seen in *The Great Gatsby* through elements of style, period, and character representation.

The following case study attempted to answer research questions based on the style, period, and representation of character in *The Great Gatsby*. The first question is how the emphasis of style recreates a specific tone or lifestyle. The second question is how production designers can exaggerate and energize history, while keeping their sets historically accurate. The third question asks how production designers can represent character through the production design of main characters' homes. By researching the process of Catherine Martin, *The Great Gatsby* production designer, along with the various sets and elements of design throughout the film, these questions were answered.

III. Key Elements of Production Design in *The Great Gatsby*

The Great Gatsby is an exquisite example of how production design, specifically Art Deco design, which exemplifies the 1920s, and the representation of character, are essential to making a period film come to life. Production designer, Catherine Martin, successfully created a believable and desirable world that respectfully depicts a cherished American novel.

Style

Catherine Martin's emphasis on Art Deco style in *The Great Gatsby* is critical to the movie's success. The focus on this design style is essential to creating a luxurious world in the 1920s. Not only is the style important for making the film believable, but in the past "Art Deco sets were immediately associated with the carefree existence of 'the wild young people of this generation'" (Esperdy, 2007, p. 208). This carefree attitude and atmosphere is certainly fitting for *The Great Gatsby*.

The main character Jay Gatsby's master bedroom is incredibly modern in the latest Art Deco glamour. Martin says, "One of the people we thought that Gatsby would have known about is a French designer named Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann, so we based the bedroom on a number of Ruhlmann Art Deco inspirations" (Goldfarb, 2013). Ruhlmann was the perfect inspiration considering he was the pioneer of Art Deco in France and felt strongly about designing for the wealthy. Ruhlmann said, "Only the very rich can pay for what is new and they alone can make it fashionable. Fashions don't start among the common people. Along with satisfying a desire for change, fashion's real purpose is to display wealth" (Emile, 2007). It is clear Gatsby would have felt similarly and would have wanted to have the latest designs.

Art Deco style is associated with Machine Age materials and bold geometric shapes. The style has an automotive and industrial feel, and chrome, leather, and high-polished lacquer are typical types of materials used. Geometric forms, including spheres, triangles, zigzags, stylized stars, sunbursts, and chevrons can often be arranged in symmetrical patterns to create the Art Deco look as well (Klingensmith, 2013). Three main elements of Art Deco style—geometric shapes, lavish ornamentation, and industrial aspects—can all be seen in the production design of Gatsby's two-story master bedroom.

First, Gatsby's bedroom emphasizes geometric shapes, an element of Art Deco style (see *Figure 1*). The walls are covered in a harlequin pattern of crisscrossed silk and ribbons of wood (Goldfarb, 2013). The repetition of cream silk diamonds crossed with light polished wood encompasses the walls. These shapes successfully match the similar repetition of diamonds and symmetrical images on the carpet under the bed, which Martin designed herself. Additionally, the rectangles of Gatsby's drawers and shelves on the second level combined with the repetition of square wood panels on the first level, are clearly Art Deco inspired. The symmetry of the room completely pulls the space together and adds to the emphasis on Art Deco style.

Lavish ornamentation is another element of Art Deco style seen in Gatsby's bedroom. The rich hard-

wood floors along with the mahogany columns and wall panels are examples of this ornamentation. The mirrored wall panels in the bathroom behind the bed represent a major design choice of the Art Deco period as well. The high-polished lacquer bed with chrome detail and rounded edges attribute the style and depict the modern approach Martin wanted. Small elements of the room, including the rounded chairs, velvet upholstery, and shiny cream and gold fabrics on the bed, add to the tone of the space.

The last example of Art Deco style in Gatsby's bedroom is the use of industrial elements. The industrial aspects of the room add sleek and strong features throughout the space. The stainless steel detail on the bed, and the steel lamps on the nightstands can be attributed to the industrial craze of Art Deco style. Similarly, industrial metals are used in the bronze staircase and railings on the second level. By mixing the stainless steel with the bronze metals, Martin was able to achieve an industrial feel.



Figure 1. Gatsby's master bedroom

Period

In order to make a period of time come to life in a film, it is absolutely crucial to have flawless set decoration. Without it, filmmakers would not be able to convince their audiences of the story and transport them into another era. Set designers are responsible for “convincing us we are witnessing the past” (Tashiro, 2004, p. 40). A rule of thumb production designers and set decorators must follow is the Law Against Anachronism. This law states that “filmmakers should include no objects that could not have appeared in the time period of the story because they were invented later. Any period will have legacies of the times before it in addition to those specific to itself” (Tashiro, 2004, p. 41). In terms of *The Great Gatsby*, Catherine Martin explains, “Baz made a rule that we were able to use any influences or references from 1922 through 1929. His rationale was that the book was set in '22, published in '25, and foreshadowed the crash of '29” (Miller, 2013). This range from 1922 to 1929 allowed the art department of the film to get away with more.

The challenge of production designers relies in their ability to energize history. This creativity and ability to rejuvenate the past can be done through thoughtful additions of set decoration. Martin is not a stickler for historical accuracy, rather she “mixes modern pieces that reference the past in order to make that past current.” She says, “My aim is to express the true nature of the period through an electric combination of things that have a real point of reference” (Mason, 2013). Martin exemplifies the period of the 20s through set decoration in the party scenes at Gatsby's mansion. She successfully does this by using set decoration that fit the time period, yet exaggerate the story.

Fooling viewers and allowing them to experience the past is all in the specifics. In order to pull off Gatsby's notorious soirees, Martin had to consider every detail. A big concern of hers was the type of champagne the guests would drink. From extensive research, Martin found the most important vintage of the decade was Moët Millesime of 1921. Martin says, “If that was the case, and this was the summer of 1922, Gatsby, trying to impress and being the most extraordinary purveyor of the most extraordinary things, even

in the midst of prohibition, would have this extraordinary vintage of Moët” (Miller, 2013). Martin even thought about what size bottles would be at this type of party. She had enormous champagne bottles made and blew up Moët labels. These enormous additions to the set perfectly fit the time period and added to Gatsby’s mysterious nature and rumored wealth.

Another great set decoration choice Martin made for the party scenes (see *Figure 2*) were the inflatable zebras in the pool. While inflatable zebras may seem out of place at a party, she did this in order to add “eye-popping stripes” and more “verve” to the scene (Mason, 2013). While even Leonardo Di Caprio questioned the zebra’s historical accuracy, Martin had research to prove they did in fact exist at the time. Similarly, the translucent balloons helped depict the “carnival kaleidoscope” atmosphere of Gatsby’s lavish and extravagant parties. Though these elements may not stand out to the average viewer, the party would be incredibly less exciting without them. Martin’s attention to detail and ability to exaggerate while staying true to the time is quite impressive.



Figure 2. Gatsby’s lavish parties

Representation of Character

When asked how production design is essential to the story of *The Great Gatsby*, production designer Martin says, “Just as the music plays a key role in establishing the tone, the sets are central to establishing character and showing the inner world in an outer way” (Goldfarb, 2013). The sets of *The Great Gatsby* are crucial in distinguishing characters from one another by emphasizing their individual personalities and status. Through production design, the characters in the film are represented in two prominent ways, such as new money versus old money and the hollowness of the upper class.

New money versus old money

Jay Gatsby’s character longed for wealth and sophistication ever since he was a boy. This longing intensified after meeting his love, Daisy Buchanan, who lived this life of luxury. It is no surprise that when Gatsby eventually became a wealthy man, he glitzed and glamorized every aspect of his home. Martin says, “The Buchanans were unbelievably wealthy. We needed to make Gatsby’s wealth feel competitive, because in Gatsby’s heart he has always believed that the reason he didn’t get Daisy was because he was poor” (Yang, n.d.). Gatsby’s character represents a man indulging in new money and uncontrollably spending. Daisy’s character represents someone from old money that is comfortable and more conservative with her wealth. The production design of Gatsby’s extravagant mansion (see *Figure 3*) compared to the production design of the Buchanan’s luxurious Georgian manor (see *Figure 4*) perfectly distinguishes the idea of new money versus old money.

The exterior of Gatsby’s home, St. Patrick’s Seminary in Sydney, provides an ostentatious feel of Gothic revival. Catherine Martin explains, “You get this sense of excess — of someone overreaching. This is conveyed in the Neo-Gothic style of Gatsby’s house, the almost Versailles-sized fountain in the front” (Miller, 2013). The massive fountain outside Gatsby’s home symbolizes his over exaggeration of wealth upon arrival. While there are touches of classic Art Deco, it is clear Gatsby’s home is over-the-top. Daisy’s beautiful brick home represents a pristine and calmer view of wealth. Martin says, “Then you go to the Buchanans’, which is described in the book as an enormous pile of red bricks, and it is a much quieter view of wealth.” (Miller,

2013). Daisy's home is excessive, yet tasteful and classic.



Figure 3. Gatsby's home.



Figure 4. Buchanan home.

The difference between new money and old money is also seen in the production design of Gatsby's foyer (see *Figure 5*) compared to Daisy's living room. Martin perfectly created Gatsby's mansion to represent his gaudy and ostentatious attitude as well as reflect his lack of social grace. Martin says, "We talked about somebody coming in with a lot of money and what changes he would make to certain rooms" (Goldfarb, 2013). Gatsby's foyer is equipped with a gold-filigreed ceiling with multiple ornate chandeliers, massive towering columns between large windows, a serpentine staircase, and, the most overstated, a marquetry floor with an oversized monogram in the center. Martin created Gatsby's grand staircase based on the staircase in La Selva, an Italian villa built in the teens (Keeps, 2013). The staircase is an element of the room Martin believes Gatsby would have added himself. Its overwhelming and flamboyant nature completely takes over the space.



Figure 5. Gatsby's foyer

The Buchanan's living room on the other hand is much more elegant. It is clear from this space that Daisy created a beautiful, yet functional and homey room to both live and entertain. Martin furnished their home in a more eclectic way using antiques that "look as though it could have been passed down in the family for 300 years" (Miller, 2013). While it is clear that the Buchanan's have nice things, they are less flashy and up to date as Gatsby's home. The room is small and has a Hollywood Regency and Deco-inflected feel (see *Figure 6*). The furnishings, contemporary art, and long vertical windows overlooking the formal gardens are perfectly sophisticated yet understated. Martin explains these elements of the room are intended to "contrast Daisy with the new-money fantasist that is Gatsby" (Goldfarb, 2013).



Figure 6. Buchanan's sitting room

The hollowness of upper class

A popular theme in Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* is the idea of the hollowness of the upper class. The novel portrays the newly rich as vulgar and disgraceful, while those with old money as fickle and selfish. Martin displays this idea through production design in the film. While the characters of the upper class live in massive mansions with high ceilings and cold marble floors, the characters with less status live in comfortable, cozy cottages and apartments.

Nick Carraway is a character that perfectly contrasts Gatsby's personality and status. He is a content young man trying to make his way in the business world. His rented homey cottage reflects his quiet, trustworthy, and tolerant personality. The cottage Martin created for Nick offers instant comfort and warmth. It is easy to understand why Gatsby and Daisy trust Nick throughout the story after seeing his modest home (see *Figure 7*). The beautiful archway adorned with white flowers is instantly welcoming juxtaposed with the round tree bench as well as his well-kept lawn and garden. Nick's living room (see *Figure 8*) is enclosed with low ceilings and quarter sawn oak beams. The room is filled with Stickley-esque furniture and moss green tiles that surround the heart of the fireplace (Goldfarb, 2013). The green tiles and accents throughout the room, combined with the oak furniture and beams, create a feeling of nature and purity. Martin says, "It was all about finding what we thought were quintessential Long Island motifs" (Heisner, 2011, p. 2). The small nature of the house with the intimate atmosphere of the individual rooms creates a content space that reflects Nick's personality.



Figure 7. Nick Carraway's home.



Figure 8. Nick Carraway's living room.

Similarly, Myrtle Wilson's chaotic apartment (see *Figure 9 below*) above Wilson's Garage (see *Figure 10*) gives off a welcoming vibe. Like Nick's living room, the warm red and pink colors could make anyone feel at home. The walls, shelves, and tables are all cluttered with eclectic frames, vases, and trinkets that represent Myrtle carefree personality. The amount of frames and photographs allude to the idea Myrtle has a strong family background. The flowers scattered around the room make the room seem inviting. It is clear that anyone would feel welcome in this apartment from the scene in the film where Nick visits Myrtle with Tom. Martin says, "In the Fitzgerald book it says the couch is upholstered in something that looked like the 18th century painting of a girl in a swing by Fragonard. So we had that digitally printed onto the upholstery fabric" (Keeps, 2013). This is another example of how Martin successfully exaggerated and exemplified a historical element. Through the size, set decoration, and colors used in Nick's and Myrtle's home, Martin was able to depict the idea that a lower economic status calls for a more modest lifestyle.



Figure 9. Myrtle's apartment



Figure 10. Wilson's garage

IV. Conclusion

As shown in this paper, *The Great Gatsby* successfully proves the importance of production design in a film. Catherine Martin's mixture of creativity and historical references brings to life the characters and era of Fitzgerald's cherished novel. By emphasizing the Art Deco movement, exemplifying the 1920s, and representing the status and various personalities of the characters, Martin adds excitement and conflict to the film. The Art Deco elements of the production design along with the attention to 1920s style signify the carefree and wild lifestyle of the time. Similarly, the production design contrasts the main characters personalities and represents two major themes in the story: new money versus old money and the hollowness of the upper class. Without the extravagant, dynamic, and well-researched production design, *The Great Gatsby* film would not have been able to survive simply based on Fitzgerald's words.

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Revolutionizing the Newsroom: How Online and Mobile Technologies Have Changed Broadcast Journalism

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Abstract

This study interviewed journalists across the United States in 2013 to find out how online and mobile technologies have changed television journalism in the past decade and what new technologies and trends they expect in the future. Interviews with thirteen television journalists indicate that web presence and mobile apps are getting more important in most cases; the use of others' digital assets for both television broadcast and the web; use of the Internet and social networking to generate better stories; and an effort to reach out to younger audience. The results of this study also imply the need for journalists to learn new technology, change daily work habits, and adapt to new job requirements in order to maintain job security and succeed in their career.

I. Introduction

The field of communications changes constantly, from the introduction of the printing press, to radio, to television, to the Internet, to mobile, and beyond. In order to communicate effectively, especially in journalism, one must continue to adapt. Regardless, the interview is still the most widely accepted and practiced process in the journalism field.

The study uses interview method to take a closer look at how changing technology impacts the inner workings of television journalism companies and newsrooms. By asking current professionals how new technology has changed the television news profession in the past decade, and asking their opinions on the future of the industry, this paper tried to determine whether U.S. television journalism has made a massive move to online and mobile devices, making the job of journalists increasingly more dynamic and changing the fundamental duties of journalists to include these new elements.

Keywords: new technology, broadcast journalism, digital journalism, multimedia journalism, future of broadcast journalism

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II. Background

In order to properly understand the future of television journalism, one must understand how it grew to where it is today. The past tells us that technology causes journalism to change. In the mid-nineteenth century, the telegraph allowed news publishers to gather and send information across the globe faster than ever before. By the early twentieth century, the camera could create photographic images of people and events that readers had never been able to see.¹ In the past forty years, most afternoon newspapers have disappeared, people's primary news sources have shifted from paper, to television, to the Internet, and our ways of understanding the news has completely changed.²

As Giles and Snyder explain, "We cannot take the future for granted . . . it is very difficult to determine what is around the next bend in the road—especially in a field as integrally connected with changes in culture, politics, technology and economics as journalism." As new technology is invented and becomes popular, many believe the old technology will go away, but rather the technology has changed and expanded over time.³ In particular, the Internet allows journalism to change, expand, and adapt with the advent of new technologies.

John Naughton explains this phenomenon in his book *A Brief History of the Future: The Origins of the Internet*:

The Internet is one of the most remarkable things human beings have ever made. In terms of its impact on society, it ranks with print, the railways, the telegraph, the automobile, electric power and television. Some would equate it with print and television, the two earlier technologies that most transformed the communications environment in which people live. Yet it is potentially more powerful than both because it harnesses the intellectual leverage which print gave to mankind without being hobbled by the one-to-many nature of broadcast television.⁵

Information about technology and media's future can be found from many sources beyond Naughton's book. For example, in November of 2013 the Wall Street Journal posted a video entitled "How is Mobile Consumption Changing Journalism?" in which top professionals at online reporting companies such as Circa, BuzzFeed, NewsCorp and Mashable were interviewed. Anthony De Rosa from the news app Circa explained there must be a change in newsrooms dealing with the online and mobile changes. "It takes a culture change and a shift in the newsroom," De Rosa said. "How do I take this story and make it really useful for someone who's on their phone? I think the newsroom itself has to take that information and synthesize it in a different way, and produce it in a different format." Raju Narisetti, the Senior Vice-President of Strategy News Corp, agreed. "We have to think of very different ways to engage them," he said. "I think that is where there's a little bit of a disconnect with newsrooms that are so focused on the journalism only without worry about the experience." These challenges and changes prompted this study to find out how professionals are adapting to the new technology.

III. Literature Review

Many studies regarding how changing technologies impact broadcast journalism were conducted in the early 2000s, when the Internet began to have a strong presence in the world of news media. Since its invention, the Internet has become the most popular means of communicating news, and has increasingly changed journalists' job and their impacts on their audience, along with the subsequent advent of mobile technology.

In 2001, Bardoel and Deuze further explored the endless technological possibilities of the Internet

¹Patricia L. Dooley, *The Technology of Journalism: Cultural Agents, Cultural Icons* (Northwestern University: Northwestern University Press, 2007). 1.

²Giles, Snyder, *What's Next?*, xi.

³Susan Zirinsky, Executive Producer, *48 Hours*, in a telephone interview with the author, November 1, 2013.

⁴Mark Effron, "Broadcast Journalism Not Dead, Just Changing," *TV Week*, 2010, http://www.tvweek.com/news/2008/07/guest_commentary_broadcast_jou.php (November 12, 2013).

⁵John Naughton, *A Brief History of the Future: The Origins of the Internet* (Great Britain: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 22.

and how a new occupation and industry had been created: digital and online journalism.⁶ In another study, Deuze analyzed the first generation of news media online to find that online journalism was a “fundamentally different” type of journalism, particularly because it involved a new platform to share information that must constantly be kept in mind for journalists in the future.⁷

As Henry Jenkins correctly predicted in the 2001 MIT Technology Review, “. . . media will be everywhere, and we will use all kinds of media in relation to one another.”⁸ Giles and Snyder also supported this prediction in *Problems and Prospects of Journalism: What’s Next?* by compiling essays from experts in the United States who recognized how journalism would likely change with the Internet, and predicted it would be the future of news.⁹

Recent research on this topic has come from the Pew Research Center, which has focused on the impact of the Internet on local and network markets. Jurkowitz and Matsa from the Pew Research Journalism Project warned that though local television stations have become a “hot commodity” among large media companies, their strength has decreased because of trends that put them behind many other competitors. Television news is losing significant portions of its audience, particularly young viewers, and lagging in digital revenue.¹⁰ Furthermore, Sasseen, Olmstead, and Mitchell of the Pew Research Center described how journalists have become dependent on the technical industry and mobile giants in order to reach viewers. However, they explained that news, in general, still holds out hope because most audience members return to legacy newspapers and television stations for their information.¹¹

The literature review above shows that the destiny of news will be shaped by the future of online and mobile resources. The important question is how much media professionals understand the importance of on-line and mobile news and how much they are able to embrace them. To investigate this question, the author interviewed media professionals across the country.

IV. Methods

To explore the future of television journalism on the network and local level and provide insights of journalists, the author tried to understand the impact of the Internet and mobile capabilities and discover what news professionals expect to change with new technology and ideas in the future.

The author interviewed media professionals throughout the United States on the network and local television levels to ask about the industry’s responses to mobile and online capabilities, their prediction on how the television industry will continue to change in the future. The following three questions were asked of all interviewees for analysis and comparison:¹²

- Q1. How is your job affected by online and mobile news? Are you required to have a web presence for your job?
- Q2. What is the greatest change to the newsroom since the introduction of online and mobile news?
- Q3. What’s next? Will there still be traditional newscasts in the future?

Among twenty journalists contacted, thirteen responded to the author’s interview requests: seven on

⁶Jo Baradoel and Mark Deuze, “Network Journalism: Converging Competences of Media Professionals and Professionalism,” *Australian Journalism Review* (2001), 23.

⁷Mark Deuze, “Online Journalism: Modeling the first generation of news media on the world wide web” *First Monday* (2001).

⁸Henry Jenkins, “Convergence: I Diverge.” *MIT Technology Review*, June 1, 2001.

⁹Robert Giles and Robert W. Snyder, *Problems & Prospects of Journalism: What’s Next?* (New Brunswick: 2001), xi.

¹⁰Mark Jurkowitz and Katerina Eva Matsa, “Despite Some Warning Signs, Local TV Stations Are Hot Commodities,” *Pew Research Journalism Project*, August 5, 2013 <http://www.journalism.org/2013/08/05/despite-some-warning-signs-local-tv-stations-are-hot-commodities/> (October 15, 2013).

¹¹Jane Sasseen, Kenny Olmstead, and Amy Mitchell, “Digital: As Mobile Grows Rapidly, the Pressures on News Intensify,” *The State of the News Media 2013*, 2013, <http://stateofthemediamedia.org/2013/digital-as-mobile-grows-rapidly-the-pressures-on-news-intensify/>, (October 15, 2013).

¹²Dapzury Valenzuela and Pallavi Shrivastava, *Interview as a Method for Qualitative Research*, Southern Cross University and the Southern Cross Institute of Action Research.

the local level and six on the network level. Interviews were conducted in October and November, 2013, through email, telephone, or Facebook chat interviews.

The interview was chosen because this method is widely accepted as suitable for qualitative research. The qualitative research interview seeks to describe and understand the meanings of central themes in the life and world of the subjects. The interviewer's main task is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say.¹³

Again, this study uses interviews to evaluate and organize qualitative data on the impact of technology on newsrooms across the country and to predict what new technology may come next.

V. Findings

This section was organized based on interviewees' answers to the three questions asked above.

Job changes due to online and mobile news, including a web presence

Online and mobile technologies play an increasingly prominent role in television newsrooms, particularly on the local level. All but one journalist in this study emphasized the importance of having an online component along with an on-air news broadcast. Many of the local journalists explained their stations have gone "web first," which demonstrates how much the industry has changed from having only on-air broadcasts in the 1990s to web pages for most stations, to interactive web sites and mobile apps, which have become standard for many stations across the country.^{14 15}

On the local level, reporters are responsible for all on-air and web content regarding their story, including a print style web article.^{16 17 18} At WVEC-TV in Norfolk, Virginia, one reporter explained how his mobile app is on track to getting more monthly views than his station's website, a sign of how quickly mobile devices have been adopted and become important in the distribution of television news.¹⁹ At KLBK-TV in Lubbock, Texas, the general manager requires at least fifty local stories be posted online every day.²⁰

On the network level, journalists bring a new value to their website by adding materials beyond the on-air broadcasts. For example, producers²¹ at *CBS This Morning* are encouraged to supply "web extras" to their stories, including parts of stories that did not make it on the air, but may be complementary to the final product online and on mobile platforms, including extra b-roll²² and parts of interviews.²³ Matt Samuels, broadcast associate at *CBS Sunday Morning*, however, explained that the Internet did not have as much of an impact on his work because the shows appeals to an older audience that does not have a strong affiliation with the web. Network producers also deal with complicated copyright issues on the Internet. Music, still photographs and footage licensed for particular news or feature segments are often cleared just for television broadcast, but not for the Internet. Therefore, some segments are restricted from the web. With that in mind, producers are now trying to secure rights and clearances for both their broadcast and online stories when negotiating for them.²⁴ According to Meggie Miao, producer at *CBS Sunday Morning*, she took the extra step to obtain all necessary rights and clearances to use all content online, too. "I try to negotiate all the rights to license the piece on air as well as online," she said. "For instance, the story I produced

¹³Steinar Kvale, *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, Sage Publications, 1996.

¹⁴Matt Howerton, in a Facebook message to the author, October 16, 2013.

¹⁵Drew Smith, reporter in an email message to the author, October 19, 2013.

¹⁶Reporters write the stories for the newscast including parts of interviews and research into their content. Also see one-man band.

¹⁷Print style is a form of writing an article that is written generally for the web or for a newspaper in Associated Press style.

¹⁸Janet St. James, in an email message to the author, October 17, 2013

¹⁹Nick Ochsner, in a Facebook message to the author, October 16, 2013.

²⁰Monica Yantosh, in a Facebook message to the author, November 5, 2013.

²¹Producers work with reporters, associate producers, and the executive producers to write and put together content for individual stories and/or for a cohesive newscast.

²²B-roll is the supplemental or alternate footage intercut with the main shot in an interview or documentary.

²³Andy Merlis, in an email message to the author, October 21, 2013.

²⁴Cathy Lewis, in an email message to the author, October 31, 2013.

is on surrealist painter Magritte. I had to obtain all the rights so we can post the story to the web, which has in turn gotten over 1600 Facebook recommends, lots of tweets, etc.” Miao and other producers at the network level believe the rights issue must be resolved in order for their shows to truly succeed online.²⁵

On both levels, information is no longer held for on-air broadcasts first. When information is received, it is immediately confirmed and distributed online. This new norm challenges traditional news media to change the culture of reporting so that data and information get processed and made available instantly to the audience.

Today’s viewers consume the news on multiple platforms.²⁶ Susan Zirinsky, executive producer of *48 Hours*, mentioned the benefits from these changes, including the ability to share information with more people because of the wide variety of platforms available. Additionally, Zirinsky explained, everything has a second screen. This experience impacts television news drastically. The ability to interact with viewers while on the air increases communication and allows for additional information to be shared. It also provides the opportunity to build a new audience and expand the reach of the show.²⁷

However, news professionals today are not solely using the Internet to share news content. All of those interviewed explained they use the Internet on a daily basis in order to look for story ideas, photos and facts. David Rothman, producer at *CBS Sunday Morning*, explained how he uses social networking and local affiliates to reach out and find characters for stories across the country.

I am constantly looking for stories/characters/facts online. I use Facebook/Twitter/Meetups to find characters in localities that I am travelling to- for example, I was working on a Tabasco story, and needed to interview Tabasco fans in New Orleans- so I asked both the local New Orleans affiliate and the official Tabasco Facebook administrators if I could post on their pages a “Call for Tabasco fans.”

Conversely, Zirinsky described a different perspective on a journalist’s web presence:

Am I required to have it? No. But it’s like do you get up in the morning and brush your teeth? You know in the world today that’s part of who we are. We have a web presence. We developed “Crimesider” the crime blog because we felt that there was no one in the space that was a true all purpose law and justice website. So I think it’s not that somebody says you’re required, it’s just like wearing underwear. You know, you wouldn’t leave home without it.

Web presence is strongly enforced on the local level. Every local journalist who was interviewed for this study, reporters and producers alike, is required to have a professional web presence for their jobs. On the network level, presence is not required but highly encouraged. Journalists today compete with social networks for attention from viewers. Shelly Slater, reporter and anchor from WFAA-TV in Dallas, Texas, explained her web presence as vital to her job because it allows her to reach out and connect with younger audience members about news on platforms like Facebook and Twitter. She can break into those demographics that use social media as primary sources for their information.²⁸ According to the Pew Research Journalism Project, thirty percent of United States adults consume news on Facebook, and seventy-eight percent of those adults mostly see news when they are on Facebook for other reasons.²⁹ Forty-five percent of Americans own a smart phone today. Of that forty-five percent, thirty-six percent get news on their device daily. These statistics are almost identical for thirty-one percent of Americans who own tablets. Thirty-seven percent of these tablet owners use their device to get news daily.³⁰ The Internet and mobile have become staples in many people’s daily lives in the United States, and has changed their consumption of television news, particularly at the local level. The next question explores how this technology has changed the newsroom.

²⁵Meggie Miao, in an email message to the author, October 23, 2013.

²⁶Kenneth Olmstead, Mark Jurkowitz, Amy Mitchell and Jodi Enda, “How Americans Get TV News at Home,” *Pew Research Journalism Project*, 2013, November 10, 2013.

²⁷Zirinsky, telephone conversation with the author.

²⁸Shelly Slater, in an email message to the author, October 22, 2013.

²⁹Amy Mitchell, Jocelyn Kiley, Jeffrey Gottfried and Emily Guskin, “The Role of News on Facebook: Common yet Incidental,” *Pew Journalism Project*, 2013, <http://www.journalism.org/2013/10/24/the-role-of-news-on-facebook/>, (November 10, 2013).

³⁰Sasseen, Olmstead, and Mitchell, *The State of the News Media 2013*, 2013.

Changes to the newsroom

As a result of online and mobile news, big changes happened to content production in the newsroom. Matt Howerton, reporter at KWTX in Waco, Texas, called it a “balancing act,” explaining that having to focus on the online and mobile content makes for a much more complicated day for local journalists.³¹ But, some stations have taken advantage of the online and mobile audience and created useful content opportunities for the reporter as well as the audience. At WVEC-TV in Norfolk, the reporters post a “mobile minute” for every story they write, producing 30-45 seconds of video and audio content for their increasing mobile audience. And Nick Ochsner, reporter at WVEC, believes it helps him improve as a journalist as well as provide more content for the audience. “It’s a great tool during breaking news events where there’s constantly new information to share,” he said. “Instead of having to wait until the five o’clock broadcast or add new copy to a web article, I can shoot a new mobile minute that shows whatever new action is unfolding.”³² Kirsten Boyd, producer at KOAA-TV in Colorado Springs has seen how online and mobile tools can save lives during natural disasters. “During the Waldo Canyon and Black Forest wildfires, there was an official hashtag that emergency managers were using to share information on spread, containment, road closures and evacuations,” she said. “Twitter is critical for news gathering and we all monitor it by the minute for information.”

In addition, news distribution speed has increased dramatically. But, many of the journalists in this study warned about the problem of the fast paced online news cycle. Being first can sometimes come at the expense of being accurate.³³

It is important to recognize the fact that Twitter and Reddit are not sources of news, they are sources of “information,” and also, more to the point, speculation. It is very, very dangerous to look to Twitter for real information because anybody anywhere can tweet anything regardless of the truth. The race to be first is not worth being wrong, though there is a competitive edge to many people who work in the news business, so that is a lesson that some people end up learning the hard way. -Andy Merlis, Producer, *CBS This Morning*³⁴

To adapt to a changing work environment, many newsrooms have added a digital media team, a group of people hired to produce and manage online content, which has become the norm in many local stations and at the network level. Drew Smith, a reporter at WSPA-TV in Spartanburg, South Carolina, believes the digital team is an integral part of the newsgathering and dissemination process of information. The station’s digital media team uses real time analytics to see viewing habits that have not been available even with sophisticated sampling and statistical analysis from companies like Nielsen. The newsroom is able to see how many people are online at once, what stories people are viewing, and how they got there. “It helps us figure out what’s important to viewers and it helps the business side of things when determining the value of our product,” Smith said.³⁵

Though online and mobile news have produced many benefits for the news industry, they have also brought challenges. One main challenge is the change to the daily workflow for journalists, particularly multimedia or one-man-band journalists.³⁶ Across all market sizes, the trend toward hiring multimedia journalists or “one-man bands” who report, shoot, write and edit, shows no sign of slowing (see *Figure 1*).³⁷ “Shooting, editing, writing and tracking a package is such a time consuming process,” Howerton of KWTX said. “Adding web and mobile updates is like adding more weight to a barbell you’re dead lifting.”³⁸ Time management becomes even more important to the journalist than it was before online and mobile technology.³⁹ Journalists must keep people interested and present information the audience has not heard, which is difficult with the younger

³¹Howerton, Facebook message to the author.

³²Ochsner, Facebook message to the author.

³³St. James, email to the author.

³⁴Merlis, email to the author.

³⁵Smith, Facebook message to the author.

³⁶One-man-band journalists are journalists that write their own content, do their own research, and shoot and edit their own video for the air.

³⁷Deborah Potter, Katerina-Eva Matsa and Amy Mitchell, “Local TV: Audience Declines as Revenue Bounces Back,” *The State of the News Media 2013*, 2013.

³⁸Howerton, Facebook message to the author.

³⁹Yantosh, Facebook message to the author.

demographic.^{40 41}

Another prominent change is that once stories air, they are no longer “in the ether.” Stories are shared and instantly put up online for viewer access. One editorial producer said:

In the 1970s, when I began my career, first at local news and then at CBS, stories aired and that was it. If you missed it, you missed it. There was no DVR, no on-Demand, no “web-extra”, no YouTube, no Internet at all. In the mid to late 70’s few people even owned recording devices. No one recorded shows. You watched when it was on.

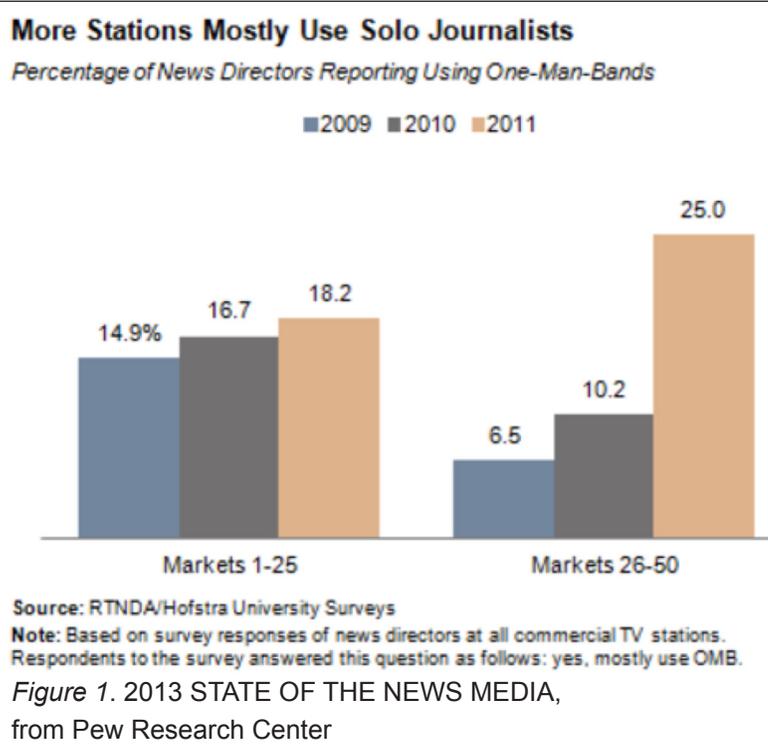
What this means is that now journalists need to be extra careful, not only with the information they report but with the visuals they choose. Segments can be looked at and listened to again and again, frames frozen, zoomed in, and scrutinized. People look for inaccuracies – from factual errors to misleading pictures and interviews. And they “share” their finds instantly with everyone, via Twitter, YouTube and other social media. Mistakes made in the past generally resulted in thoughtful, sometimes angry, letters to the editor. Comments and mistakes now go global. -Cathy Lewis, Editorial Producer, *CBS Sunday Morning*⁴²

It is clear from these comments that newsrooms have changed workflow, culture, job opportunities, and managerial processes due to the introduction of online and mobile news. The final question of this study asked professionals to predict what will happen in the future of television news.

Changes expected in the future

Every journalist in this study believes there will still be a place for newscasts in the future, but the word “traditional” may no longer be associated with them. The newsrooms are already adapting to an idea of an “interactive newscast,” where viewers can not only see the newscast from multiple cameras to see how the process works, but also chat with anchors and reporters live during the newscast. Television stations are embracing ways to include new technology in the newscast, and that will continue as long as technology changes.⁴³ Monica Yantosh, reporter at KLBK in Lubbock, Texas, observed television newscasts will still exist in small towns because many people still only have access to broadcast television and not the Internet.⁴⁴ Audiences are invested in their local and national anchors, trusting them for information, but also regarding them as friends, helping traditional newscasts to continue to succeed.⁴⁵ But, the success of television journalism across the country will continue to depend on adaptations to new technology.⁴⁶

The mainstream news outlets must continue to provide more avenues for audience members to



⁴⁰Slater, email to the author.

⁴¹Samuels, email to the author.

⁴²Lewis, email to the author.

⁴³Smith, Facebook message to the author.

⁴⁴Yantosh, Facebook message to the author.

⁴⁵Boyd, Facebook message to the author.

⁴⁶Howerton, Facebook message to the author.

access content. “There is still a large market for old media, not just older people,” Lewis of *Sunday Morning* said. “While young people do tend to get the majority of their news and information online, many still watch the old fashioned way, as evidenced by *CBS Sunday Morning’s* steadily increasing ratings among adults age twenty-five to fifty-four, the demographic that matters most to advertisers.”⁴⁷

On the network level, producers are exploring ways to produce original content programming for video streaming services like Netflix and Amazon. Zirinsky of *48 Hours* predicts there will be an increase in competition for original digital programming in the future as more and more television production is published online. This competition, however, will create a new business model rather than a replacement of the traditional newscast.⁴⁸ Television stations and shows are made stronger by their online and mobile presence because it allows them to connect with the younger demographic.⁴⁹ Many people believed in the past that the introduction of radio would replace newspapers, that the introduction of television would replace radio, and that the Internet would replace all of them.⁵⁰ But the professionals interviewed believe television newscasts cannot be replaced by new technology, rather the new technology will add to their audience’s experience.^{51 52 53} The future of television journalism fluctuates and changes every day based on the introduction of and changes in technology. Successful adaptation to new forms, like applications and “mobile minutes,” and enhancing old ones, like creating the interactive newscast, can keep television news alive and successful in the future.

VI. Conclusion

The television news industry has been transformed to integrate online and mobile channels into the traditional on-air channel. New job descriptions provide new opportunities for journalists, like one-man bands, with a variety of skills. To provide news, broadcast professionals search for content through the Internet on a daily basis. The Internet and mobile devices have already changed the newsroom by introducing new ways to connect with viewers and to communicate with other journalists within the work place. Being online has become a part of daily life for many people of the United States, and television news has taken a new position within a new digital landscape. As viewers continue to access content online and through mobile devices, television journalists must exploit a variety of technologies available to satisfy consumption patterns. If the definition of news is expanded by embracing everything from long form broadcast stories to one hundred and forty characters of text, it will create a new lucrative business model. Television news will continue to exist and thrive, but only if journalists continue to embrace changing technology as they have in the past century.

Some of the limitations of this study include concerns for external validity, or the generalizability of the study. Expanding the sample of this study to include more journalists across the United States would have given a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between technology and television journalism. However, due to the qualitative nature of the research and limited time for the study, only thirteen journalists could be interviewed. These research subjects were selected based on personal relationships with the author through internships at CBS News’s *60 Minutes*, *CBS Sunday Morning*, WFAA-TV, and experience at Elon University student media organizations, including Elon Local News and Phoenix14 News.

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⁴⁷Lewis, email to the author.

⁴⁸Zirinsky, telephone conversation with the author.

⁴⁹Miao, email to the author.

⁵⁰Zirinsky, telephone conversation with the author.

⁵¹Slater, email to the author.

⁵²Zirinsky, telephone conversation with the author.

⁵³Ochsner, Facebook message to the author.

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The Efficacy of Guerrilla Advertising Campaigns on Public Health Issues

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Abstract

While commercial businesses utilize guerrilla advertising regularly nowadays, the practice has crossed over into non-commercial territory: the public health industry. The purpose of this study is to assess the perceived efficacy of guerrilla advertising tactics, specifically as applied to public health issues. Based on fear appeal, sensory involvement, and environmental circumstances, three important components for measuring the efficacy of advertisements, the author created a measurement instrument called the Resonance and Impact Analysis (RIA) Scale that was used to measure three guerrilla-style public health advertisements. The study found that advertisements that incorporated a clear fear appeal and an enclosed environment garnered higher scores on the RIA Scale than those in a more traditional presentation, resulting in a presumed higher impact, resonance, and efficacy with the public.

I. Introduction

In 2007, the advertising agency Taxi Canada came up with an outdoor media strategy to advertise *McCain Smooth-eez*, a pre-made, frozen fruit drink. Taxi Canada created a life-size blender inside revolving glass doors and allowed customers to see all of the ingredients that make up McCain Smooth-eez as they walked through it. This is a perfect example of guerrilla advertising. By placing this unconventional and creative advertisement in an unexpected location and allowing the public to interact with it, McCain Smooth-eez made good use of guerrilla advertising to increase public awareness, stimulate positive brand image, and drive product purchase. These are advertising techniques that were examined in this article.

II. Background

Guerrilla Advertising Background

As a non-traditional form of advertising, guerrilla advertising is a creative, low-cost technique with the possibility of maximum impact on the public. Finding its roots in “guerrilla warfare” tactics that rely on raids and ambush attacks, guerrilla advertising gained momentum after Levinson (1984) outlined a list of tactics on innovative advertising that involves a “small budget, big results” strategy (Hutter and Hoffmann 2). Whereas

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traditional advertising comprises above-the-line media channels such as television, newspapers, radio, and outdoor posters, guerrilla advertising exists in less traditional channels such as elevators, taxis, the human body, bathroom stalls, etc. (Jurca 4). Taking advantage of public locations, community interactions, and collaborative involvement, guerrilla advertising incorporates unique methods and deliverables to create a truly intriguing advertising experience. These techniques find success with consumers because the consumers are surprised by the unconventional guerrilla action (surprise effect), which leads them to voluntarily diffuse the message because of their unique experience (diffusion effect). Companies and organizations benefit because of these reactions and the flexibility of the unconventional advertising (low-cost effect) (Hutter and Hoffmann 5).

Hutter and Hoffmann explain that guerrilla advertising is an umbrella phrase that includes multiple techniques such as ambush, ambient, sensation, buzz and viral advertising (3). For the purpose of this paper, the author used the phrase “guerrilla advertising” exclusively to include all of these techniques.

Public Health and Social Marketing Background

Public health, as defined by the Association of Schools of Public Health, is “the science and art of protecting and improving the health of communities through education, promotion of healthy lifestyles, and research for disease and injury prevention” (What is Public Health?). Public health interventions have many purposes, ranging from preventing sexually transmitted diseases, to promoting seat belt use, to providing information and access to birth control (What is Public Health?). Because public health is an industry that is not profit, but rather behavior based, it relies heavily on “social marketing” for message diffusion. The Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (US-DHHS), other governmental agencies, and non-profit organizations have all taken part in social marketing to “design and implement programs to promote socially beneficial behavior change” (Grier and Bryant 319).

While there is some debate on the “direct translation of mainstream marketing principles into a social context,” there exists an opportunity for less traditional forms of promotion, such as guerrilla advertising, within the social marketing mix. While the aim of guerrilla advertising is typically high returns and profitability for a product, service or brand, its principles and techniques have begun to be used to fulfill the need for stimulating and reactionary public health advertising that truly resonates with the public. The specific public health concepts and their guerrilla advertising techniques examined by this research, include the prevention of drunk driving, the encouragement of sunscreen use to prevent skin cancer, and the discouragement of smoking.

III. Literature Review

A significant amount of research has been done on guerrilla advertising for consumer marketing. So far, the literature has focused on why guerrilla advertising has been adopted, what kind of emotional appeals were aroused by different ads, and ethical and legal issues this type of advertising involves. Although the concept of guerrilla advertising can be applied to other fields, very little literature exists on the application and effectiveness of guerrilla advertising in non-commercial venues, more specifically, public health matters and initiatives. This research tried to fill this gap by establishing a scale of measurement. This scale, which consists of three subscales on emotional appeals, sensory involvement and environmental circumstances, was created to assess the effectiveness and impact of guerrilla advertising of public health issues.

Globalization

The conception of guerrilla advertising can be described as an environmental necessity. With a rising uncertainty brought about by globalization in the marketplace and transformations in the media, companies and businesses have found it more and more expedient to stay ahead of the evolving climate and advertise in more unique and unexpected ways. Ay, Aytakin and Nardali (2010) assert that because of economic insecurity, companies have been forced to reconsider their promotional and advertising budgets while trying to maintain and exceed their brand reach, impact, and profitability, resulting in a surge in guerrilla advertising. Bigat (2012) explains that guerrilla advertising offers companies the opportunity to deliver low-cost and innovative advertising strategies in order to gain a powerful competitive edge and react to the changing environ-

ment. It is easy to argue that the use of more unique, interactive, and unexpected advertising techniques in an environment of static traditional marketing allows consumers to cut through the clutter, process the message more deeply, and raise the level of interest in a product or brand, as suggested by Razzaq, Ozanne and Fortin (2009). Guerrilla advertising—originally a technique employed by smaller businesses due to the low-costs and the possibility of high returns—has readily been adopted by large corporations as well, creating an even more competitive environment to capture the audience’s attention and influence behavior. While traditional advertising has only a handful of methods from which to choose, guerrilla advertising has a full arsenal of tactics that can reach very specifically targeted audiences, making it a powerful marketing tool, according to Bigat (2012).

Emotional Appeals

Relying heavily on consumer research and insights, guerrilla advertising typically utilizes emotional appeals to reach its audience as intentionally and appropriately as possible. According to Brown (2009), feelings and emotions always dominate cognition, and this approach has been readily adopted by the advertising industry, resulting in much more emotionally appealing and stimulating advertisements. Lukic (2009) asserts that the three main emotional appeals used within advertising and marketing are fear, guilt, and positive appeals, each of which can be utilized in different circumstances for different purposes. Fear and guilt, for example, might be used to promote either abiding by safety regulations or participating in charity work, according to Lukic (2009). Brown (2009), on the other hand, shows the success that positive appeals had in Dove’s Campaign for True Beauty because it evoked a sense of confidence and optimism from the women it was targeting, and in turn generated more positive feelings toward the brand and its products. The literature has shown some discrepancies about which type of emotional appeal is the strongest because it is highly dependent on the nature of the intended response. Increased product purchasing and positive brand image call for a more positive appeal strategy, whereas a negative-active behavioral change (such as quitting smoking) usually utilizes the fear or guilt appeal according to Brown (2009). While each appeal can find success in different circumstances, Belic and Jönsson (2012) conclude that it is vital to match the particular appeal with the product type or intended response.

Implications

The literature addresses the ethical, societal and legal implications as well. When using fear appeal, it is possible that the experience may be so disturbing that the viewer is left feeling somewhat upset, stressed or anxious (Ay, Aytteki and Nardali 283). It is especially crucial to note that some fear appeal advertisements that target an adult audience may be unintentionally seen by children, resulting in a traumatic experience for the child. Thus, ethical considerations should be taken into account when the fear appeal is employed in advertising. The guilt appeal requires ethical considerations as well, when the guilt or shame ostracizes an individual from the community. For instance, if an advertisement uses a guilt appeal to promote charity work by insinuating the lack of social acceptance and respect for people from their peers if they do not participate, one may consider this an unethical practice because it damages their self confidence and sense of belonging in their community (Lukic 2009). Many legal implications arise from guerrilla marketing due to its non-traditional nature. Guerrilla advertising typically appears in unique locations such as bus stops, sidewalks, near billboards, etc. These tactics are not always done with explicit permission and can lead to fines for illegally defacing the location or property. Bigat (2012) contends that the fines incurred are typically less than what a company might have spent on any other form of traditional advertising such as a billboard, and is therefore a risk the advertiser is willing to take.

Social Marketing

While little research explicitly explores tactical guerrilla advertising for public health and social causes, some scholars have studied general social marketing for various social causes, such as in relation to government agencies, non-profit organizations, and public health initiatives. Social marketing, according to Andreasen, is “the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part” (p. 110). Grier and Bryant (2005) explain how public health officials can incorporate social marketing to “facilitate acceptance, rejection, modification, abandonment or maintenance of particular behaviors by target audiences.” This can be applied to various health-centric initiatives that discourage smoking or drunk-driving and encourage suicide prevention or flu shots. Grier and Bryant (2005) go on to discuss that in order to be successful, social marketers consider the

psychographics and behaviors of the audience to provide a benefit through the advertisement that they truly value.

Further Research Opportunities

Much literature discusses guerrilla advertising in commercial and profit-based terms, but there is room to explore how it is being used in conjunction with the intrinsic values of social marketing. Competition in the public health arena is not with another company or business vying for a share of the marketplace, but rather with bad behavioral options to dissuade: driving drunk instead of taking a cab home, not exercising instead of exercising for better health, or not putting on sun screen instead of putting it on to avoid skin cancer. It is here that guerrilla advertising is being employed as a part of a social marketing scheme to influence behaviors and offer the true value of maintaining a healthy lifestyle.

Research Question and Hypothesis

The research question for this study was how much emotional appeals, sensory involvement and environmental circumstances contribute to the resonance and effectiveness of guerrilla-style advertisements for public health issues and initiatives.

It has one hypothesis: Higher levels of fear appeals, sensory involvement, and confining environmental circumstances would lead to the increased impact, resonance and efficacy of guerrilla advertisements for public health issues and initiatives.

IV. Methods

This study analyzed the content of three advertisements that belong to public health guerrilla advertising. The author created a scale called the Resonance and Impact Analysis Scale (RIA Scale), which has three subscales that measure the impact of sensory involvement, emotional appeals, and environmental circumstances each on advertisements.

Subscale of Fear Appeal

According to various research studies, emotions play a large part in the effectiveness of advertising. According to Brown, fear appeal can be particularly effective to change consumer behavior (5). While a fear appeal can face ethical implications for consumer products due to negative reactions and brand perception, its employment with public health initiatives is well founded.

Lukic describes fear appeal as “threatening the audience with harmful outcomes from initiating or continuing an unhealthy practice,” which is especially relevant in encouraging public health initiatives. (28). In the commercial arena, the fear of not having the coolest car is marginal. In the public health arena, on the other hand, the fear of developing lung cancer from smoking cigarettes is much more dire and life threatening. This rational and impending fear of lung cancer, for example, is the kind that can be capitalized on in advertising for the good of the society and individuals.

Ay, Aytteki, and Nardali (2010) assert that the emotional response following a fear appeal is anxiety or stress. By providing relief to this fear, whether through implying a solution or debriefing the audience after the experience, this stress or anxiety is relieved. It is when these emotions go unalleviated that an advertisement may be considered unethical or irresponsible, according to Ay, Aytteki, and Nardali (2010). Based on Rogers’ Protection Motivation Theory, Boer and Seydel describe a linear relationship between fear-appeal communications and behavioral responses in their study (96). The fear is aroused, the severity of its consequences is appraised, and then the efficacy of the proposed solution is considered to be either adopted or dismissed. Boer and Seydel go on to explain that the higher the fear level and perceived consequences are, the higher the likelihood that the audience would adopt the proposed solutions.

Based on the above model, the fear appeal scale was created with three questions: whether an ad arouses a fear appeal, whether the consequences of the fear or behavior are extreme after a fear is aroused; and whether the proposed solution can be easily and immediately adopted. The word “extreme” in the second question means that the consequences are life threatening, socially ostracizing, illegal, or highly unethical. A

positive response to each question garners one point, so the fear appeal score on this scale can range from 0 to 3.

Subscale of Sensory Involvement

In educational settings, teachers and professors often encourage learning through multiple senses. For example, during a lecture, students would be encouraged to listen to the teachings, view the board for visual examples, and take notes on a sheet of paper. In mainstream thinking, involving the haptic (feeling), auditory and visual senses to digest information better improves memory and learning. This idea is supported by Shams and Seitz' assertion that multisensory training protocols produce greater and more efficient learning (2008).

It is valid to assume, then, that this multisensory theory is applicable to disseminating information through advertising. In an international quantitative and qualitative study, Millward Brown and its associates explored the brand sensory experience and found that 99% of current brand communications focus only on auditory and visual stimuli, whereas, 75% of human emotions are noted to be generated through smell (Lindstrom 85). This shows that current traditional advertising does not resonate as fully with its audience as it could, and that guerrilla advertising fills a hole for that multi-sensory experience. Lindstrom states, "The general rule of thumb is that the more senses a brand appeals to, the stronger the message will be perceived" (86). Using the examples of the signature Rolls Royce smell and the distinct crunch sound of Kellogg's Rice Crispies, Lindstrom emphasizes the role that senses play in a consumer's increased perception and improved experience of a brand (85).

Based on the studies above, a sensory scale was created measuring whether an advertisement appeal to visual (sight), auditory (sound), haptic (feel), gustatory (taste), or olfactory (smell) senses. If each of these senses is vital to an advertisement's function and message, the advertisement scores one point each, except for the olfactory one. Given that 75% of emotions are generated through the olfactory sense, or smell, it is assigned two points instead. If any of these senses is used purely circumstantially or environmentally, not adding any function or message to the advertisement, the advertisement receives no point value for that sense.

Subscale of Environmental Circumstances

The last scale is created to analyze how much impact the environment has on an guerrilla advertisement. Razzaq, Ozanne and Fortin considered that since the purpose of guerrilla advertising is to attract attention and surprise the public, the environmental circumstances in which the advertisement is seen plays a large role in behavioral responses (2). More specifically, their study involves the different responses in a "captive" environment, such as a bathroom, public transit stations, etc., and an "open" environment, such as outdoors, shopping malls, etc. The results from their experiment on the campus of a large university in New Zealand supports the hypothesis that a captive environment is a more effective and behavior evoking method of promotional or advertisement material distribution (6).

On the environment scale, an advertisement garners one point if it is located and interacted with in a captive environment. If the advertisement exists in a captive environment and exists dependently and purposefully because of that environment, it receives one point. For example, an advertisement in a subway station will receive one point because the individual who sees it is captive in that environment until his or her purpose in that environment is fulfilled (ie: until the train arrives and then actually boarding it). If an advertisement exists in an open environment and holds no dependency on the existence of that environment, it will receive no point in this category. For example, a guerrilla advertisement on the side of a bus would receive no point because individuals who see it are not bound by that environment in any functional way, unlike those in the subway station

Advertisements analyzed

Due to their unique channels and creative tactics, the following three advertisements were selected as a sample of non-traditional and guerrilla advertising of health and safety concerns that the public is generally in agreement about.

"The Smoker's Lung": In a guerrilla advertisement for the AOK, Germany's largest health insurance company, a set of hollow glass lungs is placed in front of and inside public buildings such as the AOK

headquarters, hospitals, swimming pools and restaurants in Southern Germany. It is filled with cigarette stubs and has an ashtray on the top portion, along with a website where people can find out more information about quitting smoking. The website is called “I will become a non-smoker.” (Refer to Advertisement 1 in the Appendix.)

“**Cut Out**”: SunSmart Cancer Council of Western Australia employed a guerrilla advertisement in 2011 on the side of a bus stop. The ad depicts a person’s back with a large cut out in it that looks surgical and is actually a 30+ SPF sunscreen dispenser. The headline reads, “Cutting your sun exposure is easier than cutting out a skin cancer.” The body copy reads, “Free 30+ sunscreen. There is nothing healthy about a tan. Protect yourself 5 ways from skin cancer.” There are five small icons below the text that give examples of ways to cut sun exposure. (Refer to Advertisement 2 in the Appendix.)

“**Crash**”: In a guerrilla advertisement for Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), an elevator is used to discourage drunk driving. When looking into the open elevator from outside, one can see the letters “MADD” and a slashed circle symbol with a martini glass and a car key in it on the far wall of the elevator. Once inside the elevator, the viewer sees the fronts of two cars on opposing elevator doors that collide when the doors shut. The headline on the inside of the elevator doors when shut reads, “Don’t drink and drive.” (Refer to Advertisement 3 in the Appendix.)

Discouraging smoking, encouraging sunscreen use, and preventing drunk driving are all initiatives that find agreeable resonance with society and individuals. While public health concerns and advertisements about other matters such as flu shots, birth control, or breastfeeding exist as well, these matters are more subjective and are met with differing or dissenting opinions, making them less viable options to explore objectively with the RIA Scale. These three specific public health issues were also chosen because they fit into the fear appeal landscape, whereas flu shots or breastfeeding do not find strong resonance there.

V. Findings and Analysis

Using the nine items in the RIA Scale, the author tallied the points each of the three advertisements garnered, as shown in Table 1. The total score measures the advertisement’s perceived efficacy.

Table 1: RIA Scale advertisement analysis

Resonance and Impact Analysis (RIA) Scale			
Questions in three subscales	Advertisements		
	“The Smoker’s Lung”	“Cut Out”	“Crash”
Fear Appeal			
Fear is aroused	1	1	1
Consequence is “extreme”	1	1	1
Proposed solution is easily and immediately adoptable	1	1	0
Sensory Involvement			
Visual (sight)	1	1	1
Auditory (sound)	0	0	1
Haptic (feel)	1	1	1
Gustatory (taste)	1	0	0
*Olfactory (smell)	2	2	0
Environmental Circumstances			
“Captive” Environment	0	0	1
Total Number of Points Received	8	7	6

Note: Each question garners one point while the question on Olfactory does two points.

The maximum score for the RIA scale is 10 points.

Coding Analysis

“The Smoker’s Lung” garnered the highest score of eight points. This advertisement aroused fear because of the vivid imagery between smoking and the effects on the lungs. The consequences are assumed to be lung cancer and poor health if smoking continues, which can be life-threatening. Two proposed solutions are readily available: an individual can put out his or her cigarette in the ashtray and/or visit the website to learn more about stopping smoking. The advertisement is obviously visual but lacks an auditory component. This advertisement targets smokers, so their interactions with the advertisement most likely include physical smoking of a cigarette, which incorporates the haptic sense (physically having to feel the cigarette while stubbing it out), the gustatory sense (the taste of a cigarette) and especially the olfactory sense (the distinct smell of the cigarette). Lastly, it is not in a captive environment, but rather in an open one on the side of a building. These are all reasons that it garnered eight points on the RIA Scale.

“Cut Out” aroused fear with the headline that mentions skin cancer and the strong visual of a surgical incision on the body. If an individual does not cut sun exposure, the implied consequence is skin cancer, and the proposed solution is using sunscreen that is free and readily available. This advertising is visual, but also haptic (the feel of putting sunscreen on the skin) and olfactory (the distinct smell of sunscreen). Lastly, it is not in a captive environment, but rather in an open one on the side of a bus stop. This advertisement scored seven points on the RIA Scale.

“Crash” arouses fear because of the imagery of the car crash physically happening as the elevator doors shut. A head-on collision simulated by the elevator would lead to an arrest for a DUI, personal injuries, or even death. The advertisement is visual, auditory and haptic because an individual would see the advertisement while pushing the elevator button to close the doors and hear the closing sound as it happens. Lastly, the advertisement exists in an elevator an individual rides in, which is a captive environment. This advertisement scored six points on the RIA Scale.

Discussion

Departing from the exploration of brand image, favorable opinions, and likelihood to purchase that is common with commercial advertising, the RIA scale focuses on assessing the perceived impact and resonance of the public health advertisement based upon fear appeal, sensory involvement, and environmental circumstances.

The three selected public health guerrilla advertisements showed a difference in their RIA scores, which is explained here. “The Smoker’s Lung,” while seemingly ordinary at first glance, is extremely powerful. While unappealing or dull to non-smokers, it specifically targets smokers in a multi-sensory way that involves four out of the five senses, making it the most stimulating of the three ads chosen. On the other hand, “Cut Out” incorporates three senses (olfactory included) in its use of the sunscreen dispenser. It is important to recognize that this advertisement that could have been just a normal print advertisement on the side of the bus stop instead effectively used the sensory involvement to create an interactive and more memorable experience. While “Crash” incorporates three senses into the advertisement, its lack of the olfactory sense (smell) leads to fewer points on the RIA scale. The more senses involved in the advertising experience, the more interactive it is presumed to be, which in turn leads to a more memorable and resonating experience. This assertion can be tested with advertisements in other areas than public health.

The fear appeal aspect of the RIA scale is specific to the public health industry because it incorporates very real, impending, and extreme fears and consequences. “The Smoker’s Lung” has a clear fear appeal because the advertisement vividly shows what smoking will bring to the smoker: carcinogens that fill a glass lung and accompanying health problems. It proposes an easy and immediate solution of stubbing out the cigarette in the provided ashtray and/or visiting the website. This advertisement is a great example of a comprehensive fear appeal. Similarly, “Cut Out” uses stark language and imagery about the possibility of skin cancer to arouse fear and provides an immediate solution of using the sunscreen offered. “Crash” utilizes fear appeal, but less comprehensively because while the fear is aroused and its level is extreme, the solution requires a delayed reaction that is needed later when the viewer is faced with the decision of whether or not to drink and drive. Fear appeals can be polarizing, alarming or even ostracizing, so they must be used appropriately and responsibly. In the public health area, the fear appeal is most successful when the advertisement is comprehensive, arouses an extreme fear, and seeks to alleviate fear immediately, which in turn can influence the viewer’s mindset and future behavior. This is why “The Smoker’s Lung” and “Cut Out” are considered

more impactful and resonating than “Crash.”

Both “The Smoker’s Lung” and “Cut Out” exist in an open environment, which weakens their environmental circumstances. “Crash,” on the other hand, makes good use of a captive environment in the execution of the advertisement as well as its location. People riding in the elevator is vital to the existence and presentation of the advertisement. For a bigger impact of “The Smoker’s Lung,” for example, it could be placed in a captive environment, such as a smoker’s room at the airport. The environmental circumstances in which the public interacts with advertisements are extremely important in determining their resonance with viewers.

“The Smoker’s Lung” has the highest score, 8 out of a possible 10 points, on the RIA Scale, which implies that it is the most interactive and resonating advertisement studied. “Cut Out” received the median score of 7 points, while “Crash” received the lowest score of six points. It is assumed that a higher number of points received correlates positively to implied efficacy, resonance, and impact.

VI. Conclusions

Driven solely to encourage the well-being of a society or individual, the public health industry is beginning to use guerrilla advertising, which can be extremely effective and without the same monetary risks that other profit-driven industries face. Public health initiatives do not rely as heavily on profits or sales or even brand perception as commercial counterparts, but rather they rely on the resonance of messages, which are vital in disseminating public health information, encouraging participation in initiatives, and discouraging dangerous behavior, whether positive, negative, or neutral.

For this study, the RIA scale was developed to provide a starting point for assessing the efficacy of guerrilla advertising in public health. Based on other important research on the resonance of a message, the author developed three subscales (fear appeal, sensory involvement, and environmental circumstances) in the RIA scale. Since this RIA scale fills the void that exists in evaluating the application of a non-traditional advertising strategy in non-commercial industries, it is the author’s hope that this scale could be tested, evaluated, criticized and improved upon to further this field of study.

Limitations and implications for future research

This study has a few limitations. The selected advertisements were analyzed as static images out of context. Advertisements in the real environments might have brought different emotional experience to their viewers. The RIA Scale is still a crude measurement in assessing the efficacy of guerrilla advertising for public health issues, so it could have been more meaningful if the scale’s validity and reliability had been tested.

Further studies can be done with different kinds of guerrilla advertisements. The chosen advertisements involve clear public health issues that have distinct values and consequences. For example, smoking can cause lung cancer, sun exposure can cause skin cancer, and drunk driving can cause collisions. Advertisements on issues that are not as clear and are more divisive in their benefits and consequences, like breast-feeding, vaccinations or nutrition, could lead to different kinds of results. These issues may not trigger the same behavioral change through fear appeal that an anti drunk-driving initiative would arouse. Another study can be done to compare people’s intended behavior or their opinions before and after being exposed to the advertisement. Additionally, an advertisement like “The Smoker’s Lung ” can recommend that viewers visit a website and sign a pledge to stop smoking, which can generate a quantifiable measurement of the advertisement’s resonance and impact and the future behaviors of its audience.

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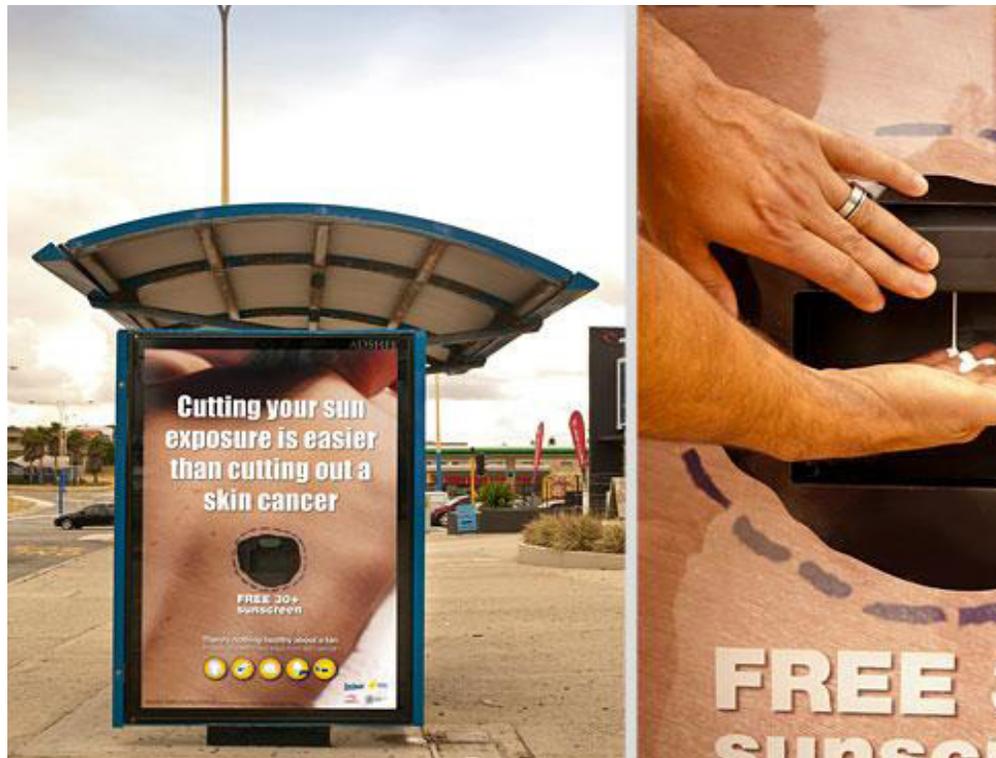
Appendix

Advertisement 1: “The Smoker’s Lung”



Body Copy above glass lung: Website URL for The AOK
(Germany’s largest health insurance company)

Advertisement 2: “Cut Out”



Headline: “Cutting your sun exposure is easier than cutting out a skin cancer”

Body Copy: “Free 30+ sunscreen. There is nothing healthy about a tan. Protect yourself 5 ways from skin cancer.”

Advertisement 3: “Crash”



MADD: Mothers Against Drunk Driving
Headline: Don't Drink and Drive

Conveyance of Brand Identities and Portrayal of Minority Groups in 2013 Superbowl Automobile Advertisements

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Abstract

The fact that brands have unique identities and personalities is well known and researched. However, the extent to which a brand's personality or identity manifest itself in advertising is less known. This study examined how brand identities were conveyed in 10 automobile advertisements from the 2013 Superbowl. It also analyzed portrayal of the women, gender roles and sexual orientation in the advertisements. A qualitative content analysis revealed that the advertisements communicated clear brand identities through storytelling, and contained stereotypical gender roles and sexualized or marginalized portrayals of women.

I. Introduction

This study tried to gain insight into how a brand's personality or identity are conveyed through advertisements, and how these identities may differ among brands. This study also examined the portrayal of women, gender roles and sexual orientation in advertisements. This research tried to find plausible explanations for only differences found among brands in portrayals of these groups,

II. Literature Review

Brand Culture/Identity and Branding

Before addressing how a brand's culture or identity might manifest itself in automobile advertisements, or analyzing how women, gender roles and homosexuals are portrayed in these advertisements, it's necessary to establish what exactly the terms brand culture and brand identity mean. In their seminal text, *Brand Culture*, Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling define brand culture as the cultural influences and implications of a brand. Brands can also influence society with their communicated cultural meaning. How a company brands or portrays itself helps consumers to better understand the company as a whole.

Over time, the process of branding has changed from being merely a means of differentiating one product from its competition, to a tool for managing a brand's personality through numerous brand identity systems (Schroeder, Salzer-Mörling 2006). Brand personality has been defined as a set of human characteristics associated with a brand (Aaker 1997). Consumers often associate brands with human personality

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traits, which are communicated to publics through advertisements aimed at establishing or reinforcing these traits through the process of branding (Aaker 1997). Increasingly, the way in which competing products are distinguished from their competitors is through non-tangible factors. These factors can combine to create an overarching brand personality, which may involve assembling and maintaining a mix of brand values in the minds of consumers (Murphy 2007).

While extensive research exists on how brand culture is developed through branding, further research is needed about how brand personality is processed once it is put into an advertisement. Through a qualitative deconstruction of the advertisements, this research tried to address how this information may be processed based on implicit and explicit cues in automobile advertisements. Further, this research sought to analyze how the human characteristics and traits of a company might affect how minority groups are portrayed in their advertising.

Minority Group Portrayals in Advertising

In order to analyze the significance behind the portrayals of women, gender roles and homosexuals in modern automobile advertisements, it's necessary to explore how these groups have been portrayed in advertising in the past, as well as review the findings from previous research. Historically, women featured in advertisements have been portrayed stereotypically as belonging mostly in the home, being incapable of making important decisions, dependent on men, and regarded or displayed as sex objects (Lundstrom Sciglimpaglia, 1977). Despite women's movements later that saw more women entering the workforce and gaining increased political and economical power and independence, recent studies found only a slight decrease in the stereotypical portrayals of women in advertising, in comparison with earlier studies (Lindner, 2004).

Although cultural advances have occurred in the area of women's rights and equality, advertisements are slow to change their stereotypical portrayals of women over time. Researchers have posited that advertisements are conservative and tied to the prevailing, traditional ideologies of a culture. While some advertisements have changed their portrayal of women, these changes mostly appear to be only superficial, rather than reflective of an actual ideological thought shift in the advertising industry (Kang, 1997).

With specific regard to women and gender role portrayals in car advertisements, the following have been noted. Car advertisements may appear gendered in their portrayals, based on their intended target audiences. Advertisements for larger cars tended to have more masculine visual cues or story-telling techniques, such as portraying driving as a powerful, physical experience, in comparison to small-car advertisements that often compare the car to a woman's body (Thornborrow, 1998). Research has found that when car advertisements appear to be explicitly gendered, the car is female or has feminine traits. When the advertisement has no explicit gender, it can be considered appropriate for female or male audiences. However, it was also noted that apparently non-gendered car advertisements appealed to a more male-associated perspective and experience of driving, and that women's bodies in advertisements were more explicitly visual in advertisements, while male bodies were more textually linked to the driving experience (Thornborrow, 1998).

In contrast to the portrayals of women and gender-roles in advertising, analysis of same-sex oriented individuals or relationships featured in advertisements is still an emerging area of research. It wasn't until the late 1970s that positive images of homosexuals in advertisements first became visible when advertised by progressive brands such as Absolut Vodka. However, the 1990s saw a boom in advertising that targeted the same-sex market, and thus depictions of homosexuals in advertisements have also increased (Sunny Tsai, 2004). Recent research shows that while depictions of homosexuals in advertising may result in disapproval among consumers who are against homosexuality, an increase in brand approval and improved attitude towards a brand may also accompany positive depictions of homosexuals in advertisements targeting consumers who are supportive of homosexuality (Hester, Gibson, 2007).

Advertising can also be seen as a form of negotiated social discourse due to its balance between profit demands and targeted emerging markets—such as the homosexual market—despite being potentially divisive to existing market groups. As more advertisers depict same-sex individuals and relationships, the opportunity for minority groups, such as homosexuals, to gain and exercise economic power in the mass media and marketplace increases through increased advertising presence and the resulting desensitization of being in the media (Sunny Tsai, 2004).

Automobile Advertising Background

Historically, automobile advertising has largely focused on the following themes: vehicle performance, sales incentives, and to a lesser extent, safety (Ferguson, Hardy, Williams, 2003). However, research also shows that automobile advertisements strike a balance between differentiation appeals, such as how a particular model is better than its competition, and emotional appeals to desires and abstract qualities. These advertisements also make emotional appeals to audiences through a balance between ideas such as freedom-constraint, excitement-luxury, and masculinity-femininity (Conley, Tigar McLaren, 2009). Research shows that when differentiating factors among cars are equal, consumers attach a greater importance to apparent emotional and relationship benefits mentioned in car advertisements (Chatterjee, Jauchius, Kaas, Satpathy, 2002).

Despite the importance of emotional appeals and portrayals in these advertisements, and the fact that U.S. car companies spend more money on marketing and advertising than any other domestic industry (Chatterjee, Jauchius, Kaas, Satpathy, 2002), the literature lacks in analysis of the emotional aspect of advertisements, specifically how they reflect their target audiences or brand identities. This study sought to fill this gap by performing a reverse content analysis to deconstruct automobile advertisements and gain insights into the conveyance of brand identities, as well as the portrayals of women, gender-roles and homosexuals in these advertisements.

How Advertisements Reflect Brand Culture

According to previous research, consumers' relationships with brands are often related to prevailing cultural codes and ideologies; and how a brand advertises itself may also reinforce or influence these cultural codes and ideas (Schroeder, 2008). Marketing images are some of the most persuasive tools advertisers use to tell a compelling story or idea to consumers. These images are often reflective of an overall brand culture and usually related to or reflective of the prevailing cultural codes of target audiences, and can influence overall brand meaning in a marketplace (Schroeder, 2008). Critical visual analysis of brand images can reveal insights into the brand dimensions of identity, image, and culture.

Recent research stresses the importance of acknowledging and considering the importance of advertising images' representational and rhetorical power as an indication of cultural codes and consumer preferences (Schroeder, 2008). This research used this knowledge to dissect automobile advertisements and gain greater insight into the advertising target market's social codes, as well as possible differences among automobile manufacturers in how they portray women, gender-roles and sexual-orientation, and what the reasoning behind that may be.

This study has two thesis statements:

1. Different automobile manufacturers have unique brand personalities that are reflected in their advertisements.
2. Portrayals of these distinct brand personalities will be accompanied by differing portrayals of women, gender roles, and sexual orientation in these advertisements across brands – if these groups are included at all.

It also has two research Questions:

- RQ1. How, if it all, do the advertisements of different automobile manufacturers portray brand personalities or identities?
- RQ2. How are women, gender roles, and sexual orientation portrayed in these advertisements by different brands?

III. Method

Sampling

This research sought to analyze advertisements from a specific point in time intended for a wide broadcast audience. It also aimed to be reflective of the differences among brands' own portrayals of their

unique personalities, rather than appealing to niche markets in smaller media outlets. Selected to these ends were advertisements that were aired during the 2013 Superbowl. Only major, mainstream manufacturers were targeted for the study, so ultra-high end luxury brands, such as Rolls-Royce or Ferrari, were excluded. Only 10 automobile advertisements from 7 different manufacturers met these conditions among the 2013 Superbowl advertisements.

Analysis method

This study used qualitative content analysis, deconstructing the advertisements based upon visual and contextual cues and making observations on common themes and differences through the constant comparative method.

When the author deconstructed the advertisements, he worked backwards using visual and contextual cues to determine the characteristics of a brand's portrayed identity and target audience. Using the constant comparative technique of content analysis, the author noted the characteristics of each advertisement and common themes and stark differences among all the advertisements and brands analyzed. Verbal, non-verbal and contextual portrayals of women, gender-roles, and sexual orientation in these advertisements, if they were included at all, were analyzed to determine if different brands portrayed these groups differently.

IV. Findings

The findings were summarized below by research question.

Portrayal of brand personalities or identities

A qualitative analysis of the advertisements revealed general themes. First, brand personalities and identities are conveyed through stories. No matter the car brand, all 10 advertisements told a story involving the car, rather than talking about specific features of the car. In fact, none of the advertisements mentioned a specification or feature of the car being sold by identifying it explicitly.

Second, when brands told their stories, the car was often a backdrop, or perhaps portrayed as a tool to be used to achieve an emotional benefit. The theme of portraying an emotional connection or association with the advertised car came up frequently. For example, in both of Volkswagen's advertisements, the car or brand itself was tied to the positive emotion of their campaign tagline "Get happy." In one of Volkswagen's commercials, a car isn't even mentioned. Instead, it features viral videos of angry people, then goes to a field shot of the formerly angry Internet stars joining hands and being happy. The fact that it's a Volkswagen advertisement doesn't even come up until the ending shot of the advertisement. The inclusion of viral videos,



Figure 1. One of Volkswagen's Superbowl advertisements includes viral video characters, along with hip, positive, folk sounding music, and the millennial-aged characters, reflects VW's target audience.

along with hip, positive and folk sounding music in both Volkswagen advertisements, and the millennial aged characters, reflects VW's target audience (see *Figure 1*).

These factors also reflect VW's apparent intended portrayal of being a hip, modern brand that is aligned with the identity and values of a younger target audience.

While Volkswagen's advertising uses visual cues and storylines to align its brand with a younger, perhaps more progressive crowd, other brands' advertisements are reflective of a far different audience. Specifically, the intended audience for the RAM truck advertisement, based on its portrayal, is very masculine, conservative, and work-driven. The RAM advertisement features a spoken ode to farmers given in the 1970s by Paul Harvey, a conservative radio host, over visuals of apparently hardworking farmers. The commercial has a biblical undertone, with many references to God and Christian values. The nature and topic of this commercial is also reflective of the RAM brand's identity. RAM is a conservative truck brand, intended for a largely rural-use, and thus largely conservative, customer basis.

Although some brands conveyed brand identities through visual cues, others used audio voiceovers to cement their brand personalities. For example, in the Lincoln advertisement the audio voiceover mentions "marching to the beat of a different drum," in addition to the opening line of "It's not what you think. It's a phoenix with four wheels." Both of these voiceovers support Lincoln's identity as a challenger brand, striving to gain market share in an increasingly competitive luxury market that has low interest in Lincoln's current lineup. Through this advertisement's copy that is suggestive of an exciting new product that takes a different approach from their previous offerings, and a rebranding attempt at the ending with the tagline, "Introducing, the Lincoln Motor Company," Lincoln is seeking to establish itself in the minds of consumers as a fresh, new, younger and more innovative brand.

Although most brands analyzed had a clear brand voice or sense of identity, the voices of some brands, especially Kia, weren't clearly translated. Kia appeared to have little common thread in its advertisements, other than appealing to families in one advertisement, and being a bit whimsical in the other. Its advertisements lacked any distinct visual or context cues that would be reflective of a unique brand identity.

Portrayal of women, gender roles, and sexual orientation

Following an examination of recurring themes and key differences, the research moved on to analyze how women, gender, and sexual orientation were portrayed in these advertisements. Although every advertisement analyzed featured at least one shot of a woman, the portrayals of women were most often stereotypical or image-based. Traditional gender roles were commonly reinforced by the portrayal of women in some advertisements, and only heterosexual relationships were depicted.

For example, the RAV4 advertisement by Toyota is set in a traditional, suburban street and features a typical nuclear family with one daughter, one son, and a mother and father. They are greeted by a very feminine "genie" that will grant them wishes. The wife has few speaking lines, and appears to be simpleminded as her wish is for unlimited chocolate. However, this same advertisement also features the daughter asking to be a princess, but then shows a visual of her on horseback in a battlefield, asking for soldiers to avenge her father. This brief and seemingly of non-stereotypical portrayals was not seen often in the other advertisements analyzed, however.

For instance, the VW Beetle advertisement focused the storyline on male workers; while a male is seen driving the car, females only play a minor part. In fact, a male is seen driving the car when a driver is shown in all the advertisements analyzed. On the other hand, when females appeared on screen, they were treated as something to be looked at. For example the Mercedes CLA advertisement portrays a model, Kate Upton, as simply washing the car in slow motion. That's the whole premise of the commercial. A group of young males also gawk at her in this scene. The female's portrayal is highly sexualized, and she appears nonthreatened and rather inviting with ample hair tossing and smiling (see *Figure 2*).

This study found the Lincoln advertisement as evidence that females are in these advertisements mostly for visual purposes. Although viewers never see the driver of the Lincoln, they do see a shot of a girl riding in the passenger seat, arms up and smiling invitingly through the sunroof. Once again, the female isn't driving the car, nor portrayed as someone who would enjoy driving it, but rather as a visual in supporting the narrative being told of how desirable this car is, and how desirable it could make you.

The Audi advertisement analyzed shows a similar portrayal of women. A mother is present in the advertisement in a family setting, but she is not included in the storyline of the car and has a minor role. The



Figure 2. Mercedes' sexualized portrayal of Kate Upton in their CLA advertisement.

advertisement tells a story of a high school boy going to his prom after receiving the keys from his father to the Audi and being told to “have fun tonight.” The car is presented as a sort of boy’s toy, as only males are seen getting enjoyment from it or having interest in it. When the boy arrives at prom, he goes straight over to a girl he likes, who is lighted and presented like an object of desire, and kisses her without any warning or consent. He is punched in the face by her boyfriend after that, but the advertisement glorifies the unsolicited kiss by showing him smiling as he drives away, and flashing the tagline “Bravery. It’s what defines us.”

Most of the advertisements analyzed, when not appealing to family buyers by showing families, appeared to have masculine undertones. For example, in the RAM advertisement the lighting is dark, the farmers shown on screen are all presented as stoic, male, and hard-working laborers (see *Figure 3*). Further, the voiceover being read in the background talks about the time in a farmer’s life when his son takes over the farm, and doesn’t mention the possibility that a daughter could do this as well.



Figure 3. Ram Truck’s highly masculine advertisement.

V. Conclusions

This analysis supported the research's first thesis statement that different brands have unique personalities, which are also reflected in their advertisements. For example, a brand like Volkswagen had a clear brand personality of being fun-loving, easy-going, and targeting a younger audience. All these were evidenced in the advertisements by contextual cues, such as the light-hearted and humorous tone of their advertisements, young main characters, and even the folk-like background music that may appeal to their target demographic. Other brands, such as RAM trucks, also had their brand identities reflected in their advertisements. RAM's advertisement had highly masculine visuals throughout, and a conservative, hardworking, even religious undertone. All of these characteristics are intentionally in the advertisement because they would appeal to RAM's target audience and potential buyers. Although most advertisements analyzed had clear brand voices and identity portrayals in their advertisements, some brands' voices were not clear, especially in Kia's advertisements. They never seemed to use any distinctive visual or textual cues that would be reflective of a clear, larger brand identity, unlike Volkswagen's advertisements.

The second thesis statement that women, gender-roles and sexual orientation would be different along with the differing brand personalities in advertisements had limited support in the results. This study showed that all of these automobile advertisements even in 2013 still portrayed women in a largely stereotypical, traditional gender-role manner across the board, while they did not mention same-sex relationships at all. No clear differences emerged between brands in how these groups were portrayed, because all of them seemed to include women as more of a visual aid in the advertisement, with few speaking roles, and even obvious objectification of women's bodies in some advertisements. Perhaps these portrayals can be explained more by the automobile industry's history of being traditionally a heavily masculine and male-dominated sector, and thus advertisers are pandering to outdated perceptions of men, gender-roles, and the male psyche in these advertisements.

Key limitations of this study include only a small number of advertisements from one event, the 2013 Superbowl. Therefore, the conclusions of this study can't be generalized to a larger sample of advertisements over a different period of time. Future research on the representation of minority groups in the area of automobile advertising could focus on how audiences perceive the portrayals of minority groups. Or further research could examine whether the audience can notice a common theme or brand story portrayed in the advertisements after watching multiple ones from the same manufacturers.

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Palestinian-Arab Media Frames and Stereotypes of the “Other” Israeli-Jews

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Abstract

This study sought to take the pulse on the modern Israeli-Palestinian conflict by analyzing primary sources from online Palestinian news organizations. Thirty articles were selected including editorials, opinion and news analysis pieces. The author categorized them based on six prevalent topics and 18 subtopics, or frames. “Land Rights” emerged as the most prevalent topic, while “dominance,” “inhumane,” “military violence,” and “true victim,” as the top four frames. The study found that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is largely defined in terms of land and territory; violence attributed to the Israeli military generates a stereotype that many Palestinians apply to all Israeli-Jews; and stories attempted to appeal to emotion and evoke sympathy in order to legitimize the Palestinians’ claim of true victimization.

I. Introduction

Tension between Arabs and Jews spans centuries of historical dispute. Today, the tension continues manifested in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While territorial dispute is a main source of the tension, other factors should be taken into consideration, including ethnicity, religion, nationalism and psychological implications. Regardless, on both sides of the conflict, Arabs and Israelis are taught to hate each other. This message is engrained into both Israeli and Arab society through a myriad of messages communicated through pop culture, propaganda, education and news media. News outlets play a significant role in shaping public opinion by applying media frames, which use tools such as language, style, structure and images to influence public perception. The tension between Arabs and Jews, particularly the relationship between the State of Israel and the State of Palestine, is sustained and fueled by print media content that perpetuates stereotypes using media frames that demonize and dehumanize the “Other.”

Much research has been conducted in the field of communications studies in regards to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Much of this research, however, has either been focused on the use of media framing in mainstream American media, or on the Israeli-Jewish perspective of Arabs. This study hopes to fill a gap in existing literature by examining primary sources from Palestinian media to assess the Palestinian-Arab perspective of Israeli-Jews.

This study focuses on major stereotypes that shape the Palestinian view of Israeli-Jews. Media frames employed in online Palestinian news content, such as editorials, opinion pieces and news analysis articles, were examined to draw connections between Arab stereotypes of Israeli-Jews in the present literature and actual stereotypes in the present conflict. The author analyzed content from three significant Pales-

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tinian news sources. She assumed that views expressed in these sources indicate the broader Arab dialogue on the Palestinian issue, and that the content examined does in fact reinforce a stereotype and mentality that demonizes and dehumanizes the Israeli-Jew as “the Other,” ultimately fueling the conflict and straining peace-making efforts.

II. Literature Review

Massive amounts of literature on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict exist across a wide range of disciplines. As this study pertains to stereotypes in Israeli-Palestinian culture, the representation of the “Other,” and media framing, this review focused on these three areas that emerged repeatedly throughout the literature reviewed. An understanding of the existing stereotypes held by Palestinian-Arabs, how and why these stereotypes were formed, as well as how the media perpetuate these stereotypes, would provide background, depth and greater understanding of a deeply rooted conflict.

Stereotypes in Israeli-Palestinian culture

The stereotypes that emerge in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are a microcosm for similar stereotypes that are prevalent in the broader clash between Israeli-Jews and Arabs. While the stereotypes held by each side differ, Shipler shows how the stereotypes are ironically similar: Both sides demonize the other as grossly violent. Both Israeli-Jews and Arabs are fighting for the right to claim the role of true victim. And in order to be a victim, Shipler says, “You have to create a picture of the enemy as a huge monster.”¹ These stereotypes portraying Israeli-Jews and Arabs have four roots of origin, according to Shipler: (1) the relationship of power, in which Jews hold the upper hand over the minority Arabs in Jewish occupied territories; (2) prejudices visible in classic racism worldwide; (3) traditional anti-Semitism, stemming from Christian Europe; and lastly, (4) the legacy of war and terrorism that has engraved both sides with a sense of mutual fear and contempt.²

The remainder of this section of the literature review will discuss predominant stereotypes that influence Arabs’ perception of Israeli-Jews. An understanding of these stereotypes greatly aided this research by hinting what topics had the potential to emerge as media frames because of these stereotypes.

Stereotypes of Jews

In the Arab world, Shipler notes that stereotypes of Israeli-Jewish violence are often based on real events associated with the Israeli army; in turn, Arabs tend to use the Israeli army as a representation for all Jews. The government in East Jerusalem meticulously monitors Arabic-language newspapers and magazines for any hint of anti-Israeli rhetoric, but beyond the Israeli government’s reach, vehement rhetoric is prolific. It is strongest in areas outside of Israeli jurisdiction; it varies in the attitudes of Arabs living under Israeli occupation; and it is weakest among Israeli-Arabs who are citizens of the State of Israel and often work for Jewish employers.³

Loaded language in Arab media often demonizes Israeli-Jews, not just in news stories, but also in schoolbooks. Palestinian textbooks, which rarely refer to Israelis as “Israelis,” romanticize Palestine and cast the Jewish state as a land of “Zionists,” an ugly term that implies aggression and strips the Jewish people, rhetorically at least, of any legitimate claim to the land.⁴ The stereotypical view of the Zionist is one of exaggerated aggression, a classic example being the fear of Zionist expansion from “the Nile to the Euphrates,” made infamous in a declaration by Nasser in 1959. These stereotypes are often reinforced in Arab textbooks, which “glorify violence against the Zionist enemy.”⁵

One study concluded that the majority of news content in Palestine is related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It attributed the inclination to the conflict’s colossal impact on Palestinians’ everyday lives and to the constant stream of material the conflict offers to reporters. Palestinian media, Daraghmeh says, reflect an

¹ David Shipler, *Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land* (London: Times Books, 1986), 166.

² *Ibid.*, 165-166.

³ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

array of political opinions and interests, but they often border on extremism, giving exaggerated reports or repeating fundamentalist beliefs. He observes challenges facing Palestinian journalists: primarily, intense fear to report critically about Palestinian violence in a society that largely believes violence is a justified force. Lastly, he notes that media from each side focus largely on the number of dead the other side has caused them, leading the conflict to spiral downward from a political or territorial war into a war fueled by quasi-personal revenge.⁶

Seidel agrees that while conflict of religious interests may be a factor at play, he argues that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is much more a secular conflict over territory.⁷ Another prevailing stereotype is to view Israeli-Jews as alien immigrants, outsiders and trespassers.⁸ In addition, Jews are often regarded as cold and inhospitable in contrast to traditional Arabs, which adds to tensions that are heightened by language differences and cultural ignorance. Although the trespasser viewpoint disregards Jews' ancient ties to the Middle East, it draws on contempt for European Jews who are viewed as instruments of Westernization that contaminate Arab purity. Palestinian textbooks and newspapers became fond of the colonizer frame: "How could anyone regard them as rightful residents of the Middle East?" quipped Muham-mad Milhem, mayor of a West Bank village.⁹ Arab stereotypes of Israeli-Jews do draw on religious contention, which deplores contamination to the House of Islam: "Israel is the cancer, the malignant wound, in the body of Arabism, for which there is no cure but eradication," declared a 1963 Cairo Radio report.¹⁰

There continues to be significant doubt that the Arab world will ever be able to recognize and tolerate Israel as an independent state. In a discussion at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, several reasons were cited including religious obligation to uphold the House of Islam, opposition to democracy, enmity toward the West, Arabic honor culture, and a view of Israelis as invasive aliens, foreigners and colonizers. These viewpoints do not represent the entire Arab world, but may help shed light on how Arab media frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.¹¹

Lastly, it should be noted that Israeli-Jews have their own stereotypes of Arabs. The most pervasive stereotype is the Arab as a cruel, violent figure of immense strength and subhuman nature.¹² Researchers also conclude that the Israeli press is immensely biased. According to Ala Qeimari, the Israeli press is intent on promoting a higher national cause rather than assuming the principal functions of a free press. He found that stories from Jewish news often lacked adequate coverage of the occupied territories, emphasized acts of violence committed by Palestinians, and generated a public sentiment among Israeli citizens of paranoia, revenge and masochism.¹³ Of course, on both sides, it should be noted that these stereotypes are not universal, but they are present. Shipler elaborates that:

[T]hey are prevalent enough to infiltrate many levels of discourse, from the mundane conversation to the carefully constructed political analysis, from the graffiti on lavatory walls to the highest-ranking general's testimony before a Knesset committee. Phrases, epithets, images flicker through the daily lives of Israeli-Jews like stray bullets that whistle and whine and wound.¹⁴

Stereotypes and the Creation of "the Other"

Because personal contact between Israeli-Jews and Arabs virtually disappeared when Israel became a state in 1948, the importance of media images is heightened in discussions about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.¹⁵ One researcher argued "this kind of research is significant especially in Israel, since the Israeli

⁶ Mohammed Daraghme, "Effects of the Conflict on the Palestinian Media," *Palestine-Israel Journal Of Politics, Economics & Culture* 10.2 (June 2003).

⁷ Timothy Siedel, "Development, Religion, and Modernity in Palestine-Israel Development, Religion, and Modernity in Palestine-Israel," *Cross Currents* 62.4 (December 2012): 424-441.

⁸ Shipler, *Arab and Jew*, 232.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 233.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 231.

¹¹ "Can Muslims Accept Israel in Their Midst?" *American Foreign Policy Interests* 33.4 (July 2011): 178-184.

¹² Shipler, *Arab and Jew*, 165-231.

¹³ Ala Qeimari, "Israeli Media: Serving the 'Patriotic' Cause," *Palestine-Israel Journal Of Politics, Economics & Culture* 10.2 (June 2003): 23.

¹⁴ Shipler, *Arab and Jew*, 228.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 170.

media is almost the sole information source from which the Israeli population learns about ... Arab groups."¹⁶ Often times, media images generate massive stereotypes that are perpetuated by public discourse and groupthink, forming a conceptualization of the "Other" that is based on media images, and not necessarily on reality.

The concept of representation interests researchers, particularly those in the fields of culture and mass communication. Representation is a way that meaning and messages about the world are produced and exchanged to create an "imagined community,"¹⁷ which shapes the concept of class, ethnicity, race and nationality, often in an "us" and "them" context.¹⁸ Representation formulates not only identities of the self, but stereotypes of the "Other," which "reduce people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature."¹⁹ Often, stereotyping is intensified when there are glaring inequalities of power.²⁰ Intertwined in both the Israeli and the Palestinian narrative is the claim of being "the true victim." This position is considered so compelling because the true victim is believed to have the right to be "righteously vengeful."²¹ This makes it impossible to understand the Israeli-Palestinian conflict separated from the reality of the Holocaust.

In 1947, with sympathies fresh to the Jewish cause, the United Nations approved a partition of the Mandate of Palestine into two separate states: one Jewish and one Arab. The Israelis therefore coined 1948 as the War of Independence, while the Arabs called it al-Nakba, the disaster. Through the lens of Arabs' traditional honor-shame culture, Israel's gains are understood as a massive Arab loss—a loss conceded to a nation that Arabs had viewed as the weakest of all minorities for more than a century.²² Losing to an unworthy opponent causes great humiliation in an honor-shame culture and is the primary reason, Landes argues, that the Arab world refuses to acknowledge the existence of Israel. In short, "the war continues, the defeat goes unregistered, and the hope of restoring 'face' for the Arab world, continues to prevail."²³

Melanie Suchet addresses the role of the internal psyche on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She refers to the idea of "otherness" as anything that is not the same and is thus terrifying.²⁴ Suchet, a Jewish therapist, working with Arat, an Arab patient, uses the scenario as a microcosm for the macro conflict of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She analyzes the ways that history imparts itself on personal identity, carrying with it the effect from what psychoanalysts call "traumatic memory." This occurs when trauma experienced within a people group lingers in survivors and is unconsciously transmitted to following generations. She surmises that this impacts both Holocaust and al-Nakba survivors. In theory, a survival instinct and a fear of annihilation, stayed with the Jews after the Holocaust. The effect was so strong it is thought to have affected many of Israel's decisions in what Suchet calls a "transfer of the Holocaust situation on to the Middle East reality."²⁵ Thus, the Zionist movement carried with it a dream to reinvent Jewish identity, to be cast in the opposite role of victims: the role of the powerful.

Those claiming citizenship in Israel had particularly intimate scars from the Holocaust: about one-third of Israelis at the end of 1949 were Holocaust survivors. For Palestinians, the victimization began with the partition of the Palestinian Mandate, which forced 711,000 Palestinian Arabs to flee their homes.²⁶ Hence in the historical narrative of the Palestinians, Israelis were not victims to sympathize with, but the cause of great suffering. Lindholm-Schulz argues that the overarching trauma of the Palestinian "diasporisation" is the crucial commonality that links Palestinians together as they try to regain control over their own historical narrative.²⁷

¹⁶ Anat First, "Are They Still the Enemy? The Representation of Arabs in Israeli Television News," in *Jews, Muslims and Mass Media: Mediating the 'Other,'* ed. Tudor Parfitt with Yulia Egorova, (New York, 2004), 190..

¹⁷ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991).

¹⁸ First, *Are They Still the Enemy?*, 190.

¹⁹ Stuart Hall, "The Spectacle of the 'Other,'" in *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 267.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Melanie Suchet, "Face to Face," *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 20.2 (March 2010): 158-171.

²² Richard Landes, "Edward Said and the Culture of Honour and Shame: Orientalism and Our Misperceptions of the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Israel Affairs* 13.4 (October 2007): 844-858.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Suchet, "Face to Face," 164.

²⁵ Ibid., 165.

²⁶ Ibid., 164.

²⁷ H. Lindholm-Schulz, *The Palestinian diaspora: formation of identities and politics of homeland* (London:

Pre-1948 Palestine, in fact, has been effectually erased with remarks such as Golda Meir's infamous declaration in 1967 that "there is no such thing as a Palestinian."²⁸ Beverly Butler, quoting scholar Edward Said, asserts that it is precisely this urgent need to reclaim the past that drives the Palestinian cause.²⁹ While both survivors of the Holocaust and displaced Palestinians have claims to exile status, it is, Said noted, "the Zionist identification with the 'proverbial people of exile' that has dominated archival discourse."³⁰ In the Israeli historical narrative the Nakba is the Palestinians' problem: "part of 'their' story, a result of their own errors, missed opportunities and weakness."³¹ Discounting the historical narrative of the "Other" encourages a focus on self and exacerbates the separation between the two cultures.

Stereotypes & Media Framing

The role of news media in the Arab-Israeli conflict is a recurring topic of research in the field of communications studies.³² However, the prevailing focus has been the portrayal of Arabs in Israeli newspapers. Avraham's research on the coverage of Israeli-Arabs is perhaps the most noteworthy research done in this arena. He found that coverage of Arab-Israeli settlements is greatly influenced by a number of characteristics based on the settlement type, including size, and economic status, but most prominently, by socio-political proximity to centers of Jewish power.³³ Another study found Israeli papers tended to frame Palestinian militants as "terrorists," and Israeli occupation soldiers as "fighters." The same study found that Israeli media used passive voice to describe the killing of Palestinians who were often left nameless.

This type of analysis, studying how media present news stories, focuses on the theory of media framing and is another important approach to studying the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Entman defines framing as "the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation."³⁴ In other words, framing is a selective telling of partial truths, or evidences, to support a desired "reality" or cultural narrative.

Media frames rely on *priming*, which Entman defines as a process that influences a target audience to act, think and feel a particular way by raising the importance of certain ideas and lowering the importance of others, promoting conformity in public thought. Entman says that in noncoercive political systems, framing, or telling the public what to think about, is the most common way to push agenda. The Israeli government uses this tactic to push its agenda against Palestine: "The Israeli media did not function as a national, egalitarian voice of all the citizens of the country, but as a representational tool for the Jewish majority."³⁵

Some researchers argue that media framing is essential to help the audience contextualize and make sense of a substantial issue.³⁶ However, media frames can become dangerous when used to advance a cultural narrative or promote groupthink that marginalizes a minority. After examining the news Hebrew-speaking audiences received regarding the Arab Awakening, one study found that Israeli media used frames that perpetuated Israeli superiority. The media frames used cast Israel as an island of civilization surrounded by Arab barbarians.³⁷ Gordon found that in daily analyses of the uprisings the conflicts were not presented as

Routledge, 2003).

²⁸ Beverly Butler, "'Othering' the archive - from exile to inclusion and heritage dignity: the case of Palestinian archival memory," *Archival Science* 9.1 (2009), p. 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 61.

³¹ Ariella Azoulay, *Aliniut mekhonenet 1947-1950: Geneologiyah hazulit shelmishtar ve-kafikhat ha-ason le-ason mi-nekudat mabatam* (Tel Aviv, 2009).

³² Cohen, Adoni, Bantz, *Social Conflicts and Television News*; A.A. Cohen, G. Wolfsfeld, *Framing Intifada: People and Media*, Norwood, NJ, 1993; Liebes, *Reporting the Arab-Israeli Conflict*; Wolfsfeld, *Media and Political Conflict*.

³³ E. Avraham, *Media and Social Construction of Reality: The Coverage of Settlements in Marginal Areas in National Newspapers*, Thesis accepted for the Doctor of Philosophy degree (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1998).

³⁴ Robert M. Entman, "Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power." *Journal Of Communication* 57.1 (March 2007): 163-173.

³⁵ First, "Are They Still the Enemy?," 209.

³⁶ Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978), 193.

³⁷ Neve Gordon, "A Villa in the Jungle: The Arab Awakening through the Lens of the Israeli Media," *Middle East Law & Governance* (February 2011): 105-117.

popular pro-democracy struggles against authoritarian regimes, but as mere ethnic and religious disputes. Research by Herzog and Shamir analyzed how the Hebrew press presented Arab-Jewish relations between the years 1949 and 1986.³⁸ Other research sought to investigate specifically how Israeli media frame Arabs as either friends or foes.³⁹

Matt Evans analyzed the way that media framing influences the public's perception of a foreign conflict and the creation of public policy. Different media frames, for example, caused the conflict in the former Yugoslavia to be seen as a "genocidal war of imperialism ... and as a centuries old ethnic and religious dispute."⁴⁰ The former frame, "genocide," incites international intervention, while the latter, "a lingering dispute," condones inaction as it implies nothing can be done. Evans argues that the public often views news content as objective truth, which leads the public to understand events from a particular perspective, or frame, that the media chooses to advance.⁴¹

Another study dealt with the way that the one's ethnicity and identity influences perception of mass media.⁴² The research involved conducting interviews with Jewish and Arab American high school students to determine if their perception of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was viewed through the lens of their own ethnicities, with a tendency to hold negative stereotypes about the opposing ethnic group. The study confirmed its hypothesis that individuals interpret events differently based on their corresponding social identity.⁴³

The goal of this study is to assess the modern Palestinian perceptions of Israeli-Jews as they are portrayed through print newspaper editorials and analysis stories. The following research questions were asked:

RQ1: How do Palestinian-Arabs stereotype Israeli Jews?

RQ2: How do Palestinian media portray those stereotypes and use them to frame the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

III. Methods

Because the purpose of this study was to take the pulse on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the researcher chose to analyze editorials, opinion pieces and analysis articles from three online Palestinian newspapers. The selected thirty articles were all written in English, as is common in research on transcultural news coverage. While the viewpoints are still telling of an overarching Palestinian/Arab perspective, these sources may have been written primarily for a non-Arab, or more cosmopolitan Arab audience. The study sought to first identify how modern Palestinian media portray the conflict, and specifically, with Israeli-Jews. The study tried to find whether three modern Palestinian media stereotypes Israeli-Jews in the same way as existing literature on these stereotypes suggests.

Sample

A sample of thirty articles were selected from three Palestinian news website: *The Electronic Intifada*, *Ma'an News Agency*, and *The Palestinian News Chronicle*. The following describes their backgrounds:

The Electronic Intifada, an independent online news publication that was founded in 2001, is dedicated to "focusing on Palestine, its people, politics, culture and place in the world."⁴⁴ The site is funded by private organizations and readers, not by governments or political parties.

The site is a cooperating news source, which partnered with the Palestine Media Watch, a

³⁸ Shamir Herzog, 'Negotiated Society? Media Discourse on Israeli Jewish/Arab Relations' *Israel Social Science Review*, 9.18 (1994) 55-88.

³⁹ First, "Are They Still the Enemy?" 195.

⁴⁰ Matt Evans, "Framing International Conflicts: Media coverage of fighting in the Middle East," *International Journal Of Media & Cultural Politics* 6.2 (September 2010): 209-233.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Jeremy Ginges, et al. "Foreign Wars and Domestic Prejudice: How Media Exposure to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Predicts Ethnic Stereotyping by Jewish and Arab American Adolescents," *Journal Of Research On Adolescence* (Wiley-Blackwell) 22.3 (September 2012): 556-570.

⁴³ Ibid., 560.

⁴⁴ "About Electronic Intifada," *Electronic Intifada About Page*, <http://electronicintifada.net/about-ei> (November 7, 2013).

website coalition founded in 2009 by Ahmed Bouzin, a Philadelphia software developer, with aims of addressing what Bouzin considered anti-Palestinian bias in mainstream journalism. The group is a significant player in the "competition to depict Israeli-Palestinian relations."⁴⁵ PM Watch monitors language use in news coverage, for example, encouraging news sources to refer to Israelis as "occupiers," the "Israel Defense Forces," as "Israeli Occupation Forces," and the Israeli "security fence," as an "Apartheid Wall," to name just a few examples.⁴⁶ Other cooperating news sources in PM Watch include Yale University's Avalon Project, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization's Negotiating Affairs Committee. To date, the two major factions of the PLO—Fatah and Hamas—have begun discussions of unifying the two political parties.⁴⁷ Again, *The Electronic Intifada* clearly aims to promote the Palestinian national cause, but is private, not funded by political entities.

The Ma'an News Agency (MNA), which was launched in 2005, publishes around-the-clock news in both Arabic and English. Based out of Bethlehem, it has more than 3 million visits a month, and is one of the most browsed websites in Palestinian territories. *MNA* is part of the *Ma'an Network*, a non-profit media organization founded in 2002 with aims to strengthen independent media in Palestine. It is the largest independent TV, radio, and online media group in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The site's English counterpart "strives to convey a multi-dimensional picture of life in Palestine to a global audience, and to provide a forum for Palestinians to address the international community."⁴⁸ The site was launched with funding from the Danish and the Netherland Representative Offices to the Palestinian Authority. Denmark's representative office in Ramallah, a Palestinian city in the West Bank, states that Danish objectives for Palestine include (1) Peace building; (2) State building; and, (3) Improved livelihood for Palestinian people.⁴⁹

The Palestinian Chronicle, a non-profit 501(c)3 organization, is an independent online newspaper founded in 1999. It provides daily news and commentary focusing on Palestine and the Middle East. Like *The Electronic Intifada* it is a cooperating news source with PM Watch. Its funding comes from readers and contributors. The organization describes itself as "a self-sustained project involving professionals and volunteers from around the world, all striving to highlight issues of relevance to human rights, national struggles, freedom and democracy."⁵⁰ The organization claims that its "team consists of professional journalists and respected writers and authors who don't speak on behalf of any political party or champion any specific political agenda,"⁵¹ however, the paper has been criticized for being extremely anti-Semitic. *The Palestinian Chronicle* is edited by Ramzy Baroud (US), a prolific anti-Israel writer. Its editorial board is represented by some esteemed people, including Noam Chomsky, a professor emeritus of linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who has called the paper "an invaluable source of information ... trustworthy and reliable."⁵²

All three sources selected have a demonstrated intention to raise awareness of the Palestinian struggle and push the Palestinian national agenda. All of the sources generally seek to give a voice to Palestine in order to overcome what they consider Israeli-bias in mainstream media.

All selected articles were originally published between September 2013 and November 10, 2013.

⁴⁵ WM. David Sloan, and Lisa Mullikan Parcell, *Media Bias: Finding It, Fixing It*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 14.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Gil Ronen, "Report: Hamas and Fatah 'Agree on Unity,' *Israel National News*, <http://www.israelnational-news.com/News/News.aspx/175248#.UrIF2TnA5Hy> (December 17, 2013).

⁴⁸ "About Us Ma'an News Agency," *Ma'an News Agency About Us Page*. <http://www.maannews.net/eng/View-Content.aspx?PAGE=AboutUs> (November 7, 2013).

⁴⁹ "Danida," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs Denmark*, <http://ramallah.um.dk/en/danida-en/> (December 18, 2013).

⁵⁰ "About Palestinian Chronicle," *The Palestinian Chronicle About Page*, <http://www.palestinechronicle.com/about/> (November 7, 2013).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

This time period is of interest not only for its immediate relevancy, but also because of the U.S.- led peace talks between Israel and Palestine that were initiated around this time. Three primary factors were taken into consideration when selecting articles: (1) the article fell into the opinions, editorial, or analysis section on the organization's website; (2) the article was published between September 1, 2013 and November 10, 2013; (3) the article content was pertinent to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

News Frames

This study analyzed how editorial, opinion and analysis articles from Palestinian media describe Israeli-Jews in relation to common stereotypes. The analysis also dealt with how the articles relate Israeli-Jews to the conflict at large and the on-going peace negotiations. After studying existing literature about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the researcher identified six theme categories or topics, which were further divided into eighteen relevant frames, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Topics and Frames Relevant to Discussion on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Land Rights	Violence	Values	Palestinian Unity	Finger pointing	Miscellaneous
Aliens (immigrants, trespassers) Apartheid Dominance (power-hungry, greedy) Occupiers/Colonizers Zionists	Aggression (exaggerated intention, destruction) Human rights abuses Inhumane Military violence	Religious undertones Western puppets	Rally for Palestinian solidarity Romanticizing Palestine	Blame for peace failure Poor Israeli leadership	Admiration/ Envy Anti-Semitism True victim

IV. Findings

The six topics reflect the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that media stories highlighted, while the frames provide a more detailed explanation of a specific aspect of each topic. It should be noted that each article does contain multiple topics and frames. This is due to the complexity of the conflict in each story, which can be interpreted in a multi-dimensional way. As the author read each article, she identified frames while making a detailed mark. Rather than just marking a tally every time a frame appeared, she noted the frame's occurrence along with descriptive words or phrases that triggered the identification of that frame. For example, in one article from *Ma'an News Agency*, the phrase "[Palestinians] shot on site by the Israeli Army" triggered the researcher to note the presence of the Military violence frame. For another example, a reference to "the rogue State of Israel" indicated the presence of the Occupiers/Colonizer frame, and earned one mark for the corresponding frame and topic. A simple frequency count for each topic and frame is shown in Table 2.

V. Discussion

This study found that the existing literature accurately matches the stereotypes that are portrayed in Palestinian media, which perpetuate these stereotypical images in editorials, opinion pieces and news analysis stories. The "Land Rights" topic was the most prevalent out of the six major topics identified. Four individual media frames stuck out as being the most prevalent: (1) Dominance; followed by (2) Inhumane and (3) Military violence; and lastly, (4) the True victim. These frames offer insight into the Palestinian-Arabs' attitudes toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Israeli-Jews. As seen in the literature on common Israeli-Jewish stereotypes, the Israeli Army is the basis of the Palestinian's stereotype of the Israeli-Jews, and the fight to claim the role of the true victim is emphasized.

The fact that "Land Rights" was the most common topic confirms Seidel's argument that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is much more a secular conflict over territory than it is a clash of religions, cultures or

civilizations.⁵³ This finding suggests that the current driving force behind the conflict is a fight of ownership over a disputed territory. The "Dominance" frame, which falls under this topic, was used the most out of all eighteen frames (53.3% of 30 articles). Stories using the "Dominance" frame depicted the Israeli-Jews as power-hungry, greedy and self-serving at the cost of others, namely, the Palestinians. Dominance was most often expressed in terms of domineering land and unjustly building Israeli settlements. One article said that Israel was "devouring" the Palestinian state with "an orgy of settlement building."⁵⁴ Palestinians were commonly described as "reclaiming" and "defending" their right to the land, while Israel was often described as "confiscating," "seizing," "razing," or "stealing" the Palestinians' land. Israel's state system was also described as a faulty, hypocritical, or false democracy.⁵⁵ The state system was portrayed as against Palestinians in a zero-sum game, as in one article, which wrote, "Israel exploits cheap Palestinian labor force that benefits the Israeli economy and crushes the Palestinian economy."⁵⁶

Table 2. Frequency and Percent of Topics and Frames in Media Stories

Land Rights (48, 35.0%)*	Violence (30, 21.9%)	Miscellaneous (18, 13.1%)	Palestinian Unity (16, 11.7%)	Finger pointing (14, 10.2%)	Values (11, 8.0%)
Dominance (power-hungry, greedy) (16, 53.3%)	Inhumane acts (merciless) (14, 46.7%)	Admiration/Envy (3, 10.0%)	Rally for Palestinian solidarity (12, 40.0%)	Blame for peace failure (10, 33.3%)	Religious undertones (5, 16.7%)
Occupiers/Colonizers (12, 40.0%)	Military violence (14, 46.7%)	Anti-Semitism (2, 6.7%)	Romanticizing Palestine (4, 13.3%)	Poor Israeli leadership (4, 13.3%)	Western puppets (6, 20.0%)
Aliens (immigrants, trespassers) (5, 16.7%)	Aggression (exaggerated intention, destruction) (6, 20.0%)	True victim (13, 43.3%)			
Apartheid (5, 16.7%)	Human rights abuses (10, 33.3%)				
Zionists (10, 33.3%)					

Notes: *Numbers refer to the count of frames employed under each topic and its percentage out of a total of 137 frames the six topics covered. Each article may have multiple frames.

Forty percent of the articles (12 out of 30 articles) also employed the Occupier/Colonizer frame using key words like "liberation" and "colonialism." One article made reference to "the scar of occupation,"⁵⁷ another to a "colonial-style divide-and-rule policy designed to oppress Palestinians,"⁵⁸ and yet another to the "rogue State of Israel."⁵⁹ About Seventeen percent of the articles framed Israeli-Jews as aliens, outsiders, immigrants or trespassers. One article stated that Israel was "artificially created" by "invading aliens of Zionist settlers."⁶⁰ This study found a stereotype that was not detected through the literature review: a comparison of the Israeli state to apartheid South Africa. This frame, which appeared in five of the sample articles, was often tied to the

⁵³ Siedel, "Development, Religion, and Modernity," 424-441.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Cook, "Whatever Happened to Peace Talks? Israel Gets Building While Negotiations Go Nowhere," *The Palestinian Chronicle*, October 31, 2013.

⁵⁵ Rifat Odeh Kassis, "Equal laws, discriminatory practice: the plight of Jerusalem children," *Ma'an News Agency*, October 29, 2013.

⁵⁶ Joseph Cotto, "Israel and the Dangers of Ethnic Nationalism: An Interview with Jonathan Cook," *The Palestinian Chronicle*, November 7, 2013.

⁵⁷ Alia Al Ghussain, "Israeli occupation leaves psychological not just physical scars," *The Electronic Intifada*, September 11, 2013.

⁵⁸ Jonathan Cook, "Talking Nonsense about Apartheid: How Come Uri Avnery Knows So Little about Israel?" *The Palestinian Chronicle*, October 28, 2013.

⁵⁹ Vacy Vlazna, "The Gatekeepers: Locking in Palestinians as Terrorists," *The Palestinian Chronicle*, October 4, 2013.

⁶⁰ Nicola Nasser, "Drying up Ideological Wellsprings of Arab-Israeli Conflict," *The Palestinian Chronicle*, October 30, 2013.

phrase “racial supremacist.”

The next most prevalent topic was violence (21.9%), which has four frames. The “Inhumane acts” and “Military violence” frames each appeared in 46.7 percent of all articles. These frames confirm Shipler’s characterization of the stereotype of the Israeli-Jew, for which he aptly names a chapter in his book, “The Violent, Craven Jew.” The most common pattern involved stories on acts of violence committed by the Israeli military. Words used in relation to the Israeli military included “harassed,” “raided,” “targeted,” “brutality,” “vicious,” and “lethal.” One article pertained to Israel’s “hugely lucrative arms and security industries” as “war-porn” and “hard core evil” that is “tested on Palestinian populations” by “Israeli killers.”⁶¹

Another commonality was tying Israeli-Jews to acts of inhumane violence, many times, acts connected with the Israeli military. The most common phrase used along this line was “ethnic cleansing,” and an overarching pattern was a portrayal of Israeli-Jews as ruthless, merciless killing machines. This pattern was often noted from stories detailing acts of violence committed against children. For example, one article discussed a 6-year-old boy in a Palestinian refugee camp who lost one of his eyes to a rubber-coated bullet fired by the Israeli military. The author of this article wrote, “you make me drink heartbreak and bitterness, and you don’t even have mercy on my children”⁶² Another article described Israeli military threatening children with rape or genital injury, as well as Israeli soldiers using Palestinian children as “human shields.”⁶³ Although the stories mostly attributed the actual acts of violence to the Israeli military, Palestinian-Arab’s often apply the stereotype of the Israeli-Jew as violent and inhumane to the entire Jewish population. This confirms the literature’s definition of stereotypes as “reduce[ing] people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature.”⁶⁴ Using children again as an example, one article extended the military’s discrimination against Palestinian children to all of Israel: “When it comes to Palestinian children,” the article said, “Israel discriminates against them all.”⁶⁵ Thus, this study affirms that Palestinians’ perception of Israeli-Jews is vastly influenced by the Israeli military.

Another common pattern that should be noted for appearing frequently in the “Inhumane” frame is a comparison of modern-day Israel to Nazi Germany. The word “genocide” was used several times in this frame, and the Israeli Security Agency was compared to heads of Hitler’s Gestapo.⁶⁶ One article addressed the criticism that comparing Israel to Nazi Germany is anti-Semitic, by arguing “where parallels can be made, is it not right that they should be?”⁶⁷

The “True victim” frame, which belongs to the topic of Miscellaneous, emerged as the fourth most prevalent by appearing in 43.3 percent of the articles. In order to win the battle of being the true victim, Shipler says one side must “create a picture of the enemy as a huge monster.”⁶⁸ The stories under this frame did this by casting Palestinians as innocent bystanders who had been attacked by Israeli-Jewish aggressors. Frequently stories emphasized Palestinian suffering in order to arouse pity and sympathy for the Palestinian cause and incite anger at the Israeli-Jews. Many articles cited Palestinians as “unarmed protestors,” including one that details the account of a rural Palestinian man returning home from work after selling vegetables all day. The article wrote that the Israeli military had opened fire on the man’s village when he was just standing there with his donkey and his cart in the middle of the chaos. The article put it this way, “They [the Palestinians] weren’t fighters, they didn’t have weapons, and they were just coming home from work.”⁶⁹ Still another story described a woman who needed to take her 6-year-old son to the hospital but was held up at an Israeli-

⁶¹ Vacy Vlazna, “Israelis Turning Blood into Money: The Lab Review,” *The Palestinian Chronicle*, October 16, 2013.

⁶² Iian Pappé, “Reclaiming Judaism from Zionism,” *The Electronic Intifada*, October 18, 2013.

⁶³ Dylan Collins, “Six-year-old loses eye from bullets Israel promised to phase out,” *The Electronic Intifada*, October 7, 2013.

⁶⁴ S. Hall, “The Spectacle of the ‘Other’” in S. Hall, ed., *Representation*, p. 257.

⁶⁵ Rifat Odeh Kassir, “Equal laws, discriminatory practice: the plight of Jerusalem children,” *Ma’an News Agency*, October 29, 2013.

⁶⁶ Ramzy Baroud, “Ramallah, Gaza and the Palestinian identity crisis,” *Ma’an News Agency*, September 14, 2013.

⁶⁷ Al-Shabaka, “Analysis: Can Oslo’s failed aid model be laid to rest?” *Ma’an News Agency*, November 2, 2013.

⁶⁸ Shipler, *Arab and Jew*, 166.

⁶⁹ David Sheen, “Video: Israeli crowd cheers as Africans called ‘slaves,’” *The Electronic Intifada*, October 8, 2013.

Jewish checkpoint for so long that the her son died in her arms.⁷⁰ Still another story related the account of a 17-year-old Palestinian boy who was shot by Israeli military on the way to picking up his birthday cake.⁷¹ Several articles using the "True victim" frame portrayed the Palestinian people as abandoned by the international community using words like "helpless" and "alone."

Many of the frames can ultimately be tied back to the idea of victimhood, as the Palestinians are ultimately aiming to be the "true victims" of the conflict. For example, in the political realm, the "Blame for peace failure" and "Poor Israeli leadership" frames under the topic of "Finger Pointing" depict Israel as sluggish, stubborn and incompetent, making Palestinian leadership victims of an unwilling peace partner.

Two other topics were detected: "Palestinian Unity" emerged as the fourth prevalent topic (11.7%), while "Values" was the least prevalent topic as it upholds Arab religious and cultural beliefs over a clash of values (8.0%).

VI. Conclusion

This study sought to take the pulse on the modern-day Israeli-Palestinian conflict with hopes of better understanding the Palestinians' perception of Israeli-Jews and of Palestinian-Israeli conflict at large. The author analyzed editorial, opinion and news analysis items on three Arab-Palestinian news websites to see their portrayal of Israel and Israeli-Jews. The key findings of this study include (1) the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is largely defined in terms of land and territory; (2) violence attributed to the Israeli military generates a stereotype that many Palestinians apply to all Israeli-Jews; and (3) stories seek to appeal to emotion and evoke sympathy in order to legitimize the Palestinians' claim of true victimization.

Some of the limitations of this study include the generalizability of the study.

Due to time constraints, the author limited the sample size to thirty articles. Future studies should analyze more articles from a broader range of sources over a longer period of time. It should also be noted that the researcher selected articles only from Palestinian news websites that make their content available online for free and in English because the author cannot understand articles written in Arabic. Secondly, since the coding was done by the author alone, her subjectivity might creep in the analysis. Future studies should hire a second coder to enhance the reliability of research findings.

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⁷⁰ Alia Al Ghussain, "Israeli occupation leaves psychological not just physical scars," *The Electronic Intifada*, September 11, 2013.

⁷¹ Vacy Vlazna, "The Gatekeepers: Locking in Palestinians as Terrorists," *The Palestinian Chronicle*, October 4, 2013.

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Big Apple Kickoff vs. Tipoff: A Twitter Analysis

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Abstract

This paper examined the different Twitter strategies used by each of two NFL and NBA teams. The study examined the New York Jets, New York Giants, New York Knicks, and the Brooklyn Nets to analyze the tweets these organizations posted starting one week prior to the opening regular season games—and during those games. Tweets were classified into one of six categories: engagement, information, team statistics, advertisements, player involvement, and promotion and advertisements. Results showed clear differences in Twitter strategies between the teams: The NBA teams posted about twice as many tweets as the NFL teams. The study also found that the two NBA teams implemented "best practices" in using tweets.

I. Introduction

Within the past few years, social media has become one of the leading tools used by organizations around the world to reach selected audiences. In particular, Twitter use has spread like wildfire from use by individuals, often for social purposes, to use by the largest corporations in the world to meet more strategic communicative goals. This includes sports organizations, including professional teams. Twitter provides such sports organizations with a new, accessible channel to release information and to engage consumers, also known as fans (Price, Farrington, & Hall, 2013). Using a new media form requires many considerations about appropriate methods, though, and sports organizations have endured various Twitter controversies that have occasionally overshadowed the positive influences of the social media form. More to the point, teams are no different than other organizations in discovering how to use Twitter to advance goals to serve and grow a fan base.

Recognizing that not all teams or even professional sports are the same, this paper investigated the similarities and differences in the creation of a Twitter presence between teams in two professional sports: football and basketball. The analysis focused on two teams in the National Football League, the New York Giants and New York Jets; and another two in the National Basketball League, the New York Knicks and Brooklyn Nets. These four are all based in or around New York City, a huge media hub. Given that the area holds the target audiences for all of these teams, it allows for a reasonable examination of the social media strategies for each of these teams and for a contrast between two leagues. A goal of the paper is to determine which strategies appear to be more successful in engaging followers and building fan support networks.

Twitter defines itself as “a real-time information network that connects you to the latest stories, ideas,

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opinions and news about what you find interesting” (Twitter 2013). Each user can create posts, more commonly known as “tweets.” These are any combination of 140 characters that are published for the purpose of interacting with other Twitter users (Witkemper, Lim, & Waldburger 2012). Users can gain other Twitter followers. When they do indeed become so-called followers of specific Twitter accounts, users are choosing to allow tweets from them to appear on their Twitter homepage. All of the Twitter accounts examined here are the organizations’ official Twitter pages, not fraudulent or fan-produced accounts.

II. Literature Review

Twitter’s recent popularity has risen because it can have an equal effect in a large variety of categories of uses and users (Highfield, Harrington, & Bruns 2013). This, in turn, has led to a boom in social media research to study not only content but audience behavior. For example researchers can observe how Twitter is changing the event scene by watching members interact during a live event, called “live tweeting” (Highfield, Harrington, & Bruns 2013). Sports particularly offer opportunities for Twitter use, including live tweeting, because events serve as sources of entertainment, incorporating competition and human drama. Sporting events thus allow Twitter members to keep in touch—to interact—as well as express their feelings and opinions pertaining to action instantaneously (Highfield, Harrington, & Bruns 2013).

Since sports are one of the most popular forms of entertainment, a notable number of research studies have recently sought to understand the process reaching fans via social media beyond Twitter. Some studies have explored sports marketing strategies and extended them to social media (Pronschinske, Groza, & Walker 2012). A study by Pronschinske, Groza, & Walker (2012) focused on the different variables that affect professional sports teams in the four largest professional leagues. Through surveys of college students, the authors recorded and indexed data by four different variables: *authenticity*, *discloser*, *engagement*, and *information* (Pronschinske, Groza, & Walker 2012). The study supported the researchers’ prediction that people were more likely to follow a more successful organization through social media. Noting the lack of available peer-reviewed research on Facebook use, the authors “tested the supposition that Facebook attributes can catalyze fan engagement with an online Facebook community” (229). Ultimately, they concluded that it was not enough to have a Facebook page, but the organization must be active in the social media community and create a social media plan to fully engage followers.

Abeza, O’Reilly, and Reid (2013) conducted eight case studies that observed the social media strategies implemented by each sporting organization as they hosted events. The purpose of their studies was to find the uses, opportunities, and challenges that are presented by using social media accounts. After viewing the social media profiles and interviewing those in charge of the sites, they tested opportunities and challenges of social media (Abeza, O’Reilly, and Reid 2013).

A study that identified motivations and constraints of Twitter use was conducted by Witkemper, Lim, and Waldburger (2012). This study is directly applied to specific athletes and sports organizations. The authors examined the motivations of sampled users according to subcategories: *entertainment*, *information*, *pass time*, and *fanship* (Witkemper, Lim, and Waldburger 2012). They wrote, “This examination suggests that sport organizations’ marketing efforts can impact their relationship with college students by increasing the motivations found in the study” (p. 179). The study suggests that sports organizations should cater to the four motivations listed above in their production of social media messages to gain more followers through specific strategies, such as providing insider information about a club or offering links to in-depth stories on athletes (Witkemper, Lim, and Waldburger, 2012). The authors suggest that organizations can use social media as a way to pick up ideas and news from their fans. This study hopes to develop similar suggestions that the teams in New York could implement, and that also coincide with the motivational cues from Witkemper, Lim, and Waldburger (2012).

In his master’s thesis, Wysocki created a list of the best practices that sports teams—the NBA in particular—should use to maximize their social media success (2012). He compiled this list after performing interviews with nine social media professionals who worked in the NBA. The best practices include giving quality content, incorporating social media offline, “gamify” social media efforts, personalize fans on social media, collect fan data, fansource/crowdsourc, and use fans to amplify the NBA team’s message (Wysocki 2012). The author also suggests that teams allocate more money to hiring social media staff to regulate the flow of information in and out of the organization as well as keep up with several different social media platforms.

Additionally, teams should spread their social media strategies not only onto the site but on posters, tickets, television airings, and other print materials (Wysocki 2012).

The review of these previous studies established a foundation to learn more about professional sports teams' social media use. This paper addressed the following research questions.

RQ1: What types of social media/Twitter strategies do the four samples sports organizations use to engage with their fan bases?

RQ2: To what extent do the strategies differ between the NFL and NBA teams?

RQ3: What new or revised strategies should these teams consider implementing?

III. Methods

Sample

To properly compare tweets from different organizations, the data were collected during the same time period. Also the timing of promotions was considered essential to study the teams' traditional marketing communications plans (Williams and Chinn, 2010). Since the NBA began its lengthy basketball season not long after the NFL season was initiated, it was possible to study Twitter activity during the crucial starts to both seasons in the fall of 2013. This yielded the chance to notice similarities and differences in Twitter techniques among the four teams. The author examined the Twitter pages for the New York Giants, New York Jets, New York Knicks, and the Brooklyn Nets one week prior to their home opening game of the season as well as the tweets issued live during the teams' first games. By examining two teams in each league, he was able to make very limited generalizations but at the least seek some evidence of patterns in the leagues' strategies that Pronschinske et al. (2012) found. The author chose the first week prior to the season opener under the assumption that if an organization were to implement a new social media strategy for a sports season, this key time period would be selected and would thus be a salient time for analysis.

Procedure

The first step in the protocol for carrying out the analysis was to find the official Twitter page of all four teams. These pages are indicated with a blue check mark to notify followers that the page has been approved by Twitter to be authentic. Both the Jets and Giants started their season on September 8, 2013, and both the Knicks and Nets began their season on October 30, 2013. These were less than two months apart. The author located the tweets exactly a week prior to both of these dates and the tweets during the first game. Each tweet counted as a unit of coding. He adopted several of the categories created by Pronschinske, Groza, & Walker (2012), which included *engagement* determined by the following six attributes: (1) listing of team events, (2) discussion board, (3) wall used for dialogue between the organization and fans, (4) creation of other applications (e.g., ticket and merchandise sales portals), (5) presence of an official email, and (6) other relevant contact information. Information dissemination (*Information*) was determined by the following four attributes: (1) news links from the organization, (2) notes from the organization, (3) photographs posted by the organization, and (4) videos uploaded by the organization. The author also created four categories: 1) *game statistics* determined by (a) updates of progress during the game (b) league standings supplied by the organization (3) player additions and releases; 2) *advertisement* determined by tweet mentioning another company outside the organization; 3) *player involvement* determined by (a) retweets of team players, (b) photos of players, (c) quotes by players or coaches or (d) behind the scenes photos of practice and locker 4)rooms; and *promotional and advertisement* determined by mention of another company with endorsement of upcoming game. Each tweet was analyzed and placed in these categories.

IV. Findings

The analysis of tweets from the New York Jets, New York Giants, New York Knicks, and the Brooklyn Nets confirmed that there are strategies and information that each team implements. Each team issued many

tweets under the *Team Statistics*, as shown in *Figure 1*. This is the category of tweets that were most similar among the four organizations. These posts included injury reports, starting lineups, and players that were released during the offseason. Each team provided updates periodically during the game as well as a final score Gupdate. A link was provided for the post-game wrap-up that was written by the organization's staff. Direct quotations by coaches and players were often tweeted by these organizations regarding the position of

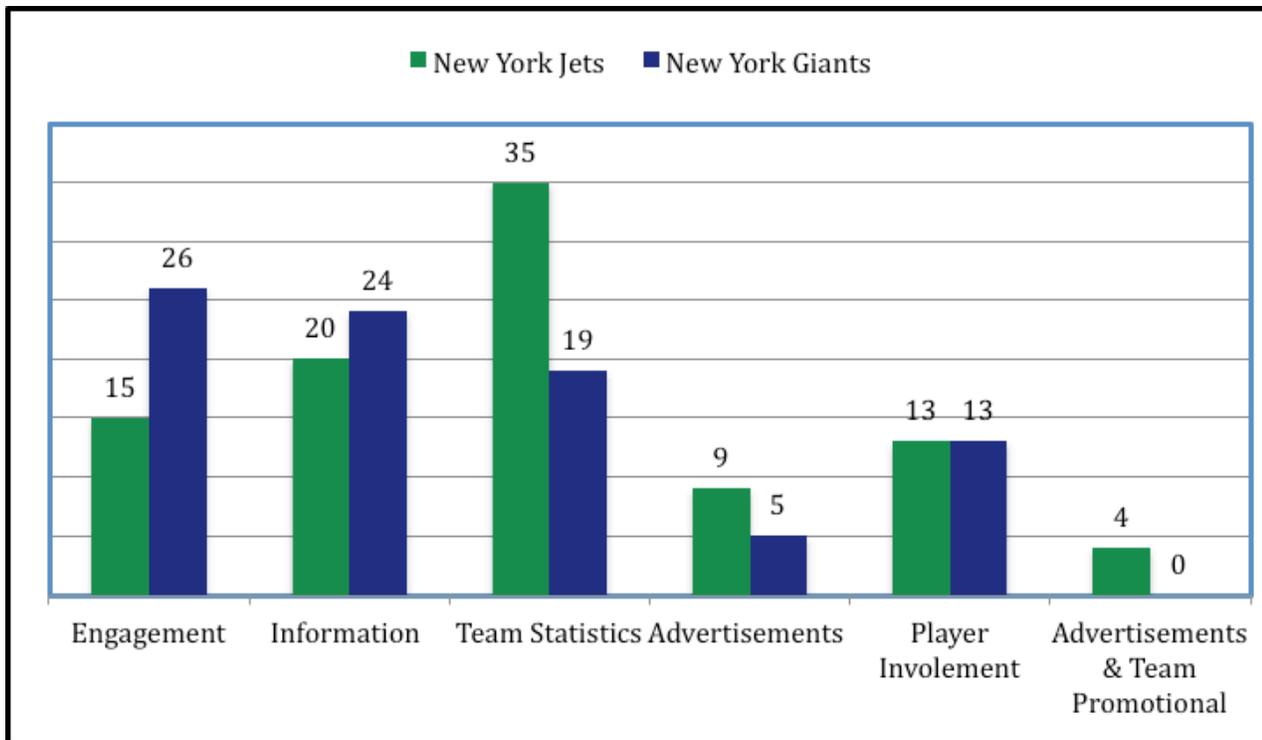


Figure 1. NFL Analysis: Number of tweets by team and category

the team and their personal thoughts.

The author observed two different types of tweet advertising: retweets of sponsors and original tweets that mentioned sponsors. Every team promoted the stadium where its competition takes place. Also, some tweets were sponsored by different companies. Teams also shared official merchandise of their organization. The most tweeted about items were player jerseys. The New York Knicks incorporated their new jerseys into a kickoff social media plan called #KnicksInOrange.

The majority of the Giants' engagement tweets were used to promote their Big Blue Kickoff Live show that happened every day of the week leading up to opening night. Fans could ask questions using the #Giantschat or call questions for the hosts. The Giants also had more *information* tweets than the Jets. Of the 24 information tweets, 19 of those included links to the official news blog of the Giants organization. The links included stories written by the Giants staff and insiders. There were also photo galleries and videos from team practice. Another feature the Giants provided was photos within the team locker room. Lockers of standout players such as Eli Manning were pictured in efforts to prepare the fans for the game. It is obvious that the locker room tweets are supplied by the equipment managers based on the language used. For example, the members of the equipment team were mentioned in the tweets of the equipment set up. This was the majority of the *player involvement* tweets.

The Jets incorporated more definite social media strategies in preparation for the season opener. The underlying theme was #JetsKickoff. Any tweet that promoted the start of the season was accompanied by a graphic that advertised the #JetsKickoff rally that took place Friday, September 6, 2013. The idea was to "Paint the town Green" in an effort to get as many Jet fans as possible at these popular places in New York (see *Figure 2*). During the actual rally fan photos were tweeted.

Along with #JetsKickoff was a countdown until the kickoff itself (see *Figure 3*). These tweets usually

included an edited graphic of a player with the number of days left. However, these tweets were sponsored tweets. Companies, like Jack Black, are looking for ways to publicize their brand in an alternative way. Social media is a quick way to reach thousands of people. Established organizations, like the Jets or sports teams in general, already have an audience they are reaching. Purchasing an advertisement via Twitter is an easy way to lead viewers directly to their Twitter page with the @mention.

Another strategy used was asking “Jetparody” questions. These would be special graphics asking fans questions about Jets games from the past, and fans could respond via Twitter. The Jets *team statistics* category was compiled mostly of injury reports as well as player releases and acquisitions (see *Figure 4*). Only 8 of the 35 tweets in this category were score updates. A photo of the official injury list was also posted by what fans were to assume was a coach.

The two NFL teams had very similar information on their Twitter pages for their fans; however, it was the style of delivery that separated the two teams. The Jets used more graphics and pictures to draw in an audience, whereas the Giants stuck to simple text. Both teams incorporated a particular # to their preseason campaign. The Jets had more advertisement tweets, specifically sponsored tweets, than the Giants.



Figure 2. Jets Paint our Town Green Campaign



Figure 3. Example of Jets Promotional and Advertisement Tweet

The Brooklyn Nets experienced a transformation in the offseason, including a new coach and a highly publicized signing of three former Boston Celtics. However, the organization did not highlight the change, but concentrated on what was to be expected of the team and how the team was shaping up. A great deal of retweets were issued by NBA analysts and New York writers who mentioned the Nets. This brought positive attention to the Nets from outside their clubhouse. The Nets were clearly looking for outside sources to show people that the team is expected to have a successful season. While NBA on TNT panel had its preseason rundown, the Nets were tweeting direct quotes from the hosts on their predictions for the Nets as well as how players would do.

One aspect of the Nets Twitter page that stood out over the Knicks as well as the NFL teams was the in-game tweets. The Nets produced 42 tweets in the opening tip-off game alone. The tweets were not only numerical, but they provided context to what was happening in the game from observations of players to detailed descriptions of plays that occurred. The Nets also tweeted statistics and plays performed by both teams. Whenever a player is mentioned, they directly mention him in the tweet as seen in *Figure 5*.

Another characteristic of the game updates given by the Nets Twitter page is the use of #NETSo-nYES. YES Network is the official network of the New York Yankees and the Nets. YES Network tweets regarding broadcast times were retweeted by the team as well.

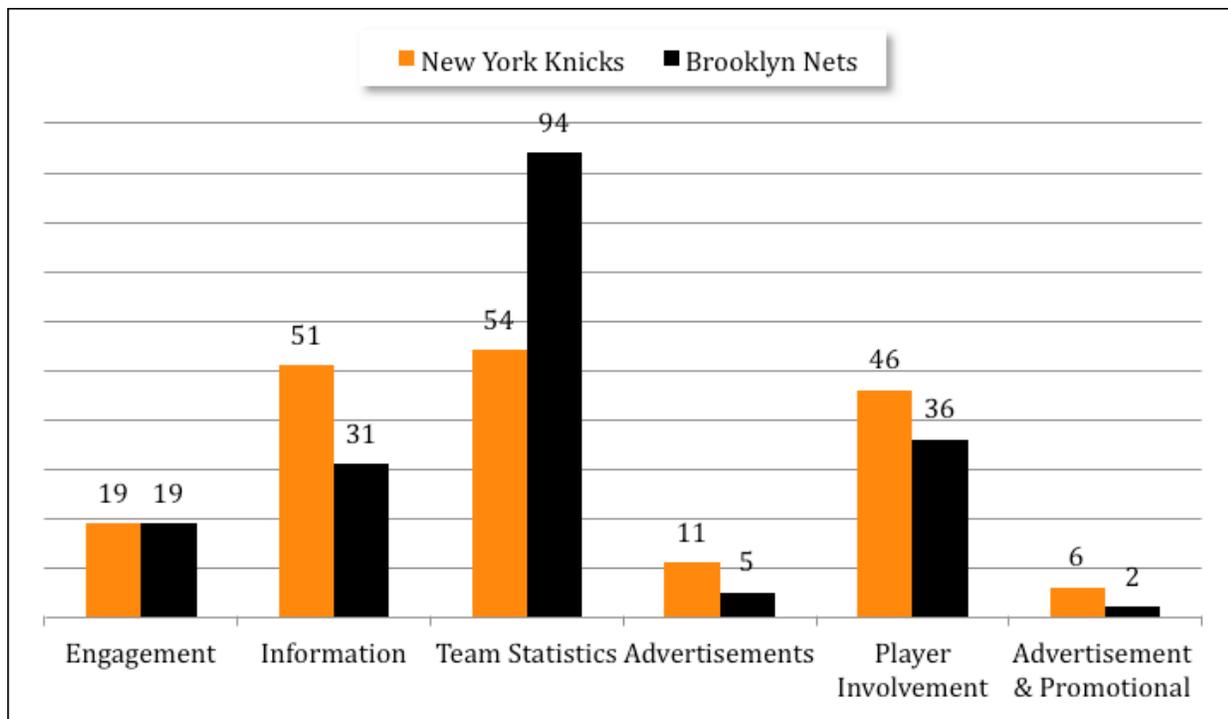


Figure 4. NBA Analysis: Number of tweets by team and category

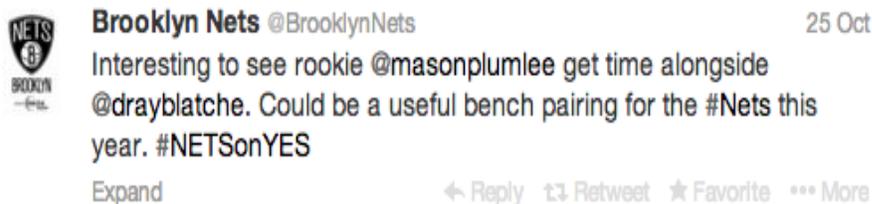


Figure 5. Example of Promotional Tweet

The Nets made it a priority to give fans behind the scenes access to the team. One way they did this is by showing the Nets players getting involved with the community the week before the first tip-off. By using #BrooklynNetsAssist, fans could track the whereabouts of Nets players during several different events. Also, numerous photos and notes from practice were tweeted. The Nets organization gave the fans an exclusive discount at the merchandise store as an incentive to follow the team on Twitter and visit the merchandise store. Photo galleries from community service and practice were also posted on the team’s website.

The New York Knicks had very similar content as the Nets; however, there were some differences. The biggest difference between the two is that the Knick Public Relations has its own Twitter account. This account is more focused on life surrounding the Knicks and not what was going on inside the organization. The official Twitter page of the Knicks devoted a large portion of tweets to *player involvement*. Instagram videos of players answering a question were posted every day along with photos from practice. More behind-the-scenes coverage included photos from within the team’s huddle before the game and the locker room. A large percentage of the *player involvement* tweets were from the Knicks community service. Children of all ages were joined by the Knicks players to play arcade games and have fun inside Madison Square Garden. All photos from the event included a player and a several kids.

The Knicks used their players by having them do several meet-and-greets with fans during this week. These events took place at Footlocker, a sponsor and retailer of the Knicks, and at the official merchandise store located inside Madison Square Garden, the arena of the Knicks. This is directly related with the Knicks preseason campaign #KnicksinOrange as pictured in Figure 6.

The Knicks made the new jerseys a lead # on their page the entire offseason. They featured the first

official photoshoot in the jerseys, player commentary on the jerseys, and photos of new fans purchasing the jerseys.

The in-game tweets produced by the Knicks were detailed accounts of scoring plays by Knicks players. One feature unique to the Knicks was the Twitter page that directly mentioned different celebrities that entered Madison Square Garden. It would be easy to see celebrities enter the court because of the close quarters of a basketball court. Plus this promotes the idea that the Knicks are the “celebrities team.”



Figure 6. Example of #KnickinOrange Campaign

V. Conclusion

According to this analysis of the New York teams, the two NBA teams used Twitter more than the two NFL teams. However, their social media strategies were not different from each other. One category would dominate the other, but there was compensation in other places. The Jets with 96 total tweets had only a few more than the Giants' 87, whereas the two NBA teams had exactly the same number of tweets during the week of research observation, 187.

There could be several reasons that the NBA had double the number of tweets the NFL did. As America's most popular sport, the NFL has a passionate fan base that has been around for a long time (Vogan, 274). The NFL has a very tight grasp on the league as a whole.

“The league has worked to construct its significance by obsessively controlling and aggressively circulating its image through a multiplatform array of marketing strategies and brand extensions . . .” (Vogan, 274)

With this type of control, it is difficult and unnecessary for NFL teams to promote the sport itself, since it receives so much attention already. That makes the main job of the teams themselves cater to their loyal fan base. This explains why there is an emphasis on information regarding the team as well as getting fans engaged with their team.

The findings of this research can be added to prior sport communication research because of its emphasis on the rise in social media. One issue the NBA in particular was having with social media was a lack of an overarching social media plan (Wysocki 2012).

Even though each team did use kickoff hashtags, there were no obvious patterns of when kickoff items were posted, aside from the fact that they were done so on most days. The teams did not send out promotional posts every day. The analysis conducted in this research found that the NBA teams implemented what Wysocki (2012) regarded as best practices in using tweets: in-arena presence, connecting with fans outside the arena, social media campaigns, and most importantly quality content.

Since the NBA is not the most popular sport in the country, the teams have to have a greater social media presence to attract spectators to their team. In New York, there is now the battle between the Knicks in the city and the Nets in the boroughs. The two teams separate themselves with different strategies that emphasize the players they keep. Also, the NBA has established the league as a hip professional sport. This is partially because of the players playing in the league. A majority of the players sport lavish clothes and jewelry complemented by black ink tattoos. The entire league as a whole directly affects the social media strategies by the teams. If the NFL adopted some of the strategies the NBA implemented during their season, the league could gain a new demographic of fans.

Future research could extend the duration of the analysis longer than one week. Future scholars may apply the best practices Wysocki constructed to the NFL to see the comparison between the two leagues. Another study could explore different leagues using the same coding system that this study used. Lastly, re-

search regarding fan demographics could explain the reasons the NBA is more active on social media, which was not answered by this study.

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A Content Analysis of Twitter Use: Factors That Might Increase Music Sales During an Award Show?

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Abstract

Can Twitter be used in marketing an artist's music during award shows? To answer this question, the author examined four artists at the 2013 MTV VMAs—Robin Thicke, Justin Timberlake, Drake, and Kanye West—who experienced a peak of references on Twitter during the show. Based on a content analysis of the tweets and secondary research, the study found that tweets converged toward the same topics, supporting Social Influence Network Theory. This study also found that the director's filming directions during the award show might also influence the trends on social media during the show.

I. Introduction

Social media has transformed the way fans interact with their favorite celebrities as well as among one another during award shows. Celebrities now actively tweet before, during, and after award shows as a means of communicating with their fans. Likewise, fans often tend to tweet when their favorite artists perform or win an award at the show.

Each year MTV hosts the Video Music Awards (VMAs) during the fall. This award show is one of the biggest productions put on by MTV for the year. The award shows are widely popular in terms of having a social media presence on websites, such as Twitter. According to *Time Magazine*, 10.1 million people viewed the VMAs this year (Rothman, 2013). Social Guide reported that social media users sent 18,495,883 tweets about the VMAs on the night of the award show (Graver, 2013).

The content circulating on social media sites appear to be very influenced by the award show. Subsequently, the artists who performed at the show also experienced an increase in sales of their music on the day of the award and thereafter. MTV reported that Justin Timberlake saw a 1,876 percent increase in Amazon and iTunes sales of his music on the day of the VMAs in comparison to the day prior to the award show. Similarly, Lady Gaga saw a 112 percent increase in sales for her song "Applause," which she performed at the award show. Other artists who performed at the VMAs also experienced an increase in the sales of their music on the award day and thereafter in comparison to prior days (Rothman, 2013).

This paper tried to investigate the relationship between viewers' tweet activities about artists and increases to their music sales.

* **Keywords:** MTV VMAs, tweets, performance of artists, sales increase, Social Influence Network Theory
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II. Theories

According to Friedkin's Social Influence Network Theory, people have an influence on one another's thoughts and behaviors in a network (Prell, 2012). This social psychology theory seeks to reflect a dynamic of change that may occur in people as they form and share opinions. It proposes that people "alter their original opinions or behaviors to the group 'norm'" they follow (Prell, 2012, p. 63). This paper can employ this theory because social media enables people to publicly communicate their opinions and to weigh the popularity of other opinions shared in the same space. If an artist's music is talked about on social media or trending on Twitter, then other people will become exposed to that music and listen to it or watch the video since it is popular among their peers. Thus, this theory can be employed to check whether social media can be a marketing tool for an artist's music when TV viewers tweet about the performance during an award show.

Uses and Gratifications Theory is also applicable to the analysis of tweets promoting pop music artists. This is an audience-based theory that can be used to help explain how consumers – in this case TV viewers – respond to entertainment programming actively via Twitter to satisfy their needs (Rosenberry & Vicker, 2009). More to the point, this theory assists in examining the behavior that fans exhibit as they 'voice' their opinions about a performance, the music itself, or simply the phenomena involved with the artist on stage. This subsequently causes more people to learn of the artists' performances during an award show, since their peers also may be discussing the same event via social media.

Uses and Gratification provides a lens from a brand-marketing standpoint, through which to examine how audience members, as they engage as concurrent viewers and commentators, can have effects on the popular successes of the artists and their music.

III. Literature Review

Cunningham (2006) specifically analyzes the MTV VMAs to see how audience engagement with programming influences the effectiveness of advertising during an award show. That study differs from the author's current research, which examines the impact of Twitter activities on the perception of artists on the show and the subsequent sale of their music on the day of the show. In this regard, this paper analyzes a different aspect of engagement in terms of marketing artists and their music, rather than advertising a product or brand. Cunningham's study analyzes the forms in which the viewer is engaged; these include the social context, the multi-platform context, and the emotional context of audience engagement. But the techniques used in the study can be applied to this author's study, which focuses on the analysis of social media engagement in relation to effective marketing techniques for an artist.

In analyzing how social media markets to consumers, the role of television in relation to Twitter is important. Multi-tasking is now the norm for people when doing activities such as watching television (Harrington, Highfield, & Bruns, 2013). A common form of multi-tasking while watching television is social media usage. Many television shows have taken full advantage of the social media distraction by integrating the use of social media within their programming. For instance, some television shows now ask their viewers to tweet about the shows or to use specific hashtags that represent the show they are watching. One study analyzed the role of social media with the medium of television (Harrington, Highfield, & Bruns, 2013). The researchers acknowledged that social media, such as Twitter, does not necessarily take away from other media, but rather social media often serves as a complement for media such as television (Harrington, Highfield, & Bruns, 2013). This integration of social media and television is sometimes referred to by the term "social TV" (Proulx & Shepatin, 2012). In their book, Proulx and Shepatin further expanded on the benefits of social media as a complement to television because the two combined provide a more personalized experience for viewers.

Learmonth (2009) analyzes the campaign tactics of President Obama during his initial campaign for his first presidency. President Obama's strategy from the very beginning of his presidential campaign focused on social media to have a large digital media presence (Learmonth, 2009). This tactic resulted in unprecedented rewards for the Obama campaign through its digital media efforts (Learmonth, 2009). This example of brand marketing through social media can be applied in other areas outside of political campaigns. Therefore, this study took an approach to analyzing social media as a marketing tool for a person as a "brand." Along the line of this concept of branding a person, artists may employ social media in establishing attention for themselves and their music as a brand.

Similar to the Learmonth's (2009) study, Greer and Ferguson (2011) found that news personalities use social media as a means to communicate with their audiences. Based on Uses and Gratifications Theory, Greer and Ferguson (2011) analyzed the motivations, communications, and role of Twitter in the news context through news personalities' engagement with viewers. Based on this theory, Perrilliat (2012) measured a variety of gratification items in order to assess the use of Twitter and examined how beneficial Twitter is for music fans and consumers. She observed that social networking websites, such as Twitter, have transformed into major outlets for the online consumption of music.

Social media is a major necessity for marketing to consumers. It connects brands with the consumers and establishes a direct line of communication between the brand and its consumers (Long, 2012). Long also took into consideration the effects of a lack of communication for a brand. For instance, the research analyzed the engagement of BP with consumers via social media during the 2010 Gulf oil spill. The lack of communication on the part of BP with its consumers negatively influenced the public opinion of BP (Long, 2012). This concept is directly applicable to other subjects, such as whether the engagement with consumers influences the success of the brand.

Expanding on the concept of "social TV," Hill & Benton (n.d.) determined the value TV networks gained by using social media content in relation to their shows. The study identified a value that social media content brings to television shows because online posts via social media increased the "word of mouth" effect. This study also found a high correlation between social media content and television show-related sales. The authors examined the sales effect of viewer engagement with television programming through their analysis of tweets during the television show, *The Voice*, and the resulting iTunes rankings and sales data.

When the author developed the coding scheme for this paper, she looked at another study that used four categories to classify the type of content of the tweets that viewers posted while watching television programming: *attention*, *emotion*, *information*, and *opinion* (Wohn & Na, 2011). Their study suggests that social media is enabling "group viewing," in which people can interact about television programming without being in the same room.

Following the MTV VMAs, the social media usage during the show was a major topic of discussion, and numerous articles were published reporting the tweets per minute and percentage increases in music sales for each artist. Rothman (2013) reported the percentage increases in sales for each of the artists following their performances. This article, in addition to MTV's website, provided the sales data needed for this paper.

Based on literature review, this study tried to answer the following questions:

RQ1: Could Social Network Theory be applied to Twitter, especially during the MTV Video Music Awards?

RQ2: Does the quantity of social media engagement among viewers during a televised award show lead to the sales increases for the artists who performed at the show?

RQ3: Does the perception of artists have impact on the sales of their music?

IV. Methods

TV viewers posted their tweets during MTV Video Music Award Show on August 25, 2013. First, the author found four artists¹ who saw the largest Twitter peaks of tweets per minute (TPM): Miley Cyrus/Robin Thicke with 306,100 TPM, Justin Timberlake with 219,800 TPM, Drake with 194,500 TPM, and Kanye West 181,200 TPM (Graver, 2013). Since the author could not analyze all tweets about these artists, she created a sample of 850 tweets that reflected the ratio of each artist's TPM. Among 850 tweets, 289 are related to Robin Thicke; 207 to Justin Timberlake; 183 to Drake; and 171 to Kanye West. In the search field of the Twitter homepage, the author wrote keywords, such as #VMA and the four artists' name, and selected all 850 tweets among those that were posted only when these artists were on the stage.

This study tried to categorize all tweets and find the most common categories; the study also tried to

¹ Taylor Swift got the 4th highest TPM, but it was based on her acceptance speech for an award, not a song she sang. Since the author wanted to focus on the artists who performed and the sales of music based on the performance, she was not included.

find the top categories from tweets about each of the four artists. It also checked whether each tweet is positive or negative toward the artist. A positive tweet was assigned 1 point of the perception score; a negative one, -1 point; a neutral one, 0 point. The positive or negative perception scores and TPM of each artist were compared with the sales increase of their music.

V. Findings

Common categories of tweets

Analysis of the sample revealed the 10 most common categories: (see Table 1). To ensure a level of coding objectivity, a second coder examined 85 of the tweets, or 10% of the total. The additional coder was in agreement with approximately 99 percent of the tweets coded in the analysis.

Table 1: 10 Common Categories for the Tweets

Common Categories for Tweets
1. Quality of the artist's performance
2. Expectations for the performance
3. Relationships the artist previously had or currently has
4. Aspects of the artist's past (including actions and behaviors)
5. The behavior the artist exhibits while performing
6. Use of song names and lyrics
7. Visual features of the performance (such as costumes or set design)
8. Comparison of the artist to other performers
9. Direct messages to the artist
10. Reactions to the performance from both celebrities and viewers

Categories of tweets about individual artists

After determining the 10 most popular categories, the author reanalyzed tweets by artist to see what kinds of tweets were issued about each artist.

Kanye West

Top categories of tweets about Kanye West were *quality*, *past actions* and *behavior*, and *relationships*. There was a common negative sentiment among the tweeters that West's performance was "auto-tuned" because tweeters thought that his voice was manipulated electronically for the song. Furthermore, the people tweeting about Kanye West discussed aspects of his past, such as the 2009 VMA incident where West interrupted Taylor Swift's acceptance speech for her award for video of the year. Many tweets asserted that Swift should interrupt West's performance. Additionally, the tweets discussed how bizarre it was that West was in the dark during his performance as well as other current things in his life, such as his newborn baby, North West, and his relationship with the Kardashian family. Another topic of controversy within the tweets about West was the title of his new album, "Yeezus." (Refer to selected tweets about West in Table 2 on next page.)

Robin Thicke / Miley Cyrus

The tweets about Robin Thicke often included Miley Cyrus as well. The tweets about Robin Thicke emphasized some celebrities' or viewers' *reactions to aspects of the artist's performance*, such as costumes or dance moves. The other common categories for tweets about Robin Thicke's include *behavior onstage* and *past relationships*.

One of the most common trends discussed on Twitter was Robin Thicke's and Miley Cyrus' behavior on stage and their costume choices. Thicke was often compared to Beetle Juice, and Cyrus's wardrobe was criticized for being risqué and similar to the girls in Thicke's controversial music video for "Blurred Lines." Also,

Table 2: Sample of Tweets Written About Kanye West

Sample of Tweets about Kanye West
-No no no auto tuned #kanye. Why must you torture us with the faux singing. Just rap. #vmas #YouAreNotARockStar
-Hold up Kanye. Imma let you finish, but Selena has some of the best auto tune of all time. #VMAs
-So, we're not allowed to see Kanye while he performs anymore? Cool. #VMAs
-Oh heyyyy auto tune!!! @taylorswift13 go interrupt Kanye. Nobody would be mad I promise! #vmas
-I hope Kanye West brings out his baby and just holds her up like Lion King. #VMAs" Lmao that would be #Epic

tweeters offered more of a negative sentiment for Cyrus, rather than Thicke, for “messing up” Thicke’s song as well as her inappropriate dancing. Her behavior was heavily criticized since Thicke is married and quite a bit older. Hence, the tweets about Thicke and Cyrus feature the common categories of *reactions*, *behavior of the artist while onstage*, *visual features of the performance* and *relationships*. because the tweets often referred to predictions of the reactions of Robin Thicke’s wife and Miley Cyrus’ dad to the performance.

Another common trend for their performance was tweets that simply listed Robin Thicke and Miley Cyrus’ names along with the hashtags for their *song names*, “We Can’t Stop” and “Blurred Lines.” Additionally, there was a trend in which people asked others for their thoughts on the performance. Therefore, Robin Thicke and Miley Cyrus’ performance was more engaging in the interaction among tweeters while they were watching the award show. (Refer to several tweets about Thicke in Table 3.)

Table 3: Sample of Tweets written about Robin Thicke

Samples of Tweets written about Robin Thicke
-If you say Beetle Juice three times Robin Thicke will appear #vmas #blurredlines #mtv @MTV
-Miley is dressed like a girl from the Blurred Lines video and Robin Thicke is dressed like Beetle-juice. #VMAs
-Why in hell is Robin Thicke letting Miley Cyrus sing with him messing up Blurred Lines. #VMAs

Justin Timberlake

The top categories of tweets about Justin Timberlake were *quality*; *expectations* and *reactions during his performance*²; and *audience relating to the artist/artist’s Past*.

Tweets about Timberlake had a heavy emphasis on the *quality* of his performance, which was expected since he had the most positive of all the Twitter content. Many people wrote that his performance was “the best of the night.” People also used other social media, such as Instagram and Vine in order to document their *reactions* to the performance within the tweets. There was a major trend in the expectation of the ‘NSYNC performance.

There were many tweets about the *audience relating to the artist* as well as the *artist’s past* because people were imagining ‘NSYNC performing as “reliving their past.” The audience related to Timberlake on that level because ‘NSYNC was a large part of the audience’s past, through their being fans of the band, but also ‘NSYNC was a major part of Timberlake’s past. So there is a relationship of the audience relating to Timberlake and ‘NSYNC in this regard. (Refer to Table 4 for a sample of tweets about Justin Timberlake.)

Timberlake received the most positive responses. Tweets about him focused in the category of the *quality* of his performance. Additionally, they tended to discuss the hype and *expectation* of ‘NSYNC performing with Timberlake’s at the award show. This received a lot of positive feedback and showed a lot of support for Timberlake as an artist and for his music. Additionally, it reflected the huge popularity for ‘NSYNC among the VMAs audience base.

² Many tweets had an element of both expectations and reactions.

Table 4: Sample of Tweets written about Justin Timberlake

Sample of Tweets written about Justin Timberlake
-@jtimberlake Totally blown away and memorized! Been loving him since way back!!! #VMAs #NSYNC #obsessed
-Anticipation is killing me right now @jtimberlake #NSYNC #VMAs #wherearethey
-Our dreams came true! It's #NSYNC reunited with @jtimberlake on stage at the #VMAs!
-Hey #VMAs you can pack up and end the night. Nothing can top that. #JustinTimberlake #NSYNC

Drake

The top three categories of tweets about Drake were *reactions*; *aspects of the artist's past*; and *previous relationships*.

A notable number of tweets about Drake referenced the *reactions* of other celebrities attending the award show. This emphasized the two categories of *previous relationships* and *reactions* to the performance. Many people acknowledged within their tweets that when Rihanna was shown on TV during Drake's performance that she was giving him "disapproving" and "uninterested" glances. The footage also brought the reactions of the Smith family to the forefront of the tweeters' attention. Many people suggested that Will Smith and Jaden Smith appeared to be fans of Drake's. Finally, another common trend in the tweets about Drake addressed how he started out acting on the television show "Degrassi." This references the category of the *artist's past*. Drake's song, "Started From The Bottom," stirred some negative tweets because the tweeters felt as though Drake did not "start from the bottom" since he was on a very popular television show as a kid.

As can be seen in the sample below, Rihanna's reaction was a popular trend on twitter. These tweets focusing on Rihanna most commonly fell into both the *reactions* category as well as *relationships* category as some of them referenced Rihanna and Drake's previous relationship. In comparison to the other artists, both Timberlake and Drake had the most references to their past. (Refer to Table 5 for a sample of tweets about Drake.)

As for Drake, references in tweets discussed both his and Kanye West's performances, even though this category of *comparison of the artist to other performers* did not make the top three categories for Drake. Both Drake and West moved their arms a lot during their performances, and viewers tweeted about this aspect of the artists' choreography. They did not look upon it too favorably. However, there was still a lot of support for Drake in comparison with West and Thicke's performances.

Table 5: Same of Tweets written about Drake

Sample of Tweets about Drake
-Why does Rihanna come to these things? She always looks bored #britney #jt #drake #vmas pic. twitter.com/YmuK90Rgvf
-Rihanna not impressed #Drake #VMAs
-Dude. You were in a boy-band and were on Degrassi. You've never even looked at the bottom. #drake #VMAs
Why do I keep seeing Wheel chair Jimmy? #vmas #degrassi #drake

Comparison of TPM with music sales

These artists all saw a high peak of tweets per minute during their performances as well as immediate sales increases for their music. Justin Timberlake's performance featuring 'NSYNC had approximately 219,800 tweets per minute and a 1,876 percentage increase in sales on the day of broadcast over the previous day. The statistics on the others' performances are shown in Table 6. Additionally, Miley Cyrus' album jumped to the number five slot on iTunes for pre-ordered albums since her album wasn't due to come out until October. Since there was not data available for the percentage increase in sales of Cyrus' music following her performance, this study focuses on Robin Thicke in the analysis of the tweets during Thicke and Cyrus' performance. Robin Thicke's "Blurred Lines" follow-up single, "Give It 2 U" had a 306 percent increase in sales, and his album "Blurred Lines" experienced a 30 percent in sales.

For Kanye West’s tweets per minute of 181,200, he saw a very large increase in sales following his performance. His “Blood on the Leaves” single increased in sales by 1,187 percent, and his album “Yeezus” had a 139 percent increase in sales. Drake’s performance had about 194,500 tweets per minute, and he saw a 281 percent increase in sales for his single, “Started From the Bottom,” following his performance.

Table 6: Total tweets per minute and percentage increases in sales by artist

Artist	Tweets Per Minute*	Percentage Increase in Sales**
Robin Thicke	306,100	306 %
Justin Timberlake	219,800	1,876 %
Drake	194,500	281%
Kanye West	181,200	1,187%

Note. * Data from Graver (2013).

**Amazon and iTunes sales on the day of the broadcast versus the day before (Rothman, 2013)

Comparison of Perception Scores with music sales

The best perception score on average was 1 point if an artist had all positive tweets with each tweet having a score of 1. The worst possible score, with all negative tweets, would be a score of -1 point. Justin Timberlake had the maximum score from tweets about him since all of his tweets had positive connotations. Robin Thicke received the lowest score of the four performances and received a negative score (see Table 7).

Table 7: Positive/Negative Perception Score for Each Artist

Artist	Scores
Robin Thicke	-0.47
Justin Timberlake	1
Drake	0.08
Kanye West	-0.42

VI. Analysis and Conclusions

There were many common tweets with the same wording and content. The same pattern was shown among retweets, favorites and hashtags. These seem to support Social Influence Network theory since people picked up on common content trends and contributed to these trends by tweeting similarly worded tweets as well as retweeting popular tweets about the artists.

According to Uses and Gratifications Theory, audience members engaged in the award show as concurrent viewers and commentators. Even though they posted tweets or retweets, the amounts of tweet activities they were involved in were not translated into increases in music sales for the artists who performed at the show, as shown in Figure 1.

With the category of celebrity reactions, which was a notable trend in tweets about Drake, it was inferred that the director influences the circulating social media content during the award show. Through the director’s selection of shots in the filming of the show, the director brings aspects of the show to the forefront of the viewers’ attention. This includes celebrity reactions, such as Rihanna’s reaction to Drake’s performance.

The social media content written about the artist has some relationship with the music sales. Interestingly, the two artists who had the highest percentage increase in sales, Timberlake and West, had the category of quality ranking in their top categories—due to the positive aspects of quality for Timberlake and the negative aspects for West. The category of quality did not even rank in the top categories for both Robin Thicke’s performance and Drake’s performance, and their sales increase in music paled in comparison with

that of Justin Timberlake and Kanye West. This suggests that people also consider other factors beyond the quality of the performance when purchasing artists' music.

Timberlake saw 1,876 percent of increase during the award day in comparison to the previous day. In the case of Kanye West, the sales increase reached 1,187% despite his low perception score of -0.42. From these findings, it was determined that negative content through social media may not necessarily hinder an artist's sales of music, as can be seen by West's results. This establishes the notion that negative social media content may be better than no social media content from media-active consumers. Conversely, in cases like Justin Timberlake's positive content via social media may substantially help an artist's sales in music.

Kanye West's results contradict the expectation of a positive relationship between the perception scores and percentage increases in sales. Although West had the second largest increase in sales, the content analysis showed a strong negative sentiment among the tweets written about him. West scored the second lowest score in his perception score. Therefore, from the content analysis, it may not be concluded that the content within the tweets directly contributes to the increase in sales since West's results reflect otherwise.

This study found that Friedkin's Social Influence Network Theory can be applied to marketing the artist, not Uses and Gratification Theory. The music sales of the artist are somewhat related to Twitter followers' perception of the artists. The limitations of this study include a small sample of tweets selected for analysis. The four artists selected for this analysis had hundreds of thousands of tweets per minute during their performance, but this sample contains only 850 tweets. Additionally, there are other factors that might have influenced the increases in sales, such as the radio or the music awards show itself. How much their performance was played following the show might have an impact on the sales. The show itself might also have a big impact on the sales, regardless of whether people tweeted about it or not. Also further studies should be done to check whether music sales increases were really influenced by the Twitter posters who had a favorable perception of the artist versus other types of viewers who had a negative perception or who did not post tweets at all.

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Students' Cell Phone Addiction and Their Opinions

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Abstract

Cell phone plays an essential role in communications throughout the world. The technological revolution that many Americans have experienced has drastically changed the way humans interact and communicate with one another. The author conducted field observations to examine Elon students' behavior while walking around campus, along with an online survey. Findings suggest that students seem to be addicted to their cell phones, with 64 percent of students observed on campus interacting with their device one way or another. Nevertheless, a survey of students found that they believe that the need of self-gratification achieved through excessive cell phone use has negative psychological effects on them. Overall, this research would impart insight into the addictive world of technology, and the impacts cell phones have on students' behavior.

I. Introduction

In recent years, the use of cell phones has played a vital role in communication across the globe; citizens of the United States, like people in other countries, are consumed in the technological revolution. It is hard for members of Generation Y, who were born between the early 1980s and the early 2000s, to imagine a time when instant and constant communication was not a main focus for them socially. A generation ago, people left their homes without any form of electronic device; made plans in person; wrote personal, hand-written letters; and knocked on neighbors' doors to see if they were home. These things, of course, still happen. But today "more than 90 percent of American adults have a cell phone of some kind, and for people under the age of 44, that number is closer to 97 percent."¹ For those with phones, particularly smart phones that allow individuals to instantly connect to anyone via the World Wide Web, personal, face-to-face connections seem to be disappearing at a rapid pace. In reaction, the McMillan family, of Ontario, Canada, conducted a social experiment where they "instituted a ban on all technology invented after 1986."² This year-long experiment was not designed to punish the children, but rather to show them a simpler way of life, before the world was instantly connected. Brean quotes McMillan, as saying, "The basis of the project is to feel what it was like

1. Doug Mataconis, "91 percent Of American Adults Own A Cell Phone, Majority Of Them Own A Smart-phone," *Outside the Beltway*. Np, 6 June 2013, Web. 28 Oct, 2013.

2. Tom Gardner, "That 1980's Show: No Internet, Pink Ghetto Blasters and Mullets, of Course, as Father Bans All Modern Technology for a YEAR to Take Family Back to 1986," *Mail Online*. Np, 6 Sept, 2013. Web, 07 Oct, 2013.

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when I was a kid before everything was connected,”³ The McMillan family is just one example of people who are trying to disconnect from the technology that they feel has become addictive. This research attempted to determine whether Generation Y's seemingly constant connection via technology can be classified as an addiction. It tried to determine whether members of this generation are losing their ability to interact in personal, face-to-face contact with others without somehow returning to their “devices” in the midst of real-world interactions.

Over the past several decades, the number of cell phone subscriptions in the United States has grown significantly as people's reliance on this technology has increased. There were 681,000 cellular telephone subscriptions in the United States in 1986⁴ and 326.4 million in December 2012. As late as December 2002, there were no houses that relied solely on wireless devices, but in 2012, 35.8 percent of U.S. households were wireless only.⁵ Throughout this study, the author tried to address questions related to cell phone addiction and analyze its consequent psychological effects.

II. Literature Review

Before analyzing human interactions with cell phones, it is important to understand the definition of addiction and addictive characteristics. Alaghemandan explained that all entities capable of stimulating a person can be addictive. In his article, “Behavioral addiction versus substance addiction: Correspondence of psychiatric and psychological views,” he found that “whenever a habit changes into an obligation, it can be considered as an addiction.”⁶ The Department of Internal Medicine conducted an experiment that evaluated how behavioral addiction correlated to substance addiction. According to their research, “Behavioral addiction such as internet addiction is similar to drug addiction except that in the former, the individual is not addicted to a substance but the behavior or the feeling brought about by the relevant action.”⁷

Mozes introduced the concept of materialism and the factors that contribute to society's obsession without devices. In his article, “Can Excessive Cellphone Use Become an Addiction,” published by *U.S. News & World Report*, Mozes stated, “The way we treat and interact with our devices is often impulsive and uncontrollable. Roberts also explained that there are benefits to cell phones, but, “like anything, if we go overboard it can become a problem.”⁸ Roberts explained that numerous factors including materialism and impulsiveness play a role in turning cell phone use into an addiction. Roberts was quoted by Mozes as saying, “That's particularly true when we use them excessively in public, . . . Because when we do so we're signaling that we've got this shiny object, this status symbol, our iPhone or Android or Blackberry, and that we've got important people to talk to or text, who are may be even more important than the people right in front of us. And that we're so important that we have to talk everywhere and all the time in front of others.”⁹

The article, “A Biblio Analysis of the Scientific Literature on Internet, Video Games, and Cell Phone Addiction,” published in the *Journal of the Medical Library Association*, concluded that the considerable amount of cell phone use in today's global society isn't as much an issue of addiction and dependence, but

3. Joseph Brean, “Why This Ontario Family Ditched Their Smartphones so They Could Live for a Year like It's 1986 - Mulletts And all” *National Post News Why This Ontario Family Ditched Their Smartphones so They Could Live for a Year like Its 1986 Mulletts And all Comments*, Np, 9 June 2013, Web, 07 Oct, 2013.

4. “Number of Cell Phones in the US,” *Number of Cell Phones in the US*. Np, 2002, Web, 28 Oct, 2013.

5. “U.S. Wireless Quick Facts,” *U.S. Wireless Quick Facts*, CTIA Advocacy, Dec, 2012, Web, 28 Oct, 2013.

6. S. S. Alavi, M. Ferdosi, F. Jannatifard, M. Eslami, H. Alaghemandan, & M. Setare, (2012), “Behavioral addiction versus substance addiction: Correspondence of psychiatric and psychological views,” *International Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 3(4) Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1287515141?accountid=10730>.

7. S. S. Alavi, M. Ferdosi, F. Jannatifard, M. Eslami, H. Alaghemandan, & M. Setare, (2012), “Behavioral addiction versus substance addiction: Correspondence of psychiatric and psychological views,” *International Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 3(4) Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1287515141?accountid=10730>.

8. Ibid.

9. Alan Mozes, “Can Excessive Cellphone Use Become an Addiction?” *US News. U.S. News & World Report*, 04 Dec, 2012, Web, 7 Oct, 2013.

rather it is an issue of controlling impulses. The study stated, “One behavioral addiction that has received considerable media attention is the pathological use of certain information and communications technologies (ICT), such as the Internet, cell phones, and video games.”¹⁰ If humans learned to control their impulses related to cell phone use, they would be given the opportunity to interact and communicate with the present environment in which they are surrounded.

Morrill studied the changes in adolescent development since cell phones have become an integral aspect in American society. In the article, “Cell Phone Use and Psychological Development Among Emerging Adults,” Morrill explained the issues surrounding the ability for adolescents to solve problems, trust, and have positive self-affirmation due to cell phone use. Young adults feel a sense of entitlement and status with a cell phone. Morrill compared cell phones in today’s society to technology from older generations. Morrill added further explanation:

“Like the television in the 1950s and Internet in the 1990s, mobile telephony has emerged as one of the defining technologies of our time” (Campbell & Park, 2008, p. 371). Cell phones are having an impact on society in many ways including time use, privacy issues, and constant accessibility (Rainie & Keeter, 2006). In 1995, close to 34 million people in the United States had a cell phone; as of 2007, the number of subscribers was 255 million, or 84 percent of the U.S. population (Statistical Abstract of the United States Census Bureau, 2009).¹¹ One of the biggest surprises surrounding the growth of technology is the worldwide acceptance and intense use of cell phones among youth (Ling, 2005). With cell phone ownership becoming so widespread, society is starting to see and question the impacts of cell phone use on adolescent development.¹²

Morrill added that the younger population have become the primary users of cell phones in America, and “the value and meaning of a cell phone for an adolescent will most likely carry strong social implications within their peer group.”¹³ Morrill explains that “Measuring the constant connection and distraction; the amount of time spent in voice-to-voice communication and text messaging; as well as the length of cell phone ownership may identify the impacts on an adolescent’s psychosocial development during one of the most critical periods in their life. An individual’s identity development may influence how cell phones are used to explore, make commitments, and resolve crises during this turbulent stage in development.”¹⁴

Brian conducted an experiment with two teens who would go without phones for 48 hours. She published her research and findings in the article “Two Days with No Phone.” Prior to conducting the experiment, Brian asked the two teens about their phone habits and the amount of time they spend with their devices. She found that the two students woke up several times during the night to text. One student even slept with his phone beneath his pillow. “It’s common for teens’ sleep to be interrupted by texts. Sometimes teens even send texts filled with nonsense words when they don’t wake up all the way,”¹⁵ Brian claims that many teens have troubling problems when they try to go without cell phones or technology.

In Brian’s study, students had to give up their phones and electronic media for 24 hours. The results showed that, “One in five people experienced changes in their bodies or emotions that are signs of possible addiction.”¹⁶ Participants thought they heard their phone ring or vibrate, even when it wasn’t with them, they had strong cravings to reach for their phone to check missed messages or calls. Some people were fidgeting and unable to be still, in addition to feeling anxious, worried and lonely.

10. Xavier Carbonell, E. Guardiola, M. Beranuy, & A. Bellés, (2009). A bibliometric analysis of the scientific literature on internet, video games, and cell phone addiction, *Journal of the Medical Library Association*, 97(2), 102-7, Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/203513204?accountid=10730>.

11. T. B. Morrill, (2009), *Cell phone use and psychosocial development among emerging adults*. (Order No. 3379281, Utah State University), *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, 164, Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305011871?accountid=10730>, (305011871).

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. S. J. Brian, (2013, Sep 02), Two days with no phone. *Scholastic Action*, 37, 4-6, Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1432704113?accountid=10730>

16. Ibid.

These feelings of stress and anxiety due to an absence of technology are new to teens across the globe. This addiction has altered the way humans personally interact with one another, and has created a distance in the ways in which we communicate. These devices have driven a wedge between intimate and direct conversation and communication. It is becoming an addiction that is impeding personal well-being, causing unnecessary anxieties and pressures. The research suggests that there needs to be a balance between time spent with these devices, and without them. Without a set balance, people will continue to become more obsessed and consumed by technology, and there is a concern that humans will lose all closeness and affection that can come from personalized conversations.

Based on the literature review, the following three research questions were asked in this study:

RQ1. Are college-age students addicted to their cell phones?

RQ2. What are obvious traits that show addiction to cell phones?

RQ3. What psychological effects do people feel when they are disconnected?

III. Methods

Field observations and a survey were conducted to gauge the level of engagement that Elon University students have towards their devices, and with each other in face-to-face situations.

For this study, the author tried to capture a sample that is an accurate representation of the individuals affected by cell phone addiction. A survey of Elon University students between the ages of 18 and 22 was conducted. There were 65 responses to survey questions that were designed to gauge cell phone habits, primary uses of cell phones, and feelings and emotions individuals possess without their cell phone. (For a full list of survey questions, see Appendix A.)

Based on the survey results, the researcher conducted field observations at four locations on campus. The observation locations were set at heavily populated student locations at times when more students would likely be present. The researcher recorded a number of interactions among the student population, including the number of students texting, talking on their phones, listening with ear buds, and the number of students who did not have contact with their devices. (Refer to Appendix B to see the full set up and design of the field observations.)

IV. Findings

The 9-question survey generated 65 responses from students. The vast majority of students, 95.4 percent owned an iPhone, while only two students owned a Droid, and one claimed they didn't own a smart phone.

When asked the primary usage of their cell phone, texting was mentioned by 83.1 percent of students as the most used feature, followed by calling by 10.8 percent, and Facebook, Twitter or Instagram by 1.5 percent each. More than half of the students surveyed said they believe they are addicted to instant and constant communication (56.9%). Students reported feeling disconnected (77.4%), naked (25.8%) and stressed (25.8%) when they didn't carry their cell phones. The wide range of feelings is due to the fact that people don't like being uninformed about things happening within the world around them. People want to be in touch and receive information within seconds. Almost all students (98.5%) believe that young adults look for self-gratification and acceptance from their peers through social media, which is constantly available through cell phones. An overwhelming majority (82.8%) agreed that there are negative psychological impacts on the self-esteem of young adults due to their addiction to technology.

Field observations were conducted to gauge Elon student's interactions and behaviors with cell phones. More than 200 students were observed, and the results were somewhat surprising. The researcher found that 83 of the 191 students observed (43.5%) were either texting or holding their cell phone, while 68 students observed (35.6%) did not have their cell phone out at all. The other students were either talking on their cell phones (6.8%) or listening with ear buds (14.1%).

Based on the survey, it was possible to answer some of the original research questions raised. Regarding the question on what were obvious traits that show addiction to cell phones, young adults feel the constant need to check their cell phones for any form of contact from family, friends and work. Of the students surveyed, 44 percent agreed with the statement, "When I walk across campus, the majority of people are on their cell phones." Although this is true based on the field observations, many may find it surprising that just over a third of the students observed did not have their cell phone visible.

In an effort to find what psychological effects people felt when they were disconnected, the survey asked students to identify feelings and emotions associated with the absence of their cell phone. One student reported in the survey that without a cell phone, the student had a "fear of missing out," commonly known as FOMO ("Fear of Missing Out"), in today's society. About 77 percent of students surveyed said they felt disconnected, while others said they felt free without their devices.

When asked for any other feedback regarding the topic, students provided a number of responses. One student said, "I think that as a society we do rely on instant communication. It has become a blessing and a curse at the same time. Sometimes we do need times to decompress and get away from social media," while another student simply claimed, "This is depressing." Two separate respondents mentioned how time abroad has changed their opinion on cell phone use. One student said, "Meals with friends, hanging out with my host family, and other activities with other people are much more enjoyable without everyone looking at their phone. I hope that living abroad without being able to use my phone will make me use my phone less when I return to the States." Another student responded, "When I was abroad it was such a relief to not be on my phone all the time and when I was on vacation. I wish I could feel like I could have that relief all the time but you are at such a disadvantage to not have your phone because you miss out on things."

Two additional responses mentioned how students either worry, or have hope for the future in relation to cell phone behaviors. One student said, "The trend of cell phone addiction will only get worse," while the second claimed, "I think [it's] the change that is happening, and when our generation has kids, this won't be an issue anymore." Another student mentioned one possible impact of excessive cell phone use: "People often forget how to interact face-to-face because we use technology as a crutch to avoid true interaction." The overall opinion of the majority of student's surveyed was that they are aware of the behaviors of themselves and their peers. It appears that the addiction is real: young adults are influenced by the negative psychological effects associated with excessive cell phone use and self-gratification.

V. Conclusion

Observations and a survey of student's on Elon's campus showed that Elon is not an exception to the phenomenon that cell phone addiction is affecting many young adults. People are becoming more aware of their own personal habits and behaviors regarding interaction with their devices, and some people believe the obsession surrounding instant and constant communication will diminish by the time Generation Y parents have their own children. Some people claimed that these addictive behaviors and habits arise because they don't want to be disconnected from their friends and family. They need to have their cell phones so they are able to respond, or reach out to people instantly, and impulsively. Others believe that the use of technology to communicate has decreased our ability to communicate with one another in person. As one survey participant put it, "I think people often forget how to interact face-to-face because we use technology as a crutch to avoid true interaction."

All it takes to see the truth behind this is observe families and friends at a restaurant. Try to find one group of the targeted individuals who can go the entire duration of their meal without reaching for their cell phone. People also tend to feel much more comfortable behind the screen of a cell phone than in the presence of another person. This is where people lose the ability to face difficult issues and have vocal confrontations with one another. Scientific studies and surveys have shown that there are negative psychological effects related to cell phone addiction. Many young adults need validation that they are pretty or popular, and they use social media, accessed through most cell phones to achieve this self-gratification. Many individuals feel a heightened level of stress and anxiety when they are with their phones, because they are so used to constantly having instant access to communication; others feel free without them

because it gives them a chance to disconnect and think their own thoughts without interruption. Overall, it is clear that many members of Generation Y are aware of addictive behaviors they picked up and the accompanying negative consequences.

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Appendix A: Survey Questions

1. What type of cell phone do you own?
2. What is the primary purpose of your cell phone (1 being the most used feature)
3. Do you believe you are addicted to instant and constant communication?
4. Do you ever purposely leave your cell phone at home to disconnect?
5. How do you feel without your cell phone (stressed, disconnected, alone, naked...)
6. Do you think young adults look for a sense of gratification through various platforms in technology? (Facebook, Twitter, Texts, Instagrams)
7. Do you believe our addiction to technology contribute to negative psychological effects and self-esteem?
8. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following... (I am addicted to my cell phone, Americans as a whole are addicted to technology, When I walk across campus, the majority of people are on their cell phones, I feel stressed and alone when I don't have my cell phone, I wish society would rely less on instant and constant communication, I wish I could disconnect more and enjoy communicating with friends in person without the added distraction of cell phones.
9. Do you have any other thoughts and opinions on society and our cell phone use?

Appendix B: Field Observations of students on four campus locations

	McEwen	Moseley	Belk Library	Powell	Total	Total (%)
Holding or texting	16	31	23	13	83	43.5
Talking	3	4	4	2	13	6.8
Listening	5	9	10	3	27	14.1
No phone visible	26	7	19	16	68	35.6
Total	50	51	56	34	191	100.0

Notes: McEwen represents observations outside of McEwen Dining Hall between 3:00-3:15 p.m. on Nov. 4, 2013; Moseley means observations outside of Moseley Center by the flowerbed between 2:30-2:45 p.m. on Nov. 5, 2013; Belk Library was used when the author observed students entering or exiting Belk Library between 2:45-3:00 p.m. on Nov. 5, 2013; and the Powell observations were done while watching students crossing Haggard Ave. in front of Powell between 3:00-3:15 p.m. on Nov. 5, 2013.

The Agenda-Setting Power of *Saturday Night Live*

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Abstract

This study explored the effects of the late-night sketch comedy Saturday Night Live in the political sphere, specifically analyzing its impact using agenda-setting theory. As primarily secondary research, this study reviewed previous studies suggesting that satirical news segments and critical portrayals of politicians have a tangible effect on voters' perceptions of political issues. In the 2008 Presidential Election specifically, vice-presidential nominee Sarah Palin's favorability ratings dropped in accordance with the program's parodies, illustrating Saturday Night Live's possible influence on public perceptions of politicians and political issues by spotlighting critical issues and blending humor with truth. This study sheds light on the evolution of the program from mere entertainment to a political platform with the potential to influence viewers' political beliefs.

I. Introduction

Throughout its nearly 40-year run on American national television, the sketch comedy program *Saturday Night Live* has introduced viewers to memorable characters, from the aliens with cone-shaped heads, to the "Blues Brothers," to "Wayne and Garth," to the upright and uptight "Church Lady." Beyond the entertaining and humorous, and fictional, creations of the show's writers, the program's political parodies, often skewering the politicians found in the most recent newspaper headlines, also garner significant media attention. In the past decade in particular, *Saturday Night Live* cemented a pivotal place in the world of politics. This work considers the question, particularly relevant given the show's popularity throughout the past two national elections: "How, and to what extent, did *Saturday Night Live* set the political agenda?"

The most recent literature about *Saturday Night Live* delves mainly into the 2008 political season, as Tina Fey's portrayal of then-Alaskan governor Sarah Palin shaped the way the American public perceived the relatively unknown politician, and as some argue, influenced their decisions at the polls. The show's increasing political power may be explained through the agenda-setting theory, which asserts that the media influences what issues the general public, or in this study, the *Saturday Night Live* viewers, perceive as the most important political values. The "Weekend Update" satirical news segment additionally bolsters the notion that the program plays an informative role, as the segment's writers pull actual news headlines and spin them in a humorous light.

* **Keywords:** Saturday Night Live, agenda-setting, satire, 2008 Election, Sarah Palin

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II. Literature Review

The literature revolves primarily around *Saturday Night Live's* history, evolution, and agenda-setting capabilities. Some sources argue that the program truly influences the political sphere, beyond providing pure entertainment. Generally, the work done on *Saturday Night Live* in recent years spotlights the "Tina Fey Effect," pertaining specifically to the power exhibited by the program's actors and writers in the past five years. Historically, little research on the show's political satire has been conducted, although researchers have studied the program's origins in political parodies. To broaden the study beyond just *Saturday Night Live*, additional literature on the agenda-setting theory itself, historically and in present-day was reviewed. Literature on other political satire programs, including *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*, was also included to expand the discussion beyond one program's style of political humor.

The Agenda-Setting Theory

Weaver (1994) analyzes the evolution of the agenda-setting theory and asserts that the 1992 presidential election illustrated a shift in political power from the media to voters themselves. Weaver writes that the media's ability to set the political agenda is dependent on several factors, including "prior knowledge of voters, the nature of the media coverage, the type of issues, and the kind of effects being measured (Weaver 348). He claims the media's power is limited, but also asserts that the media can set the agenda by constructing a "perceived reality that voters rely upon in making decisions" (Weaver 349).

A definition of agenda setting in a contemporary context is also integral to the discussion. Authors Guo, Vu and McCombs discuss the evolution of the agenda-setting theory and suggest that the media influences what issues are perceived as important, persuading the audience to believe that certain clusters of information are most important. The authors take a psychological approach to their research, countering that modern-day agenda setting is not a simple practice or linear storyline created by the media, but rather emphasizes connections between a political figure and one's own background and beliefs.

The Evolution of Political Satire

Becker's (2012) research further supports the argument that *Saturday Night Live* has set the political agenda in a presidential campaign. Becker's work similarly analyzes the 2008 presidential election, focusing not on Palin, but on Senator John McCain, her running mate. Becker defines and compares the political satire on *Saturday Night Live* with Stephen Colbert's deadpan satire on "The Colbert Report." Although other literature pinpoints *Saturday Night Live's* negative portrayal of Sarah Palin as one of the main reasons the McCain/Palin campaign lost the presidency, Becker suggests that the program allowed McCain to salvage and boost his public image and political career by appearing on the show and lampooning himself in his campaign's final days.

In analyzing the agenda-setting effectiveness of *Saturday Night Live* on young adults, Holbert, Tchernev, Walther, Esralew, and Benski (2013) counter the notion that the program has the ability to subtly plant ideas or images in viewers' minds. The authors agree that political parodies can contribute to young adults' political knowledge, but assert that there are limitations for parodies in actually setting the political agenda. They suggest that young adults in particular are able to separate satire from truth, and are not persuaded by political parodies on television. The literature asserts that young adults are cognitively able to separate persuasive material from their own beliefs and may "avoid the message, counter-argue the message . . ." (Holbert et. all 173).

In addition to its satirical characterizations of political figures, *Saturday Night Live's* "Weekend Update" news segment also influences viewers' political views. Reinheld (2013) describes the role of the comedic news segment in disseminating information to viewers, countering the argument that the program is mere entertainment. The literature describes the development of the segment, and show creator Lorne Michaels' intent for "Weekend Update" to be considered a serious voice in the American political landscape and to serve an informational purpose" (Reinheld 191). Reinheld also sides with other researchers promoting the idea that *Saturday Night Live* plays an informative role, with cast members often learning about the news primarily from the segment's jokes, mirroring similar work revealing that young adults who watch political parodies are more informed than those who do not.

***Saturday Night Live* During the 2008 Election**

Author Dannagal G. Young (2013) discusses *Saturday Night Live*'s influence as a part of the political sphere after the show defined vice-presidential nominee Sarah Palin's public image. Although David Weaver defines the press as the agenda-setting vehicle, Young casts *Saturday Night Live* as the ultimate power-holder during election times. Young asserts that the rise of news coverage and "emphasis on candidate personalities" enabled *Saturday Night Live* to create Palin's public persona. The media focused primarily on Palin in comparison to Fey's satirical portrayal, shifting the political discussion away from political issues to an actress's characterization of a politician. The author analyzed the "Fey Effect," where Fey's portrayal of Palin is pinpointed as the basis for Palin's increasingly unfavorable poll numbers. Young's research contributes to the argument that *Saturday Night Live* does play a role in political agenda-setting, directly resulting in Palin's inability to secure the vice-presidency.

Esralew and Young (2013) also delve into the "Fey effect." The authors support the idea that there is no longer separation between news and entertainment, countering literature equating *Saturday Night Live* to mindless entertainment without political agenda. The authors define modern agenda-setting as "not about direct persuasion but, rather, subtle cognitive effects that take advantage of how the brain is hardwired." Instead of overtly telling viewers not to vote for McCain and Palin, *Saturday Night Live* subliminally planted cognitive shortcuts in viewers' minds. Esralew and Young assert that agenda-setting is the first part of a two-step process, where agenda-setting spotlights certain issues in the media, followed by priming, where viewers "ascribe increased importance" to the issues (Esralew and Young 340).

Abel and Barthel(2013), similarly utilize the depiction of Sarah Palin as evidence for the argument that *Saturday Night Live* influences how journalists and the mass media cover certain figures. The research primarily concerns the incorporation of political satire and comedy into the political information pool. The authors suggest that *Saturday Night Live* holds an impactful relationship with the general public, as they can inject their satire with political commentary that journalists must avoid. The two authors reference a possible "SNL Effect," a recent theory similar to the "Fey Effect" that claims that the show truly does influence public opinion. They came to the conclusion that the program led the media to skewer and heavily criticize Sarah Palin after airing a critical sketch, while the media's coverage of her prior to the episode was mainly favorable.

Pfeifer (2013) claims that in the 2008 election, *Saturday Night Live* played an important role in the campaign's narrative. Pfeifer explains the show's significance through the "framing" theory, similar to the agenda setting theory, stating that political parody can shape viewers' understanding and perception of political figures. He delves into the definition of a parody, and asserts that political parodies can be used to shape our beliefs and create new political realities. He also says political parody is not necessarily just an imitation, but can also contain added commentary. Pfeifer cites several sources that further the idea of political framing, in this case asserting that *Saturday Night Live* determines the storyline of an election, guiding viewers' interpretations of media portrayals.

The majority of literature on the subject supports the argument that *Saturday Night Live* agenda setting influences the political sphere and possesses the ability to set the political agenda. In accordance with the theory's definition, the program shapes what viewers perceive to be the most prominent issues. Several researchers utilize the program's depiction of Sarah Palin as a key piece of evidence in their assertions. However, the literature relies heavily on quantitative, rather than qualitative, data, drawing upon other media sources to support their arguments. Since the agenda-setting power of the show manifested most clearly in 2008, most of the literature only illustrates the agenda-setting effect during one election. The literature suggests that agenda-setting, and other political and sociological theories, reach beyond politics into the entertainment world.

III. Methodology

The data collected for this study is primarily qualitative, drawing upon other research and literature to further interpret and answer the question presented. Since this research analyzes *Saturday Night Live* and agenda-setting theory from a historical perspective, and compares the political power of the program beginning nearly 40 years ago, quantitative research is not appropriate or necessarily integral to the study.

Rather, anecdotes and theories from previous research are reviewed in order to analyze and synthesize the various components in this discussion. To keep the literature objective, academic writings from both viewpoints were included. Literature providing informative definitions and examples of concepts like political satire and the agenda-setting theory was also referenced to foster a clearer understanding of the ideas behind the argument. To support the claim that *Saturday Night Live's* political coverage has a tangible effect on political views, several Gallup poll results were also included.

IV. Analysis

The Definition and Evolution of the Agenda-Setting Theory

Before discussing whether or not *Saturday Night Live* truly possesses the power to set the political agenda, the theory of agenda-setting must first be clarified. The current definition of the agenda-setting theory delves into the impact of television programs in impacting viewers' perceptions of political figures or issues. Programs like "The Daily Show," "The Colbert Report," and "Saturday Night Live" do not directly persuade or influence viewers to support a candidate or issue, but instead plant certain ideas and concepts in their minds. (Esralew & Young 339) Esralew and Young also argue that issues spotlighted on television programs are often perceived by viewers as the most important. The authors identify agenda setting as the first step in a two-step process of television's political influence. The second step, called "priming," takes place when viewers evaluate political figures according to the program's positions on the issues or characterizations promoted during the agenda-setting phase.

Initial research on the agenda-setting theory began in the late 1960s, and defined the concept simply as the "the relationship between which issues voters considered more important and which issues were most heavily covered by the news media (Weaver 348). Weaver promotes the notion that the media can create a "perceived reality" by airing material about certain candidates or issues. Thus, viewers often turn to television programs for political information. The media's power in the political sphere has evolved, Weaver argues, due to the development of new forms of media (Weaver 348). Recent studies on the agenda-setting theory define the concept as a theoretical model, where the media sources "bundle different sets of objects or attributes," promoting those issues or ideas as most important in a short period of time. Referred to as the "Network Agenda Setting Model," the expanded theory suggests that audiences will form connections between certain ideas or messages when promoted together (Guo, Vu & McCombs 65).

The Definition of Satire

The second element of the discussion, the art of satire itself, is necessary to conclude whether programs like *Saturday Night Live* serve as purely trivial entertainment or as informative and persuasive sources. Becker (2013) explains that satire is based on four elements: aggression, judgment, play, and laughter, and presents "a critical perspective or take on accepted reality" (795). The humor of *Saturday Night Live* in particular is regarded as satirical based on its frequent social commentary during the "Weekend Update" satirical news segment, and on its caricatures of famous figures. Becker describes *Saturday Night Live's* style of satire as "self-ridicule," and introspective, and less hostile than the humor of another successful show, "The Colbert Report," where the style of humor is intended to mock its target (Becker 797). She thus asserts that the program's self-effacing humor is frequently received in good nature, inviting viewers to laugh at themselves as portrayed through the show's content.

Satire ranges from Becker's harmless and self-deprecating definition, to bitter and harsh. (Holbert et al. 171) The researchers define all satire as possessing an "element of assault," with political satire taking on multiple forms, as evidenced by the range of political content aired on *Saturday Night Live* alone. (Holbert et al. 172) The authors equate modern political satire's main goal with presenting "human folly" to "shape people's impressions of the objects being satirized." (Holbert et al. 174) After defining the two key elements of the discussion, the analysis of *Saturday Night Live* and its potential ability to utilize satire to promote a political agenda follows.

The Origins of Saturday Night Live in Political Satire

Although *Saturday Night Live*'s early years are engrained in popular culture for launching the careers of Chevy Chase, John Belushi, Dan Aykroyd, Jane Curtin and Gilda Radner, the show played an integral role in familiarizing political satire on television. During its first five years on air, the "Weekend Update" segment, where cast members dressed professionally and delivered news behind an anchor desk, albeit with significantly more punch lines than Walter Cronkite, reached more than 30 million people. (Reincheld 190) According to Reincheld (2013), show creator Lorne Michaels wanted the segment to "be considered a serious voice in the American political landscape and to serve an informational purpose." (Reincheld 191) Although some literature argues that *Saturday Night Live* at its core serves to entertain, rather than intentionally persuade, Michael's intent to create a show with overt political influence is significant.

When *Saturday Night Live* first debuted in 1975, Americans were frequently exposed to political news regarding the Watergate Scandal and the Vietnam War. The "Weekend Update" news segment allowed viewers to laugh at the show's unorthodox and irreverent interpretations of the nation's actual headlines. As the show evolved, the writers often chose to spotlight unusual or seemingly trivial news, introducing viewers to stories they might not consider newsworthy. Thus, *Saturday Night Live* possesses the ability to set the political agenda. Writers often did not intend to promote a specific agenda, according to Herb Sargent, who supervised the segment for twenty years. Sargent says writers did not create jokes with the intent to educate viewers, but eventually realized "People would say they'd heard about this major story only on 'Update'" (Reincheld 193).

The Increasingly Political Role of Saturday Night Live from 1980-2008

Politicians and their associates eventually came to regard *Saturday Night Live* as a key player in influencing popular political discussions. Elliot Curson, the head of Ronald Reagan's advertising campaign in 1980, said the show carried more influence than any official political advertisements. Curson said, "When *Saturday Night Live* portrays one candidate as dumb, another as a bumbler, the audience is bound to say, 'Well, maybe they're right'" (Reincheld 195). The reliance of politicians on *Saturday Night Live* to meld their public image additionally illustrates the political power of the program. President Gerald Ford's media team perceived Chevy Chase's portrayal of him as a bumbling klutz as detrimental and harmful to his image (Reincheld 195). As a result, Ford appeared on the show to parody Chase's parody of himself. If the show were regarded as harmless entertainment, politicians likely would feel no urgency to appear on the show to combat public opinion and display a sense of humor.

Former Presidential candidate Ralph Nader publicly spoke regarding *Saturday Night Live*'s status as an integral part of a political campaign, recalling of his appearance on the program in 2000, "Here you have this serious presidential campaign, and all of us had to go on these comedy shows like *Saturday Night Live*, because that was the only way we could have more than a sound bite and reach a large audience" (Reincheld 196). Michaels equates the growth of *Saturday Night Live* as a political vehicle with modern-day political commentary similar to Mark Twain's political satire (Reincheld 196). According to Michaels, "if there was a thing that was controversial, people wanted to know what we thought about it," describing the segment as "a big part of how Americans define democracy." Although the show features actors playing characters, the appearances of actual politicians demonstrate the amount of political influence ascribed to the program, and its successful development into a real political vehicle.

Saturday Night Live has evolved from its initial conception as political satire into what is regarded by some viewers as a legitimate news source. Among young adults in particular, the political sketches and punch lines serve an educational purpose. Jimmy Fallon, one of the "Weekend Update" anchors from 2000 to 2004, rarely followed the news as a twenty-something, admitting, "Honestly, when they asked me if I wanted to do it, I had no idea about the news or anything. I don't read. Now I find out the news through setups we do for jokes" (Reincheld 193). Reincheld asserts that American young adults learn about the news and political issues from the "smart alecks" on the program who give their own opinions through "Weekend Update" jokes or characterizations of political figures (Reincheld 196).

Thus, the line between political persuasion and pure entertainment has become blurred throughout *Saturday Night Live*'s run, as younger viewers identify with and recall news, especially when delivered in a memorable and humorous format. Reincheld claims the show sets a political agenda by exposing viewers to opinions, masked as jokes (Reincheld 196). Whether or not *Saturday Night Live*'s political influence is sig-

nificant enough to affect the outcome of elections, its popularity and position as a legitimate political platform and newsmaker suggest that the show does possess the ability to promote certain ideas, especially among younger adults. In the past two seasons surrounding the election of President Barack Obama, *Saturday Night Live's* ability to set the political agenda grew more salient, due in part to the accessibility of the Internet and the development of "viral videos."

Saturday Night Live and Agenda-Setting from 2008-2012

Beginning with the 2008 election, *Saturday Night Live's* depiction of the candidates, from the nation's first African American candidate of a major political party, to a female governor receiving the Republican vice-presidential nomination, paved the way for the program to air some of its most successful and discussion-provoking content. Abel and Barthel (2013) argue that because *Saturday Night Live* sketches can be accessed by Internet users worldwide at any time, they exist "not as isolated objects within a context of comedy programs, but comingle with *New York Times* articles, blog posts, and peer commentary" (5). The authors also reference a 2008 sketch based on the premise that the media asked Democratic Party nominee Hilary Clinton more challenging and critical questions than her opponent Barack Obama. *Washington Post* columnist Howard Kurtz observed that reporters became noticeably "tougher on Obama" in response to the sketch.

The ability of *Saturday Night Live* to impact media coverage and promote an agenda at a broader level has been labeled the "SNL Effect." Abel and Barthel argue that the show is no longer regarded as a "curiosity" with little news value, but as a rival media organization (Abel and Barthel 5). *Saturday Night Live's* style of entertainment often steps into outlandish territory, with political satire enabling the show's writers to step outside the "boundaries of critique and analysis that typically constrain journalists." The authors theorize that the show can influence public opinion on candidates and issues. (Abel and Barthel 2) In 2008, *Saturday Night Live* received its highest Nielsen Media Research ratings for a season premiere since former vice-president Al Gore hosted the show six years earlier. (Flowers and Young 49)

After the live premiere, 14.3 million viewers watched some of the night's sketches on NBC.com or Hulu.com (Flowers and Young 49). At the time, a sketch featuring Tina Fey playing Sarah Palin became the most viewed viral video, with more than 17 million viewers estimated to have recorded the episode to watch later. (Flowers and Young 49) The increasing viewership of the program during election times is further evidence that people intentionally seek out *Saturday Night Live* political segments as news sources. Due to the common practice of sharing videos, people who would not regularly or intentionally watch the program could view the sketches based on friends' recommendations or to remain up to date on popular culture. As a result, *Saturday Night Live's* ability to promote certain issues or characterizations of political figures increased beyond just providing viewers with a few laughs at the expense of the nation's most famous politicians.

"Bitch is the new Black"

One of the first indications that *Saturday Night Live* and its writers embodied creator Lorne Michael's intention to spark political discussion and spotlight certain issues among viewers is exemplified throughout the following dialog between Tina Fey and Amy Poehler regarding Hilary Clinton, a female candidate, and her opponent Barack Obama, an African-American candidate, on the "Weekend Update" segment.

TINA FEY: Maybe what bothers me the most is that people say that Hillary is a bitch. Let me say something about that: *Yeah*, she is. So am I and so is this one. [Points to Amy Poehler]

AMY POEHLER: Yeah, deal with it.

TINA FEY: You know what, bitches get stuff done. That's why Catholic schools use nuns as teachers and not priests. Those nuns are mean old clams and they sleep on cots and they're allowed to hit you. And at the end of the school year you *hated those bitches* but you knew the capital of Vermont. So, I'm saying it's not too late Texas and Ohio, bitch is the new black!

(Daniel Kurtzman, "Tracy Morgan on SNL: 'Black Is The New President'")

Fey, the show's former head writer and creator and star of *30 Rock*, received both criticism and praise for her declaration, with some criticizing the show for what they believed to be blatant support for one candidate. The show was further able to promote discussion and embody the agenda-setting theory by promoting which issues were most important when former cast member Tracy Morgan appeared on "Weekend Update" in a following episode. In blatant response to Fey's monologue, Morgan exclaimed:

“Bitch may be the new black, but black is the new president, bitch!”

(Rachel Sklar, SNL Shows Blatant Anti-Spitzer Bias, Endorses Obama)

Although critics claimed the show was blatantly throwing its support behind one candidate, the show’s writers likely intended to just spark the discussion of the roles race and gender play in politics. The show’s influence over the media also came to light, as media outlets like *The Huffington Post* published headlines criticizing the show’s political agenda. Rather than outright telling viewers whom to vote for, the show set the stage for discussion, and influenced media coverage of the election. The *Saturday Night Live* writers were able to “bundle” together race and gender discussions and promote those related issues as important. If the program was merely entertainment, the media would more likely than not disregard the political statements made on the show, rather than use them as headlines.

John McCain’s Image Restoration after the 2008 election

A second example of the show’s ability to send a political message in recent years is the coverage of 2008 presidential candidate Senator John McCain. Although McCain was unable to elude Darrell Hammond’s characterization of himself as stiff and old, the show extended itself as a platform where McCain could shape his public image. Although McCain lost his bid for the presidency, Becker (2013) claims that McCain re-established “credibility among viewers by making fun of his age . . . and his struggling campaign on *Saturday Night Live*” (798).

Despite his loss, the show enabled McCain to end his campaign on a strong note, persuading viewers of his “abilities as a politician and his credibility and viability on the national political stage” (Becker 798). Although no blatant declarations of support were made on his behalf, McCain’s appearance suggested the show subtly voiced an appreciation for his willingness to poke fun at himself. *Saturday Night Live* restored McCain’s credibility and built on his likeability, perhaps in response to or as a subtle apology for the intense skewering of his running mate Sarah Palin, as the show’s portrayal of the Alaskan governor is often cited as one of the main reasons the McCain-Palin ticket lost the presidency.

Tina Fey’s Portrayal of Governor Sarah Palin Makes Headlines

The strongest evidence that *Saturday Night Live* possesses strong agenda-setting capabilities in subliminally telling viewers what issues or character traits to think about, lies in Tina Fey’s portrayal of Sarah Palin in the fall of 2008. When John McCain announced Alaskan Governor Sarah Palin as his running mate, little was known about the politician. Although Fey was no longer a cast member, media outlets like *Vogue* immediately started the discussion about whether or not Fey would return to the show to play Palin, based merely on their physical resemblance (Flowers and Young 48). Although the press initially set the political agenda by devoting coverage to the possibility of Fey playing Palin rather than on covering Palin’s background or political stance, *Saturday Night Live* utilized the intense press coverage to significantly shape Palin’s public image.

Just two days before Fey’s debut, Palin gave her first televised interviews. *Saturday Night Live* seized the opportunity to magnify Palin’s shortcomings, spotlighting her inability to respond to questions about the Bush Doctrine and a statement that Russia and Alaska were “next-door neighbors.” (Young 254) Since the majority of viewers had yet to watch the actual interviews, Fey’s portrayal of Palin and some of the verbatim quotes included in the sketches directly shaped how the American public perceived Palin. Fey’s Palin impersonation dominated much of the political discussion, and contributed to the inability of the governor from defining herself outside of her portrayal on Saturday nights. Young asserts that in the actual vice-presidential debate, Palin debated not her opponent Joe Biden, but Fey’s impersonation (Young 258).

Whether intentional or not, *Saturday Night Live* strongly shaped the way Palin was received both by the press and by the general public. Palin’s actual interviews and appearances were frequently judged against Fey’s impersonation, with Palin having to battle the caricatured version of herself. News and media sources found Fey’s impersonation as Palin to be more interesting or relevant than Palin herself, with Fey, a comedy writer and actress, being ascribed to a political role in the race for the presidency (Young 259). The show’s support for primarily Democratic politicians, as evidenced by the constant coverage of Clinton and Obama, and through Fey’s skewering of Palin in key moments that suggested that Palin was unfit for the vice-presidency, like waving to the audience like a beauty pageant contestant, posing as if holding a rifle, and eluding certain heavy questions (Flowers and Young 56).

Fey’s portrayal of Palin suggests that *Saturday Night Live* significantly undermined the campaign, with

one *Independent* writer claiming, “Fey and her merciless send-ups have done more to undermine Palin’s campaign for the vice presidency than the efforts of Barack Obama, Joe Biden and the entire Democratic Party attack machine combined” (Young 261). Although initially intended to provide a humorous take on the relatively unknown governor, *Saturday Night Live’s* coverage cannot be overlooked as a key influence in the 2008 election. According to Pfeifer (2013), the sketches portraying Palin as uneducated or inept only made “minor alterations to the original text,” while “hearing and seeing Palin’s words come out of the mouth of a comedian (i.e., Fey) highlighted the rambling, vacuous nature of the actual interview response, flagging questions of Palin’s competence even more than the actual CBS interview did” (Pfeifer 166).

Statistics support that the show truly set a political agenda, as Palin’s favorability ratings continually declined in the two months following the season premiere. According to a Gallup poll conducted in the days following the Republican National Convention in September 2008, where Palin received the vice-presidential nomination, 53% of those surveyed viewed Palin favorably. Several weeks later, after the first Fey as Palin sketch aired, her favorability number began to continually drop, reaching a low of 42% by November 2008. The number of respondents with an unfavorable opinion increased over the same time period, from 28% after the RNC Convention, to 41% several weeks later, and ending at 49% in November 2008. A Gallup poll conducted a year after the 2008 campaign illustrated a long-term effect, with Palin’s favorability rating dropping to 40% in September 2009, with a 50% unfavorable rating (Jones).

Saturday Night Live’s coverage spotlighted critical issues surrounding Palin’s nomination, and led the media and the public to question her qualifications and knowledge about pressing political issues. Pfeifer furthers that Palin’s portrayal magnified certain realities, with Fey mimicking Palin’s actual nervous body language (Pfeifer 167). Fey’s spot-on impression became engrained in viewers’ minds with most people unable to differentiate between quotes actually spoken by Palin or jokes from Fey on *Saturday Night Live* (Pfeifer 168). The press went so far as to define the decline in Palin’s approval ratings as part of a “Tina Fey Effect,” a tangible impact of the impersonation on the Republican ticket (Esralew and Young 338). To try to overcome Fey’s memorable portrayal and restore her public image in a manner similar to McCain’s eventual appearance on the show, Palin guest-starred on the program, an event that attracted *Saturday Night Live’s* largest audience in fourteen years (Esralew and Young 341).

Despite Palin’s willingness to poke fun at herself and make light of Fey’s characterization with statements like her gaffes that were intended to “keep Tina Fey in business,” Fey’s Palin sketches stole the show and Palin’s favorability ratings dropped. Young claims that Fey’s impersonation, according to some journalists, was truly intended to damage Palin’s campaign, and succeeded in defining Palin’s downfall as the “Fey factor,” “the Fey problem,” or “the Tina Fey effect” (Young 261). Palin herself eventually blamed Fey for her loss, claiming that Fey “exploited” her to bolster her own career (Young 261). Although Lorne Michaels likely did not introduce political satire into his show with the intent to seriously inflict damage on a politician’s career, the obvious impact of *Saturday Night Live’s* coverage in the 2008 election significantly contributes to the argument that the show carries great agenda-setting power to highlight the issues that viewers believe to be most important.

V. Conclusion

In response to the original research question, “How does *Saturday Night Live* set the political agenda, and to what extent?” both historically and currently, *Saturday Night Live* has influenced the political world through both political satire and the satirical “Weekend Update” news segment. *Saturday Night Live* utilizes humor to spotlight certain issues or bundle certain ideas together, which viewers will then perceive as the most relevant or important. Poking fun at or making light of reality, *Saturday Night Live* is positioned as a voice in politics, injecting opinion and political commentary into its coverage that the ideally unbiased media cannot. In the past five years in particular, the skyrocketing success and popularity of the program, boosted significantly by Tina Fey’s impersonation of Sarah Palin additionally solidifies the argument.

Beyond impersonations, political statements made by cast members on “Weekend Update” regarding race and gender also effectively spark national discussions and spotlight certain issues as the most important. In the future, the “SNL Effect,” the term given for the effect of political satire influencing people’s perceptions and opinions, will likely continue to increase, as more and more people are exposed to the show’s content online. In addition to launching the careers of wildly successful comedians throughout its nearly forty year run,

Saturday Night Live has also greatly shaped the world of politics, persuading viewers to adopt their characterizations of politicians as truth, and magnifying what issues the media and national discussion view as most important.

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