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Reporting and Reparations: News Coverage and the Decision to Compensate the Forcefully Sterilized in North Carolina

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Abstract

Forced sterilization was an accepted legal practice in the United States during the beginning and middle of the previous century. It was promoted by an international movement to prevent procreation by those deemed unworthy of reproduction (Black, 2003). North Carolina has recently decided to pay reparations to forced sterilization victims (Editorial (*Winston-Salem Journal)*, 2013) and the state of Virginia has more recently emulated this decision (Martz & Nolan 2015). This analysis will discuss the common eugenic history of many states but will also highlight North Carolina's distinctiveness on this issue. The qualitative portion of the analysis will explain the historical reasons North Carolina would be likely to be the first state to adopt this policy. Our quantitative analysis will examine the role of news coverage of sterilization policy in North Carolina and its relationship to the decision to adopt a policy of reparations.

Keywords: reparations, state, sterilization policy, North Carolina, media coverage

1. Introduction (Note 1)

Forced sterilization is a policy that was embraced by many American states in the 20th century (Reilly, 1987, p. 155). This policy is deeply inconsistent with the values of present-day American society, but its past use is not as familiar to Americans as other past governmental decisions that violate individual autonomy. These policies intruded deeply into the lives of the individuals affected and are likely not widely discussed due to state variation. US states have diverse histories with regard to sterilization policy (see Reilly, 1987), but North Carolina is unique because of its more recent activity in regard to forced sterilization. It has decided to compensate survivors (Editorial (*Winston-Salem Journal*), 2013). Virginia has since made the same decision (Martz & Nolan, 2015), but North Carolina pioneered this policy among US states, so the genesis of the policy in North Carolina will be the focus of this analysis. The central question of this analysis, succinctly stated, is "why North Carolina?". Forced sterilization reparation is an idea that has only recently been enacted by any US state. This is true despite the distinction between forced sterilization and current conceptions of the role of government. This analysis will seek to examine why North Carolina would pioneer reparation for this past policy when it was far from the only state practicing forced sterilization. Exploring what distinguishes North Carolina in this way was the motivation for this study and informs the research questions and related analysis.

Contemporary American political values are very distinct from those that facilitated forced sterilization, and this value distinction has come to the forefront in North Carolina during the 21st century. On this subject, *The Winston-Salem Journal* has recently claimed (Editorial, 2013):

> Back in the day, the Journal supported our state's forced sterilization program, as did some of our city's most prominent families and doctors, along with their counterparts statewide. But for almost 11 years, this newspaper has been on a march toward justice with those victims, fighting for compensation.

Within the same article, the *Journal* also argued "Since soon after the Journal published the 2002 investigative series Against Their Will, politicians have rendered in vain promises of help for those rendered barren by a state that deemed them mentally or physically unfit to reproduce" (Editorial (*Winston-Salem Journal*), 2013). (Note 2) These are strong assertions about the role of this media source in shaping the sterilization reparations debate in North Carolina, but the *Winston-Salem Journal* is not alone in making this connection. In the preface to a compilation of the *Winston-Salem Journal*'s articles on this issue, Lombardo asserted "In late 2002 the *Winston-Salem Journal* published an extraordinary series of articles on eugenics, and North Carolina's governor responded by issuing an apology for the abuses of the sterilization program" (i, in Begos et al., 2012). (Note 3) Schoen (2005, p. 241) has also credited "Against Their Will" with prompting an apology from North Carolina's then-current governor as well as the establishment of a commission for considering restitution. Clearly, the *Winston-Salem Journal* is not alone in crediting the *Winston-Salem Journal* with keeping this issue on the agenda in the state of North Carolina.

The *Journal*, however, has made an additional claim about its role in the state's recent decision on this issue. In "**A** Landmark Victory, at Last", they asserted the following (Editorial (*Winston-Salem Journal*), 2013):

> There had been little talk in the legislature about compensation this summer, despite constant prodding in our editorials. We, and the victims, also pushed state House Speaker Thom Tillis to win through budget negotiations with his counterpart in the state Senate, Phil Berger.
>
> In the end, that's how Tillis pulled it off, no doubt buttressed by his knowledge that we'd gotten the governor on record as supporting compensation.

This is a strong assertion from the *Journal* about their importance in this process. The following analysis will examine whether these assertions are supported by the activities of the *Winston-Salem Journal*, as well as some additional North Carolina news sources, during the relevant time periods.

This study will contribute to the literature on state policy by exploring why North Carolina would pioneer reparations to forced sterilization survivors. Many states practiced forced sterilization but North Carolina was the first to choose to compensate survivors. This analysis will explain why states initially adopted forced sterilization policies, as well as discuss the unique attributes of North Carolina's program that would make the state likely to be the first to adopt reparations. It will also examine whether the media in present-day North Carolina has prompted the public to pay attention to this issue. This aspect of the analysis will determine if the media, the *Winston-Salem Journal* more particularly, can be credited with setting the agenda in the reparations debate in North Carolina. Thus, this study will clarify the historical reasons why North Carolina would be likely to adopt reparations and analyze the coverage of the contemporary media as the subject was being debated.

2. Research Questions

The general concern of this study and its "why North Carolina?" orientation have been established, but the specific questions the research will address merit some additional conversation. The qualitative/historical section of the study will inquire as to why US states, including North Carolina, adopted forced sterilization policies. This will be done through a discussion of eugenic thought and its influence on policy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Beyond discussing the influences on policymakers of the time and why states would choose to adopt eugenic policies, the historical analysis will also address specific aspects of North Carolina's program that distinguished it from those of other states. This will help explain why North Carolina would likely be the first to approve reparations, which is a question central to this study.

The study will also examine the role of media in the contemporary debate over reparations for sterilization survivors. This discussion will follow the qualitative and historical explanations of why states chose to adopt eugenic policies and the discussion of unique attributes of North Carolina's program. Through an analysis of newspaper coverage, the quantitative discussion will examine whether local media sources kept the reparations debate in the state policy discussion. This examination will be conducted by analyzing the volume of related articles preceding significant achievements by the movement for reparations, culminating in the decision of the state to compensate survivors.

3. The History of Eugenics in the United States

The origins of the eugenics movement in the United States are best understood in terms of the confluence of several theories that emerged in the mid and late 19th century. The theories surfaced in a number of fields, and their convergence quickly took hold in a variety of public policy contexts. First, genetic theories in the fields of biology, botany, animal husbandry, and sociology converged in a relatively brief period of time – less than fifty years. Second, some state legislatures and public policy entities quickly accepted the legitimacy of these theories and used them to create laws and policies that were rapidly enacted and enforced. Third, the statutory dimensions of the meaning of genetics and the "symptoms" that made an individual a candidate for sterilization were highly ambiguous and therefore left to the subjective interpretation of state boards and commissions. North Carolina – the only state to give statutory authority to social workers to file petitions for the sterilization of their case "subjects" – provided an additional tier to the diagnoses process and, by empowering social workers to make subjective diagnoses of unacceptable "symptoms," allowed official documentation of the socioeconomic and racial dimensions of both involuntary and voluntary sterilization (see Schoen, 2005; 2011).

The publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 profoundly affected the paradigms of biological study by postulating a theory of evolution based on natural selection and survival of the "fittest." Among Darwin's contemporaries was his cousin Francis Galton, a British scientist. Galton, better known as a statistician and for creating the statistical concepts of chi square, regression, and correlation, became a leader of the eugenics movement in Great Britain. Galton's first study in eugenics, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (1869), explored the hereditary nature of intellectual ability, and was praised by Darwin (Desmond and Moore 1992 in Galton & Galton, 1998). Four years earlier (1865), Gregor Mendel, an Austrian monk and botanist, published seminal research on the inheritance patterns in pea plants, and demonstrated dominant and recessive "inheritances" that would allow scientists and farmers to predict phenotype among plant offspring. Significantly, Mendel's study was soon followed by the work of August Weismann, a German biologist, on genetic mutation and germinal continuity. In 1883, Weismann first set forth his theory of a "germ plasm" that carried and contained inherited traits. Weismann's germ plasm theory quickly gained the acceptance of American scientists.

While early eugenicists widely accepted Weismann's theory that a "germ plasm" carried and contained genetic traits, they did not agree on which traits were inheritable (Caron, 2008, p. 49). Generally, Weismann's theory held that infections were caused by germs, and inheritance was governed by germ plasm. But, as Pernick explains, the fusion of infection and inheritance became the governing principle in US public health in the early 20th century. "In both common usage and some scientific literature," Pernick writes, "calling a trait 'hereditary' meant that you 'got it from your parents,' regardless of whether 'it' was transmitted by genes or germs, precepts or probate" (1997, p. 1767).

The definition of inheritable traits that were deemed "acceptable" grounds for eugenic sterilization was initially rooted in the vague and ambiguous term "feeblemindedness." Pro-sterilization articles in medical literature abounded in the early 1900s, peaked in 1910, and almost unanimously favored involuntary sterilization of the "feebleminded" (Reilly, 1987, p. 155). The definition of "feeblemindedness" quickly expanded to include a wide range of unacceptable "inherited" traits including alcoholism, epilepsy, retardation, and sexual promiscuity. Three significant developments, in addition to genetic research, greatly influenced public opinion about what constituted acceptable grounds for eugenic sterilization, and were significantly reflected in the growing number of state statutes that authorized eugenic sterilization.

The first development was renewed interest in Richard Dugdale's 1875 publication of the "Jukes," which contained a detailed account of a New York family with a propensity for taverns, brothels, jails, and almshouses. Publication of the "Jukes" had created a new field in sociology that concentrated on field studies of "degenerate families" (Reilly, 1987) and served to lend credence to the idea that certain unacceptable behaviors such as prostitution, pauperism, and crime were inherited. The second development was the publication of Henry Herbert Goddard's study of students in the New Jersey Training School for Feeble-Minded Girls and Boys, which had an immediate impact on the study of eugenics. Using an intelligence test developed by Alfred Binet, a French psychologist, Goddard tested the intellectual capacity of children in the school, and in 1908 published his findings in "The Binet and Simon Tests of Intellectual Capacity." Use of the Binet Intelligence Quotient (IQ) test spread rapidly and gained overwhelming approval of American psychologists. By 1914, Goddard had introduced the test to public schools, tested immigrants at Ellis Island, and became the first psychologist to introduce evidence from Binet tests in a court of law (Benjamin, 2009, p. 20). IQ testing allowed authorities the ability to verify the diagnosis of "feeblemindedness" in order to implement and carry out state eugenic programs, and assured scientists that mental capacity could be measured in order to confirm diagnoses of feeblemindedness (Reilly, 1987).

A third development was the founding of the Eugenics Record Office (ERO) in 1910. Charles Davenport, founder of the ERO, was a chicken breeder and agriculturalist as well as a Harvard-trained zoologist, and sought to extend Mendel's work on trait inheritance in plants to the study of the human "germ plasm." In 1907, Davenport produced a seminal study of the inheritance of eye color, and later published studies on the genetics of albinism and neurofibromatosis. Deeply concerned about the relationship between feeblemindedness, sexuality, and deviant behavior, Davenport, with help by the Carnegie Institution, established the Station of Experimental Evolution at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, which housed the ERO. At Cold Spring Harbor, Davenport undertook extensive study of human genetics, and produced studies demonstrating that sexually immoral people were also afflicted with criminality and feeblemindedness (Schoen, 2005, p. 93).

4. The History of State Policy and Eugenics

It is within the context of these early studies in genetics, biology, botany, sociology, and psychology that states began passing sterilization laws. The nation's first sterilization law, passed by the Indiana legislature in 1907, permitted involuntary sterilization of any habitual criminal diagnosed by physicians as "unimprovable" (Reilly, 1987, p. 154), and served as a model for subsequent state sterilization laws. Significantly, the same year Indiana passed the nation's first sterilization law Galton "invented and defined the term eugenics as 'the science of improving inherited stock, not only by judicious matings, but by all the influences which give more suitable strains a better chance'"(Galton, 1907 in Galton & Galton, 1998, p. 99). Thus, the term "inheritable feeblemindedness" came to be understood not only in terms of intellectual capability but also in terms of the social symptoms it produced such as criminality, poverty, promiscuity, illegitimacy, and alcoholism. As Schoen elaborates, eugenic scientists considered feeblemindedness and the undesirable social behaviors it produced to be hereditary, and "sterilization seemed to offer an easy medical solution to complex social problems" (Schoen, 2011, p. 142). Soon after the Indiana sterilization statute was passed, Connecticut, California and Washington followed suit (1909), and by 1917 the legislatures of 17 states had passed sterilization laws, usually by a large majority (Reilly, 1987, p. 158).

Compared to the number of state-mandated sterilizations performed in the United States between 1907 and 1921 – approximately 3233 (Laughlin, 1922) – there were a relatively small number of lawsuits challenging the constitutionality of sterilization laws. Twelve state sterilization statutes were challenged in state courts between 1913 and 1918; however, it is notable that seven of the challenged statutes were found to be unconstitutional on grounds of the Eighth Amendment's ban against cruel and unusual punishment, the Sixth Amendment's right to fair trial, or the Due Process Clause (Caron, 2008, p. 55). (Note 4) Rather than deterring state legislatures from passing additional sterilization laws, judicial decisions striking down sterilization statutes merely urged state legislators to use greater caution in crafting their state sterilization laws. Twelve states enacted sterilization statutes between 1923 and 1925, and each contained additional constitutional "precautions" such as parental consent for the sterilization of their minor children and the patient's right to a jury trial on the question of whether he or she was "the potential parent of socially inadequate offspring" (Laughlin, 1926, p. 65).

The constitutionality of state-mandated sterilization came before the US Supreme Court in 1927 in the famous case of Buck v. Bell. Whereas some state judges had been quick to point out the constitutional inadequacies of state sterilization statutes, the Supreme Court clearly embraced the tenets of eugenics. The question of law in the case was whether the Virginia sterilization statute, under which the superintendent of the State Colony for Epileptics and Feeble Minded performed a salpingectomy upon Carrie Buck, violated the Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, writing for the majority, held that both Carrie Buck and her mother were "feebleminded" and that Carrie Buck's seven-month-old daughter had inherited the family's feeblemindedness. The Court's endorsement of eugenic theory is evident in the following passage from the opinion:

> We have seen more than once that the public welfare may call upon the best citizens for their lives. It would be strange if it could not call upon those who already sap the strength of the State for these lesser sacrifices, often not felt to be such by those concerned, in order to prevent our being swamped with incompetence. It is better for all the world if, instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting the Fallopian tubes. (Note 5)

In a footnote to the opinion, Justice Holmes added: "Three generations of imbeciles are enough". (Note 6)

The Carrie Buck decision firmly established the constitutionality of state eugenics statutes and codified the understanding that states were free to enact such statutes, and that the Supreme Court would endorse eugenical sterilization as a benefit to society. New state sterilization laws proliferated in the wake of the decision, and by 1929, 30 states – including North Carolina – had passed sterilization laws inspired by eugenic science (Schoen, 2011, p. 142). The number of eugenical sterilizations continued to rise exponentially after the Buck decision. From the passage of the first sterilization law in 1907 until the mid-1970s when sterilization programs in the US finally ceased, over 63 000 people nationwide received eugenic sterilizations (Schoen, 2011, p. 142). California led the way with almost 20 000 sterilizations, followed by North Carolina with over 7 600 sterilizations and Virginia with over 7 000 sterilizations (Schoen, 2005, p. 82).

The eugenic sterilization movement in the US had its share of scientific critics since its inception; however, scientific critique had little effect on public attitudes (Schoen, 2005, p. 104). And, while one might be logically inclined to assume the Great Depression had a deterrent effect on eugenic theory and practice (since the theory advanced the idea that two of the social behaviors exhibited by "feeblemindedness" – unemployment and poverty – were widespread), both "scientists and the general public were unwilling to dismantle programs that seemed to promise a solution to poverty and poor health" (Schoen, 2005, p. 104). In fact, in 1929 there was a large increase in sterilizations and through the 1930s more than 2 000 institutionalized persons were sterilized each year – a rate triple that of the early 1920s (Reilly, 1987, p. 162). It was not until the onset of World War II that interest in eugenic sterilization and the practice of state-mandated sterilization began to decline. The decline is most likely attributed to a number of factors including the revelation of genetic atrocities by the Nazis; the rise in the number and quality of scientific challenges to the methodology and assumptions employed in eugenic studies; and the shift in public understandings about the proper balance between individual human rights and the promotion of societal interests, as highlighted by the civil rights movement.

The Supreme Court clearly demonstrated its transformed perception of eugenics and the proper balance between individual rights and societal interest when, in 1942, it struck down an Oklahoma law that authorized the involuntary sterilization of thrice-convicted felons. Skinner v. Oklahoma was a landmark case not only because the Supreme Court struck down a state eugenics law, but also because it established that state laws that restricted basic human and constitutional rights would be held to a high legal standard of "strict scrutiny," meaning the state – not the individual – had the burden of proof to show a compelling state interest in retaining laws that restricted individual rights. (Note 7) While the Skinner case did not reverse the Court's decision in Buck v. Bell, it did send a clear signal to the states that eugenic sterilization laws would be held under a judicial microscope, and that the Court no longer embraced the tenets of eugenic theory.

Only half as many eugenic sterilizations were performed annually between 1942 (the year of the Skinner decision) and 1946 than had been performed annually during the 1930s (Reilly, 1987, p. 165). The number of eugenic sterilizations consistently fell throughout the 1950s, and in 1962 President John Kennedy established the President's Commission on Mental Retardation which firmly rejected eugenic sterilization. By the early 1960s, most state sterilization programs had ceased (Reilly, 1987, p. 165); however, as state sterilization declined in most states, there was an increase in involuntary sterilizations performed in the states of North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia (Reilly, 1987, p. 166). In 1944, these three states were responsible for sterilizing 24% of the nation's total; in 1958 they sterilized 76% of the nation's total (Schoen, 2011, p. 148).

5. Unique Attributes of North Carolina Eugenics

While North Carolina was not the only state to extend its eugenics program after almost all other states had discontinued their programs, it is the first state to have adopted a policy to pay reparations to the surviving victims of the state's involuntary sterilization program. In order to understand why North Carolina news sources would draw attention to the state's eugenic history and expect residents to be supportive of reparations as a result it is important to highlight three unique features of the state's sterilization program while the program was in place. North Carolina was the only state to:

(a) directly and expansively target non-institutionalized, rural young women (Woodside, 1950);

(b) give statutory authority to the Department of Public Welfare and social workers to file petitions for the sterilization of their case "subjects" (Schoen, 2005, p. 106-7) and;

(c) have exceptionally strong support by state media in the volume and content of articles promoting the benefits of eugenics and involuntary sterilization (see Begos, 2002).

Schoen points out that the rising cost of welfare to offset poverty in North Carolina played a leading role in the state's continued use of eugenic sterilization (2011, p. 149). As the welfare rolls grew in the 1950s and 1960s, eugenic sterilization programs in North Carolina expanded (Schoen, 2011, p. 149). Budgetary concerns were not lost on the state's commissioner of public welfare, Ellen Winston, who held the post from 1944 until 1963. During the 1950s, Winston steadfastly defended the importance of and need for the Aid for Dependent Children (ADC) program while simultaneously promoting an aggressive agenda for the state's eugenic sterilization program (Schoen, 2005, p. 105). In 1951, Winston recommended that the state expand its use of eugenic sterilization by following up on ADC recipient families in which one family member had been sterilized to determine if other members might benefit from the surgery (Schoen, 2005, p. 109). The recommendation was adopted, and due to the welfare recipient dimension of the state eugenic sterilization program, the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare came to play the significant and unusual role of executing the state's eugenic sterilization program. Under Winston's plan, execution of the state's eugenic sterilization program expanded in the 1950s and 1960s (Schoen, 2005, p. 106-7).

As the "ADC recipient" category entered into the diagnostic language of the North Carolina eugenics program, a significant shift occurred in the racial composition of those targeted for eugenic sterilization (Schoen, 2011, p. 149). Nationwide, the percentage of welfare recipients who were African American rose from 31% in 1950 to 48% in 1961. Significantly, in North Carolina, the proportion of African Americans who underwent eugenic sterilization rose from 23% of total sterilization cases in the state in the 1930s, to 64% between 1964 and 1966 (Schoen, 2011, p. 149-50).

The North Carolina news media continued its long established support for the state's eugenic sterilization program. Gordon Gray, former owner of the *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*, was cousins with Alice Shelton Gray, a founding member of Winston-Salem based Human Betterment League (HBL) (Begos, 2002). The HBL was incorporated 22 March 1947, "and the very next day, there was a favorable mention about sterilization on the editorial page of the Sunday *Journal and Sentinel*"(Begos, 2002). Papers throughout the state began running articles praising the sterilization program, and minutes from a 1948 HBL meeting contained a suggestion to send letters extolling sterilization to every newspaper published in the state (Begos, 2002). The editorial page editor of the *Durham Morning Herald* joined the HBL in the 1960s, and even into the 1970s the *Winston-Salem Journal* continued to promote the state's involuntary sterilization program (Begos, 2002). "Certainly, any role that the *Journal* played in advocating forced sterilization is reprehensible," stated the 2002 publisher of the *Journal*. "On behalf of the *Journal* I apologize for the paper's part in depriving these individuals of their basic human rights" (Jon Witherspoon quoted in Begos, 2002).

North Carolina finally dismantled its involuntary sterilization program in 1975. Almost thirty years later, the *Winston-Salem Journal* published "Against Their Will," a series of articles that drew attention to the state's 20th century forced sterilization program. The series ran for a period of five days beginning on 8 December 2002, and culminated in a public apology by Governor Mike Easley (Schoen, 2006, p. 8) on 16 December 2002. In February 2003, Governor Easley appointed a special commission to consider restitution to the victims of North Carolina's involuntary sterilization program (Schoen, 2006, p. 8) as well as an exhibit to remember the state's history of eugenic sterilization (Schoen, 2011, p. 155). Although restitution of victims was first presented in 2003, the state legislature did not formally approve and budget the payment of reparations to the surviving victims of North Carolina's eugenic sterilization program until 25 July 2013 (Cohen, 2013). Governor Pat McCrory signed the bill into law, and reparations were scheduled to be disbursed to the victims in 2015 (Neuman, 2013).

6. Data

The relationship between the state news media coverage and North Carolina's formal apology for its past of eugenic sterilization appears strong; however, no quantitative studies have been conducted to verify the relationship. Furthermore, no studies have explored the relationship between state media coverage and the passage of the state's $10 million appropriations bill to provide reparations to the surviving victims of the state's sterilization program (see Editorial (*Winston-Salem Journal*), 2013). Our analysis concentrates on state media coverage of the issue and its germaneness to North Carolina's recent decision to pay reparations. Media coverage can frame how voters perceive issues (Zaller, 1992) and different media sources frame the same issue in varied ways (Page, 1996). At the national level, media were not found to strongly influence the governmental agenda (Kingdon, 1995, p. 58); however, we expect different results when examining local media coverage of a state-specific issue. We expect the volume and timing of the coverage to be consistent with the *Winston-Salem Journal* setting the agenda on this issue.

The focus of our analysis is on the volume of coverage of sterilization policy in three major newspapers in North Carolina: the *Winston-Salem Journal, The Charlotte Observer*, and *The News and Observer*. The "Against Their Will" series published by the *Winston-Salem Journal* is expected to shape a great deal of the pattern in the coverage. Our analysis begins in 2000 and examines news coverage of the involuntary sterilization issue in North Carolina at the beginning of the 21st century through December 2013.

Some additional background on how this issue came to light in North Carolina is necessary to understand our selection of sources and the time period analyzed. In 1996 Schoen conducted research in North Carolina's State Archives and was given access to minutes from Eugenics Board meetings spanning over thirty years. Schoen was allowed to retain copies of the minutes, though the names of individuals whose possible sterilization was being discussed were redacted from the copies (Schoen, 2005, p. 242-3). The North Carolina State Archives later closed these same records and researchers were not allowed access to them (Schoen, 2005, p. 243). In the aftermath of Virginia's gubernatorial apology for their state's history of sterilization, Schoen contacted *The News & Observer* about this story in 2001, but characterized their response as very limited (2005, p. 243). Schoen (2005, p. 243-4) explained the rest of this process as follows:

> In June 2002, however, Kevin Begos from the Winston-Salem Journal called. After talking to him over the course of several weeks, I decided to offer him full access to my yet unpublished research findings and all of the sources I had collected in years of research, including the summaries of the eight thousand sterilization petitions. I felt I had an ethical responsibility toward those who had been sterilized under the program, that I owed them a form of public recognition. A newspaper series would bring the story to the attention of the larger public, and Kevin was the right person to write it…

Given the discussion of how this information became part of public debate in North Carolina, it is clear why the analysis begins in the year 2000. It leaves at least one year prior to these events to assess whether coverage has changed. Also, the *Winston-Salem Journal* and *The News & Observer* are obvious candidates for analysis because of their role in the exposure of this information to the public. *The Charlotte Observer* will be analyzed in the same time period to assess the coverage of the issue in another large city in North Carolina. The last year included in the analysis is 2013 because that is the year of the reparation decision and the analysis is concerned with the role of the media in how North Carolina came to that decision.

Our data was gathered by compiling from NewsBank (Note 8) all available articles in the *Winston-Salem Journal*, *The*

Charlotte Observer and *The News & Observer* that contained the word "sterilization." Attempts to gather data using more specific phrases (i.e. "eugenic sterilization," "forced sterilization," and "involuntary sterilization") resulted in few articles and omissions of potentially important data. Once we compiled the articles, we examined each to determine if American sterilization policy was discussed in the article. If sterilization was discussed in another context, the article was omitted from our analysis. Letters to the editor and other commentaries and feedback from readers were also dropped because we sought to examine only articles written by reporters and other agents of the respective news outlets. Even omitting letters to editor, a great deal of information was gathered by examining the remaining 448 articles gathered across the fourteen years included in our analysis. (Note 9) Each article represents a decision by one of the three newspapers to cover sterilization policy, and they are not evenly spread across the papers or the years included. As Table 1 illustrates, there is a definite temporal trend in the coverage.

Table 1. Total Articles by Year and Newspaper.

Year	The Charlotte Observer	The News & Observer	Winston-Salem Journal	%Winston-Salem Journal	Total Articles
2000	0	0	1	100%	1
2001	1	1	0	0	2
2002	4	0	33	89	37
2003	17	12	43	60	72
2004	4	0	4	50	8
2005	4	2	9	60	15
2006	0	7	3	30	10
2007	1	4	11	69	16
2008	1	4	15	75	20
2009	1	7	11	58	19
2010	0	0	12	100	12
2011	16	15	50	62	81
2012	23	22	56	55	101
2013	12	7	35	65	54
Total Articles	84	81	283	63	448

7. Findings

Coverage of the issue of sterilization in the years 2000 and 2001 is virtually nonexistent, as Tables 1 demonstrates. A total of only three articles were found across the first two years of our study. Conversely, there was an extremely high volume of coverage devoted to sterilization policy in the years 2002 and 2003 especially in comparison to the years 2000 and 2001. In 2002 and 2003, a combined total of 109 articles were published on the issue across the three newspapers, and the *Winston-Salem Journal* published the "Against Their Will" series near the end of 2002. Whether the official apology discussed above caused the volume of coverage at the end of 2002, or whether the media coverage of 2002 triggered the apology, is an obvious question that necessitates attention here. As Table 2 demonstrates, all of the news coverage of the sterilization issue during December 2002 occurred prior to Governor Easley's apology on December 16, and over 90% of the coverage came from the *Winston-Salem Journal*. Our finding demonstrates that media attention to the sterilization issue was prior to the state's formal apology, not vice versa. The *Winston-Salem Journal* did not merely report on recent developments in state policy; rather, its coverage of the sterilization issue is consistent with the newspaper prompting action from the state. The uniqueness of the "Against Their Will" series' content and timing bolsters this causal claim. There was very little coverage of the issue prior to the *Winston-Salem Journal*'s extremely focused attempt to inform the public about forced sterilization.

Table 2. Total Articles by Day and Newspaper. All Newspapers: December 2002.

Day	The Charlotte Observer	The News & Observer	Winston-Salem Journal	Total Articles
8 December 2002	0	0	5	5
9 December 2002	0	0	5	5
10 December 2002	1	0	5	6
11 December 2002	0	0	7	7
12 December 2002	0	0	7	7
13 December 2002	0	0	1	1
14 December 2002	2	0	1	3
15 December 2002	0	0	2	2
Total Articles	3	0	33	36

Note: Omitted days did not contain any of our data. The days listed are the only ones relevant to the analysis.

Table 1 demonstrates the emergence of a pattern of media coverage of the sterilization issue after 2003. From 2003 – 2010, media coverage of sterilization is more sparse. In the years 2004-2010, the three newspapers combined published only 100 articles on the subject, averaging, 14.29 per year, or slightly more than one per month. This is more coverage than in 2000 and 2001; but the newspapers clearly assigned less priority to the sterilization issue from 2004 - 2010 than they did in 2002 - 2003. During the years 2004 - 2010, the three North Carolina newspapers we analyzed clearly focused on other issues or saw less value in covering sterilization policy than they did in 2002 and 2003.

Another pattern is clearly visible in the 2011-2013 timeframe. In this period, the newspapers published 236 articles on the subject of sterilization, including 81 in 2011 and 101 in 2012. All of the articles in the data between August 5, 2009 and May 15, 2011 were published in the *Winston-Salem Journal*. As evidenced by Table 1 the other sources clearly emphasized this debate later in 2011. Later in the year there were more developments to discuss and other sources were reporting on the issue. On 26 June 2011 *The News & Observer* laid out their editorial position in an article title "Compensation – There's no way to make up for what state-sponsored sterilizations did, but money is something" (pp. 16A). In this article *The News & Observer* explained that Governor Perdue had established a Eugenics Task Force which heard the testimony of forced sterilization survivors during the previous week. Later in the year, another development prompted coverage of the issue when Thom Tillis, the Speaker of the North Carolina House, expressed his support for forced sterilization compensation (Helms & Tomlinson, *The Charlotte Observer*, 25 August 2011). Helms and Tomlinson also credited state representative Larry Womble, who had submitted many forced sterilization compensation bills, with asserting that his bills on this issue never made it to the floor under the two speakers that preceded Tillis.

Thus, in addition to the *Winston-Salem Journal*'s consistent attention to forced sterilization, other developments in the executive and legislative branches of state government prompted coverage of the issue. These both likely contributed to the increase in coverage in 2011. Exactly how much each newspaper is responsible for the high volume of coverage from 2011 to 2013 will be examined in greater detail below in our discussion of coverage by each newspaper during those years.

There was wide variation in coverage of the sterilization issue by each respective newspaper across the years included in our analysis (see Table 1). As expected, the *Winston-Salem Journal* devoted more attention to the issue than *The News & Observer* and *The Charlotte Observer*. In every year other than 2001 and 2006 at least half of the total coverage was from the *Winston-Salem Journal*. Notably, 89% of the coverage in 2002 and 60% of the coverage in 2003 was from the *Winston-Salem Journal*. The *Winston-Salem Journal* also sustained media attention to this issue in years with little coverage of the issue overall from 2004-2010. Whenever coverage trended upward again after 2010, the *Journal* provided most of the coverage of the issue among the three papers, and also provided most of the coverage overall (63%) during the time period analyzed. The "Against Their Will" series clearly is not the entire story of how attention has been brought to the sterilization program in North Carolina; however, the newspaper that published the series has been consistent in its coverage of the issue since the series was published in 2002. Significantly, *The News & Observer* and *The Charlotte Observer* dramatically increased their coverage of the sterilization issue the year after the *Winston-Salem Journal* ran the "Against Their Will" series. *The News & Observer* did not publish any articles on the subject in 2002 and published 12 in 2003; *The Charlotte Observer* published only four sterilization articles in 2002 and published 17 in 2003. The *Winston-Salem Journal* had the most articles on the sterilization issue during the 2002 – 2003 time period with 33 in 2002 and 43 in 2003, and their coverage seems to have influenced the other papers with respect to their attention to the subject. The *Journal* also seems to have brought attention back to the issue in 2011 when it published 50 articles on the subject, beating its own previous record of 43 articles on the subject of sterilization in 2003. In 2012, the other two newspapers increased their coverage of the issue as well.

Table 3 below set forth the total coverage of articles on sterilization by the three newspapers as well as a breakdown of coverage by each respective newspaper in the month of July 2013. We focus on July 2013 because it is the month and year in which the North Carolina state legislature formally approved and budgeted the payment of reparations to the surviving victims of the state's eugenic sterilization program (25 July 2013). It is possible that legislative discussion about reparation impacted the amount of newspaper coverage of the sterilization issue in July 2013, but most of the stories on sterilization during the month (10 of 12) were published before the actual state legislative decision. In this context, the *Journal* and the other two newspapers were reporting not only on the political dynamics of reparation but also on the issue of sterilization itself. It is significant to note that all of the *Journal*'s news stories on sterilization in July 2013 were published before the legislature's reparation decision.

Table 3. Total Articles by Day and Newspaper. All Newspapers: July 2013.

Day	The Charlotte Observer	The News & Observer	Winston-Salem Journal	Total Articles
8 July 2013	1	0	0	1
17 July 2013	0	0	1	1
22 July 2013	1	2	0	3
23 July 2013	0	0	3	3
24 July 2013	2	0	0	2
28 July 2013	1	1	0	2
Total Articles	5	3	4	12

Note: Omitted days did not contain any of our data. The days listed are the only ones relevant to the analysis.

8. Conclusion

There are many unique features about North Carolina's history of involuntary sterilization and it was the first state to approve and budget reparations to surviving persons who were subjected to involuntary sterilization by the state's eugenics laws. North Carolina is one of only two states to make that decision and pioneered this approach to the eugenic history of American state policy. In this paper, we have outlined the history of the eugenics movement in the US, and highlighted some of the important features of the North Carolina state sterilization program. While discussing these features we showed why journalists would assume they could generate support for reparations by covering the program. We then tested whether the volume and timing of the coverage was consistent with the newspapers shaping the debate. Our data focused on temporal trends in newspaper coverage of the sterilization issue by three of the state's newspapers - the *Winston-Salem Journal*, *The Charlotte Observer*, and *The News & Observer*. We hypothesized that the volume and timing of local newspaper coverage of the issue would be consistent with the newspapers, particularly the *Journal*, having an impact on the behavior of state officials as they debated how to address the old program.

The role newspaper coverage played in perpetuating North Carolina's involuntary sterilization program after almost all other states had discontinued their sterilization programs was not the immediate focus of our study; however, secondary research and admission by the *Winston-Salem Journal* itself demonstrates that newspaper coverage of eugenics did play a role in promoting the state's sterilization program until the state's cessation of the program in 1975. Our primary research demonstrates that newspaper coverage continued to have an impact on the state's sterilization policies. First, state newspapers resurrected the sterilization issue close to thirty years after the program ended. Renewed attention to the state's history of sterilization began with the *Journal's* publication of the "Against Their Will" series in December 2002. While there were only three total articles published on sterilization in 2000 and 2001, our data demonstrates that 109 articles were published on the subject in the next two years, and that all of the coverage in 2002 occurred prior to Governor Easley's formal apology for the state's history of involuntary sterilization (December 2002). Over 90% of the coverage in December 2002 came from the *Journal*.

Second, state newspapers increased their coverage of the state's former sterilization program in 2011-2012. Our study shows that newspaper coverage of the state's sterilization program declined significantly from 2004–2010; but, the *Journal* once again brought the issue to the forefront in 2011, publishing 50 articles on the subject and spurring on the publication of a combined total of 236 articles by the three newspapers studied in the two-year 2011 and 2012 period alone. The large number of articles published on sterilization in 2011 and 2012 appear to have culminated in the North Carolina legislature's decision to pay reparations to the surviving victims of the state's eugenic sterilization program. It is worth noting that the state formally apologized for the program in 2002 after significant newspaper coverage of the issue, and that the governor appointed a special commission to consider restitution to the victims in early 2003. Our data indicates that after the commission was appointed, newspaper coverage of the sterilization program plummeted. Significantly, the 2004-2010 decrease in newspaper coverage of the program coincides with a ten-year hiatus in legislative decision making on the reparations issue (from the establishment of the restitution commission in 2003 until the state legislature approved reparations in 2013). The legislature's return to the issue of reparations occurred after the three newspapers – and particularly the *Journal* - substantially increased their coverage of the issue in 2011-2012. Our data also demonstrates that 10 of the 12 newspaper articles published on sterilization in July 2013 – the month the reparations bill passed the North Carolina legislature - were published before the legislature passed the reparations bill. We conclude from our findings that state newspapers and the *Journal* in particular devoted a great deal of coverage to this issue prior to the gubernatorial apology in 2002 and the reparation decision in 2013. These findings are consistent with causal arguments about the newspapers helping sterilization victims receive reparations.

In 2013 the *Winston-Salem Journal* claimed that "for almost 11 years, this newspaper has been on a march toward justice with those victims, fighting for compensation" (Editorial, 1 August 2013). As our analysis of the coverage has shown, this is a credible claim for the *Winston-Salem Journal* to make, particularly in the early 2000s and in 2011 and 2012. From the "Against Their Will" series to the passage of reparations for sterilization survivors, the *Winston-Salem*

Journal devoted its resources to keeping the sterilization program on the agenda in the state of North Carolina. *The Charlotte Observer* and *The News & Observer* both contributed substantial coverage of this issue to the public debate in North Carolina, but the *Winston-Salem Journal* devoted more to this cause. Paying reparations to sterilization survivors is a policy that North Carolina adopted before any other US state and supporters of this policy have reason to commend the *Winston-Salem Journal* for its attention to the issue over the course of the present century.

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Notes

Note 1. The corresponding author will provide the data analyzed below to those interested in replication.

Note 2. For more information on 'Against Their Will' including the original articles see Winston-Salem Journal, *Against their will*. Retrieved from http://www.journalnow.com/specialreports/againsttheirwill/

Note 3. As noted in Lombardo in Begos et al. (2012, p. iii) Paul Lombardo also wrote *Three Generations No Imbeciles: Eugenics, the Supreme Court & Buck v. Bell*. Lombardo's (2008) *Three Generations No Imbeciles* is a valuable resource for readers interested in American forced sterilization, but will not be discussed extensively in the following analysis due to its heavy focus on the state of Virginia.

Note 4. See, for example, State v. Feilen, 70 Wash. 65, 126 Pac. 75 (1912), Mickle v. Henrichs (1918) 262 Fed. 687, Davis v. Berry (1914) 216 Fed. 413, and In re Thomson, 169 N.Y.S. 638 (Sup. Ct. 1918).

Note 5. Oliver Wendell Holmes, majority opinion, Buck v. Bell, (274 US 200, 47 S.Ct. 584), 1927, 207.

Note 6. Oliver Wendell Holmes, majority opinion, Buck v. Bell, (274 US 200, 47 S.Ct. 584), 1927, 207.

Note 7. Skinner v. Oklahoma Ex Rel. Williamson, 316 US 535 (1942).

Note 8. NewsBank inc. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.lamar.edu/iw-search/we/Homepage?p_action=doc&p_theme=current&p_nbid=Q65B56LSMTQ1ODMyODI0OC40MzQyMDU6MToxNDoxMzIuMTc0LjI1NC45Nw

Note 9. We analyzed the data using Stata 12. StataCorp LP, *Stata Statistical Software: Release 12* (College Station, TX 2011).

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Culture at the Bottom of Startups: Reflections on Social Expectations

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Abstract

This article aims to define the culture at the bottom of the development of "startup" initiatives (or the startup movement). These are initiatives for improving an organization in three different ways: asking creative groups to collaborate with larger organizations for solving specific problems; inviting creative groups (hubs) into larger institutions for searching new ideas; and setting up collective spaces for the sake of public relations. I aim to define if the promotion of startup initiatives could be adequate for faith-based institutions such as the Catholic Church. Startup hubs are growing faster in our world, due to the common perception of social discomfort in regard to the political, economic or social systems. Not every creative initiative is a startup, as these initiatives aim to improve the system from within, thanks to mutual collaboration. Therefore they require common ground and respect for the principles of the larger body. Most startup hubs refer today to technological development, but some of them aim to enhance collective expectations. Our thesis is that some startup hubs could also be set up for changing personal behaviors. Startup hubs with the scope of changing personal lifestyles could also modify cultural interactions, becoming very attractive for faith-based institutions and also for the Catholic Church.

Keywords: startup, Catholic Church, social expectations, cultural challenges, hope

1. Defining Startup Initiatives

Startup hubs were born in the last decades of past century, when large multinationals decided to address the fact that a good amount of small issues, regarding for instance, customer service or marketing improvements, could not be faced by the leadership of the company. With the large companies mostly focusing on the core business of the organization, they were leaving behind some minor although relevant issues for the commercial institution as a whole. Paradoxically, the success of startup initiatives is defined on their capacity for proposing capital investments and personnel developments for reinforcing "the non-pecuniary benefits of innovation-driven entrepreneurship" (WEF 2014, 15). This means that their appraisal is done on their ability for proposing solutions to a system, from outside of it.

In Germany the number of startup initiatives uniquely passed from 36,700 to 42,000 in four years–2008-2012–(WEF 2014, 19). For instance, Lufthansa, one of the largest airplane transportation companies, created significant startup initiatives calling for creative groups and smaller enterprises, asking them to design solutions for customer care (hub.lh.com). The result was that a dynamic group of young creative entrepreneurs and small creative institutions provided the German multinational with real solutions. Each small company and group of professionals who participated in the initiative created a startup project for Lufthansa. One hub created a new banner for the web site, a second one created a new app for solving a problem, and a third one designed a paper brochure to be distributed in the planes. Lastly, another startup hub gave Lufthansa a course for suggesting ideas to employees dealing directly with key customers.

Inviting niche companies and experts to work within larger companies for a specific period of time constitutes a first mode of startup hubs. Large multinational enterprises are currently using these hubs to determine real problems which are usually secondary to the core business of the organization. But for a large company, this means making an investment which could return around ten times its value, considering the arc of solutions given to the leadership of the larger institution and to the different stakeholders: customers, clients, investors, etc. The use of startup hubs for an institution to identify key problems appears to be very successful today.

There is a second kind of strategy for putting startup hubs in place. They do not result from one or more minor problems that a large institution or its leadership has been able to identify. They are in place rather when larger institutions call for smaller companies or creative groups, not aiming to solve specific issues but looking for new ideas and products. This seems to be the case for BMW, an enterprise opening up its laboratories to some creative young professionals, inviting them to join the company for few months (usually around three) in order to apply their professional creativity and fresh ideas to BMW products and technology. At the end of the stipulated time, the larger company can renew the contract or decline it.

This second kind of startup helps the leadership of the company to generate new and better products. However, the impact of these startup is harder to measure, as they do not aim to resolve a problem. The necessary investment to put them in place is thus seen more as an expensive product development, or even as gambling. These kinds of startup hubs are not as efficient as those focused on defined issues.

Finally, there is a third typology of startup initiatives that are in place neither on the need to solve a problem nor to find out new ideas. This group of startup initiatives is a call that large enterprises address to creative groups only for the purpose of public relations. Creative groups and smaller companies can visit the institution which is approaching new publics to the enterprise, but without real involvement or participation. This mode of startup hubs is however important and significant, as it allows enterprises to open themselves up, being therefore exposed to new perspectives. Putting in place these kinds of public relations hubs is for prestige, as the company acquires the status of being in startup mode, which is usually understood as openness and transparency, highly appreciated by the public sphere (Hood 2006, 3).

The future development of technology and of business in general seem to be driven by these kind of initiatives, providing solutions, improving the system or making the institution more attractive, working for the benefit of a larger social organization while acting from outside of it. In order to define startup initiatives as an answer for our collective expectations, we could consider them as an answer not only to our wants but also to our needs. Startup hubs should therefore not only aim to improve our social organization, but can also be in place for proposing new and creative solutions for people –for whatever reason– acting outside of our current political, economic and social systems. In the last sense, startup hubs can be a positive challenge for organizational models based on competitiveness or marketing.

It is our understanding that both kinds of hubs (aiming for social improvement and for creative human development) are already in place today, at least to some degree. But we also observe that our social order still needs more initiatives, aiming to develop human dignity independently of the improvement of the systems conforming the new social order, even if "their substantive significance is probably not great because group factors are likely to override individual ones" (Ragin and Becker 1992, 35). Putting in place a third mode of startup hubs (aiming for cultural development) could tell us more about the reason of startup developments, as the third mode could go beyond the social, political and economic actors' desires. Technological development is attractive and it can be always more attractive by giving space to personal creativity through startup hubs. These could become even more significant for our society, by the measure in which they could give birth to new social, political and even economic institutions, tailored according to human needs.

2. Understanding the Startup's Relevance

In the recent years, several startup initiatives have been flourishing among public and private actors of society. Their success in bringing collaboration and new ideas within institutions is such that the faithful are asking faith-based communities to develop them within churches and religious groups. In the specific case of the Catholic Church, its leadership is putting attention to the startup hubs not on the search of new ideas but rather on the fact that these initiatives respond to and at the same time enhance our collective expectations.

Habermas observed that the whole dynamic of society is built upon collective expectations (Habermas 1990, 138). For him, there are two principal possibilities for the studies of social sciences: One is positivism tending to analyze only what objectively appears to us as human behavior. The other one is an action theory, implying not only what appears to be human behavior but the self-understanding of the subject who behaves in a specific way. Habermas' action theory challenges us to get not only an 'explanation' of society but also an 'understanding' of symbols that cannot be rightly apprehended through observation, rather requiring a subjective explanation of them.

That explanation should be given by the language of ordinary life, which every individual learns mostly in the interaction of social expectations, in the understanding of what others expect from him or her. For instance, complaining when secular citizens do not go to church anymore is useless, if we do not understand that the language used in faith-based communities is addressed to those aiming to think together about "meaning of life" questions, i.e., questions regarding death, pain, afterlife, etc. But if Westerners do not think about these questions, they will not try to ask others about their own reflections, and so might not go to church anymore (Pannenberg 1986, 15).

The real problem is not what is observable –people not going to churches– but rather that people do not think anymore about those questions. Understanding some of the current collective social expectations could be key for disclosing part of our culture, avoiding positivism and learning how to communicate 'who we are' in ordinary language. We will describe some manifestations of startup trending in current social development, aiming to understand if and how we could apply to faith-based institutions.

People living in western societies, such as most Europeans and Americans, experience a continually-faster technological development. Some politicians and members of academia are aware that wide and constant access to information is becoming a social challenge to the point of defining western society as ‘infoxicated’ (Herrera 2016). Scholars focusing on technology give us a better idea of what is happening, defining its consequences and calling our attention with regards to potential threats for future generations, which they consider growing up distracted (Carr 2010, Howard 2015). There are fewer attempts though to explain why technology is distracting us or, to say it in a positive way, why it attracts us so much.

We will argue that technology is attractive to human beings, as it becomes instrument and platform for participating in our current social order. But in this definition we cannot go forward without recognizing that it is too general as a thesis to be immediately defined. The social order that we are referring to is the western social order requiring from every participant a certain degree of technological mastery. Following Taylor we understand that this social order does not have geographical, educational or economic boundaries, as it has become global and cross-cultural.

> Four strong benchmarks of the new order are: liberty: the move is meant to liberate; power: it is meant to empower; mutual benefit: this is the basic point of society; and reason: whether freedom, power, mutual benefit has been achieved, or how to achieve them, is meant to be arbitrable by rational discussion (Taylor 2007, 578).

We could understand that technology makes us free, as thanks to it we are able to tell others lots of things about our lives, and we get to know almost anything about other people whenever we want. Technology empowers us for hiding or showing our self-possessed world on-line, making public not what we are but what we desire to be. It becomes more and more a transactional platform where we do not risk others’ knowledge of us, but only of our information sharing. This appears as an inevitable situation which it is not necessarily negative, as at the bottom of the exercise of our freedom, power and mutual benefit, we can always find ourselves aiming to build up our personal skills and so also our family and society. Startup initiatives referring to technological development, once in hands of important enterprises, are now flourishing in smaller hubs, becoming a sign of the interaction among faith-based institutions, the free market economy and the leaders of digital culture. So their collaboration is translated under quality exigencies where non-profit is not equal anymore to non-professional, and where every public institution is expected to invest some talents and resources in startup mode.

Two different reasons foster therefore the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) today. One is the fact that currently many people get to know something about us through ICTs, and we naturally want to be in relation with others. The other is that it is easier to modify others’ conceptions of us in the virtual world than in reality, although we could rightly observe that the virtual world is a real one. We tend to qualify ICT instruments on their ability to make us attractive–or at least acceptable–for others, opening our ‘public profile’ to others, and on their effectiveness in creating personal relations, helping us to reach ‘public attraction’. It seems reasonable to think that if people devote so much time to the use of ICTs, it’s because in them they can express their self-conception and enhance through them their public attraction.

The development of ICTs also has economic drivers, as the flourishing industries of California’s Silicon Valley show us. California’s billionaires own a combined $560.1 billion in wealth, which is more than the combined GDP of 49 countries. And the constant trend of technological development is finding new fields as “there are some estimates, however speculative, that the so-called ‘smart cities’ technology market may be worth anywhere from $100 billion to $1 trillion over the next decade” (Rabari 2013, 2). Some scholars express grief over the great dedication of talents and intellectual efforts for developing fields that are neither humanistic nor scientific but just efficient to operate transactions in a system (Llano 2016, 32).

Several of these efforts are moving now towards the form of business initiatives called startup, growing at high-speed rates in the new social order as “concrete, contextualized knowledge is therefore more valuable than a vain search for predictive theories” (Basic 2015, 7). The talent, time and public attraction that startup hubs are getting allows us to count them today among the most important manifestations of social expectations, which will be leading future changes in society.

3. Culture at the Bottom of Startups

Being aware of the importance and development of startup hubs, we can now try to inquire about the motivation their creators have for promoting them. The dynamic of modern society is built upon collective expectations configuring standards of behavior for each one of its members (Scruton 2009, 183). One of the most valued behaviors is 'creativity,' now acquiring more and more cross-cultural importance, having as one of its manifestations the startup hubs' development. They are the expression of the current need of creative people, ideas and institutions in political structures, civil associations and enterprises. Collective expectations regarding several of our interactions in politics, economy and social movements influence our personal behavior, and also the configuring of our public structures. The complex interaction of personal behaviors in social structures, both depending on collective expectations, is what we understand as "culture."

Every society can be shaped by one or more cultures, as collective expectations are not the same–sometimes unjustly–when referring to different ages, educational levels, religions or sex. The use of startup initiatives finds legitimacy on the understanding of the culture laying behind them. For instance, the political square should take into consideration the collective expectations of the citizens who have entrusted political rulers with power. But this would not be the case of the leadership of a commercial institution, usually considering not only its employees' expectations, but more those of its stakeholders'.

Collective expectations configuring a specific culture in society could be even less demanding for a non-profit institution. In fact, many times these institutions aim to fill a gap in social services, left behind by political or economic actors in society. And finally, for the faithful of a religious body, the collective expectations do not configure their most important standards of behavior. These institutions do not change according to digital trends, although the last category could reflect real problems of ordinary life. A utilitarian vision of the institution, its clergy or sacraments, would not reflect the identity of a religious body. In faith-based institutions we observe a specific behavior model inspiring action: The life of the divine (a Prophet, Jesus Christ, Mahomet, Buddha, etc.) roots the personal behavior, so that collective standards can flourish in obvious contrast to the general environment, giving place to new collective expectations, able to modify many cultural fields like politics, economy or education. Collaboration within faith-based institutions, through startup initiatives, will grow when the institutions are put in place not for solving personal needs but for aiming to reach communion for all the faithful in the long term.

For understanding the intention of startup initiatives, we would need to define if they are driven towards technological creativity, or if they aim to modify collective expectations of one or more cultures, or if they could impact the personal behavior of several members of society. At the instrumental level, startup hubs become a significant engine for progress and are positive for society, when they are sustainable from an ecological and economic perspective in respect to human dignity. Technology is truly very important, but it does not seem to be enough for creating human culture. So startup hubs can flourish, not focused on techniques but on our want for changing collective expectations regarding the economy, some civil society initiatives, democratic institutions and information sharing.

In a sense, bottom-up political parties and think-tank organizations could fit into the category of startup mode, except that most of them do not collaborate or participate with larger societies in their common cultural field. The theoretical understanding of the new social order is inclusive and its leaders ensure that the system is built for everybody, not only for the privileged by blood, race or beliefs. It gives place to institutions like the United Nations, the European Union and the International Monetary Fund, aiming to improve free market economy, social foundations and technological development. These institutions have common grounds, and ideally the development of each one of them would lead to strengthen the others. In theory the attractiveness of technology and the personal creativity involved in developing startup hubs would also lead to improvement of our social order's institutions.

There are some tensions though, not allowing us to immediately accept the aforementioned statement. More and more people observe that current economic, political and social relations are no longer at the center of our technological development. What seem to occupy the focus of social interaction is production, economic profit and power. Thinkers and religious believers challenge therefore the cultural habits of our western society. What the challengers have in common is that they do not usually belong to the system they are contesting. Startup initiatives develop when a need for creativity is noticed. They find space when we face what Taylor called the malaise of modernity (Taylor 1991).

Nowadays the most debated pillar of the new order seems to be the free market economy, where the social order is challenged by some scholars asking themselves if it is fair to live in an economic system where the poorest 40% of the world population owns practically nothing, especially if contrasting their income with the national debt of their countries (Atkinson 2015, 166). Likewise international organizations do not find normal that "while nearly a third of the planet lives on less than $2 a day, the richest 85 people in the world own more wealth than the bottom half of the entire global population" (WEF 2015, 5). Some religious leaders observe that we have created a throwaway culture, rejecting raw materials, used instruments and people all in the same way (Francis 2013, 53).

The political environment is not safe from questioning either as sometimes it appears too closely linked to economic dynamics. There seems to be a sort of disenchantment with the world, especially when realizing how easily we can be excluded from society. Economic development has not created inclusive societies but rather exclusive worlds (WEF 2015, 2). There are groups of people in our own homelands that are not allowed to receive the same education and opportunities as our family members. And the western world no longer has the same geographical bounds, which means that social differences grow always clearer and closer to us, thanks to technological developments. Politicians answer that it is not the first time we are invited to think about our cultural behavior, as two hundred years ago we faced racism and slavery, 150 years ago we strived for democracy and freedom, and only 50 years ago we were claiming for education and welfare. The truth is that politics should be part of the equation to balance the power of the economy (Francis 2015, 164), but their expected role seems to rarely be assumed.

Moreover, ICTs sometimes aim to gain public relevance. For instance, when Facebook proposes its users to inform their relatives about their being safe after an accident or attack, in some regions it could mean almost to assume the role of the State. The web is the new platform where we learn about the world, but when inquiring in it, we use our own language and look for things that are part of our self-acquired interests. The web, as open it might seem, naturally becomes an instrument which filters reality, operating a media-doubling of the world, making our world's conception always more specific and leading us to focus on our own cultural backgrounds. "The internet is the medium 'par excellence' for people to self-select interaction with like-minded people, which can lead to fragmentation and polarization" (Carty 2015, 25). In the case of faith-based institutions, startup offering 'attention' and 'services' not available outside of the institutional religious body could not necessary lead to communion, but it might lead to dispersion, making of the spiritual mission a private affair.

Even when trying to reach different cultures and to learn more about others, we should be aware that ICTs present not reality in itself, but only a public or publicized reality. We live in a world full of closed environments where those looking forward for knowing our societies and lifestyles learn neither the real difficulties we face nor the efforts we make. The work we do to organize our world seems to be unknown for too many. Foreigners learn about us only what is public and advertised, not the reality behind our publications. One of the consequences of the way in which we make our world public is the hiding of our weaknesses and efforts. And when external observers learn our public presentation regarding certain regions of the world, we can easily generate jealousy or even envy and discomfort.

The attractiveness of what appears as an easy life becomes a threat for those living excluded but connected with always higher technological societies. Terrorism, violence and other injustices could be the fruit of our being familiar with an apparent global communication in western societies, operated by the advertisement of the virtual world, which is–sometimes unfortunately–extremely real.

4. Society as a Body

Startup initiatives flourish when a need for creativity is noticed. They find public space when we acknowledge social unease. Social expectations for western culture are the protection and respect of those need and for the powerful likewise an exigency and challenging on their responsibility. Several social criticisms are perceived today with regards to the free market economy. Post-capitalism is neither referred to as socialism nor as controlled economic systems. It aims to keep the positive development reached thanks to the free market economy, but including at the same time those who were left behind. The challenge is to be aware that "2.5 billion people don't have access to adequate sanitation; more than 1.6 billion people lack access to electricity and modern forms of energy; about 12% of global population suffer from chronic hunger" (WEF 2015, 5).

Post-capitalism developments appear in the Bitcoin movement, where international monetary institutions or financial systems would not be needed for transactions. The new economic order aims to be grounded on participants' common trust. We observe therefore a constant development of secondary economies for renting cars, having accommodation in foreign cities or getting cab transportation. The economic system is challenged. We cannot keep living on profit-centered free-market transactions of pleasant pleasures, so "we can no longer trust in the unseen forces and the invisible hand of the market" (Francis 2013, 204). And "economic activity cannot solve all social problems through the simple application of commercial logic" (Benedict XVI 2009, 36).

Our current social and economic system has 'malaise' symptoms (WEF 2015, 12). This malaise is more than an expression, as it could recall that western society understands itself as a living body, growing on the collaboration and interchange of different organisms. The State, the churches, enterprises, associations and other groups configure the entire environment where every member may find freedom and development for his capacities, contributing with her or his talent to others' development as well. The body model for society allows westerners to stress that every single part is important, and if truly each organism has its function, it is not possible to exclude or ignore some members of society in benefit of others. Resources and talents are devoted to improve institutions, because these provide benefits for the development actors in every system. Startups are attractive for religious faithful in forms of social networks to pray, offering 'religious' housing or experiences, mobile apps for coordinating relief services or instruments for finding a confessor or for giving alms. But these initiatives move faster than the institutional body, so the resources creating them might respond to their creators rather than to the long-term tradition of the religious body, moving outside of economic and political motivations.

Faith-based institutions actually understand that challenging the economic model is a condition for living democracy in service for integral human development (Francis 2015, 109). Their challenge is not against reasonable economic development. It is a moral consideration falling beyond every economic equation: Our human choices take place when we are well aware of our being humans, when others understand us as persons with equal dignity. So, they stress that what creates economic poverty is moral poverty and that the latter is constraining democratic developments. Some scholars appreciate this line of thinking, stressing that, "in less than half a century China alone has managed to transform the livelihoods of some three hundred million of their people, shifting them from abject poverty to economic standards that rival the West" (Moyo 2012, 19). We are also aware that overcoming economic poverty requires overcoming moral poverty, as the lack of education and formation could produce corruption and injustice. Solving economic poverty without putting attention to moral poverty could be a risk of time and resources. And startup hubs could be created for this.

Another of the malaise's symptoms is found in the weakness of our current political systems in their task of leveraging human dignity. Some thinkers claim is not due to the State, whose function seems to be keeping a sort of common good that ancient philosophers defined as public justice and health (Jaeger 1957, 656). Leveraging human dignity is not the focus of a State organized for reaching economic and technological goals (United Nations 2016, goal 13b), but it can be done by institutions created without teleological finalities, like faith-based organizations, aiming to preserve traditions and religious beliefs. Making democracy true in the midst of poverty and lack of education requires moral attention, asking us to consider not if the free market is useful, but if the free market is free; to know if current availability of information makes us free from political strategies and other social categories; to strive for what is really human and relational instead of only getting material satisfaction.

Creating social exclusion makes us feel an economic malaise (WEF 2015, 4); when we observe powerful social leaders hiding information we suffer; it discomforts us when we notice that political rulers generate injustice and promote soldier boys. It is on that unease that startup initiatives for changing collective expectations are born, asking for the regulation of new financial instruments, for home-based working opportunities, for microcredit banks, or for shortcuts in order to resolve health bureaucracy. Startup hubs appearing merely as initiatives for technological development are not a full answer for social needs. Some startup initiatives born in western society aim therefore to bridge a gap in full respect of what society is: an interaction of groups and people analogous to a body.

Habermas, in his dialogue with Parsons, observed that society does not aim for specific goals but rather strives for keeping the status quo of social life, allowing every member to develop to the point of "as good as it gets" (Habermas 1990, 161). After the experiences of past century, believing in social goals and plans has withered away, so Luhmann years ago already realized that "model calculation and reality now converge, it seems, in the prediction of unpredictability" (Luhmann 1997, 360). Startup initiatives in their modes and technology become 'disruptive', able to create 'perturbations' in established systems, so they are flourishing in the measure in which they leverage the minority condition of those putting them into existence. This could be one of the reasons why the State, many other institutions and most religious bodies are not promoting startup hubs in their organizations.

We need to face the fact that public institutions are in place to answer to collective expectations but at the same time they depend on them to subsist. And so not every initiative coming from outside a system becomes a startup. Some scholars challenge democracy, thinking that we should not leave social development in the hands of private investors, but they do not constitute startups. When the government participates in social development, it not only gives back national debt to citizens, it also leaves them social infrastructures like electricity, roads and public transportation. According to some scholars these kind of decisions are not taken in a democratic way, and if the government decides to invest in specific companies, it should take out from them revenue which would be an easier way to obtain funding, apart from taxes. In their opinion, the government "should welcome (rather than shy away from) the risky territory of blue sky research, facilitating networking between business and academia, and engaging in pre-commercial procurement to a far greater extent" (Mazzucato 2011).

Including the government in the economic equation would change society but would not represent a change from inside of it. Startup hubs create new societies inside of larger institutions, giving place to new currencies and social aid. These initiatives stress that social inclusion is not only built upon knowledge and technology, but also on education, availability of time and human opportunities. We live on the common understanding that accessibility is inclusion, but the need of startup hubs shows that connectivity does not mean social inclusion, human achievement is not the same than economic development, and free market is not immediately democracy. So "politics must not be subject to the economy, nor should the economy be subject to the dictates of an efficiency-driven paradigm of technocracy" (Francis 2015).

There are many positive symptoms as for instance technological development has given us a unique opportunity, the one of creating a global community. Although knowing all about a specific reality does not mean that we will change it, we really know what is happening in the whole world and we are able to understand it better. Our technological improvements lead us to the point of having an easier and better life. It has been very positive in terms of education, health and global development. It is only that the observation of significant social differences leads us to search for new solutions. What would happen when the internet will be a new economy with its own currency, language and laws? Would we then have a political structure based on two different economic systems? Even if that happens, the cultural background behind it would still be the same. So, the question regards not the tools but the culture driving the use of economic, political and social instruments: individualism or service; human dignity or profit. Those goals are always mixed in society, but which degree would be better, which one is right?

Democratic institutions take into consideration the common good and not only specific goods or goods just for a few ones. There seems to be little or no space for startup initiatives aiming not only to create better instruments but actually looking for new social expectations and to deeply change our cultural interactions. There is more than ever a need to know that "economics without politics cannot be justified, since this would make it impossible to favor other ways of handling the various aspects of the present crisis" (Francis 2015, 196). Faith-based institutions, as is the case of religious bodies, do not base their cultural interactions on public opinion. Those belonging to these kind of social organisms do not respond to collective expectations but rather behave imitating the specific life of Someone they understand as a life model, a divine one. In this sense, faith-based organizations challenge collective expectations in their modeling of personal behavior.

5. Challenging Collective Expectations

Initiatives challenging the current social order cannot be isolated from the values giving origin to that order. Democracy and its institutions as we know them today were born from the understanding that all men are equal. Equality was the base for a common understanding giving place to public demands of transparency and accountability. It is a gradual trend, as at the beginning women were less equal and slaves were not as equal as free citizens. At the base of democracy we can find personal dignity; without personal dignity, no democratic movement could arise. A similar trend can be observed in free market economy development. Its system was based upon the understanding that human beings cannot foresee everything, and so a single individual could never be able to govern such complexity. The system was needed to protect the individual, and not be driven on economic goals.

> Many of the institutions of society which are indispensable conditions for the successful pursuit of our conscious aims are in fact the result of customs, habits or practices which have been neither invented nor are observed with any such purpose in view (Hayek 1976, 11).

The World Economic Forum community observes that social systems are attractive for their enhancing of personal creativity. Social interaction is built upon personal responsibility, united to a special kind of liberty. Without freedom there is not responsibility, and society should recognize "the fundamental and positive role of business, the market, private property and the resulting responsibility for the means of production, as well as free human creativity in the economic sector" (John Paul II 1991, 42). In the political history of Nations we have always balanced the values of modern times. We have created societies stressing equality and forgetting liberty, and others created societies stressing liberty but ignoring equality. Curiously, no one has dared to stress fraternity, as it is not profitable for any group in the economic equation.

We ask ourselves now which would be the culture laying behind technological developments today. If the technological trend answers our way of being humans, it should also reflect some human dimension. Connectivity today seems to be linked especially to human relational capacity. For every person, being in relation with others, means to fulfill our way of being humans. It is only in human interaction that we are fully aware of who we are and why we are on earth. It seems that the growing of our world's awareness means for us the natural expansion of our self-capacity of being in communication. We are more and better in the measure in which we communicate with new worlds and with more people.

We observe that faith-based initiatives foster a relational culture and a good number of cultural examinations can be carried forward thanks to the development of ICTs. For instance, the creation of a hackathon (digital experts meeting) in Paris by the research center OPTIC, aiming to foster solidarity, spirituality and cultural promotion startups is an expression of how collaboration is translated in cultural interactions. The witness of someone whom we do not know and may never meet face to face, can make a difference in our life today thanks to developments of ICTs. But the change is always made from one person to another, from one individual to another. "A person's work is naturally interrelated with the work of others. More than ever, work is work with others and work for others: it is a matter of doing something for someone else" (John Paul II 1991).

Understanding the importance of being in relation with others through ICTs helps us to establish human links and to learn that "young people often fail to find responses to their concerns, needs, problems and hurts in the usual structures" (Francis 2013). The relational culture created by faith-based initiatives carries today several names, appearing under modalities that we call sustainability, intergenerational justice or charity and even sometimes, universalism. Current cultural examinations could be operated through startup hubs and similar social movements bearing important consequences for the public square. Because,

5.1) Social institutions with unreachable dimensions for us as humans are starting to disappear. The greatness of the European Union's operation has recently been challenged by the exit of one of the Nation members. The amount of information required to ensure global peace is no longer in the hands of few people. We live an atomization of the world when new generations aim to understand their social order within human sizes and meanings. Once again, small is beautiful (Schumacher 1973).

5.2) Dissatisfaction is the negative name that a part of current technological, economic and social improvement is having. On the contrary, personal improvement is usually what human beings look forward to in society. Dissatisfaction can only be a bad reality when it is disconnected from the consideration of real human dignity.

5.3) Closed societies build up spaces for interaction and sometimes they even do it physically, for instance in some Countries there are entire areas designed only for foreigners as structures of common understanding. While there is high competition in material interchanges, human values are enclosed in ghettos needing to be opened in order to spread out their contents. Spreading out human value can make the difference for every member of society. Startup hubs know that only performative enterprises, i.e., those able to change clients, investors and workers' lives, will last in the long run (Laudicina 2012).

5.4) Although some authors affirm that making good means making well–as you may earn more money if you do the right things–there is something in that affirmation sounding instrumental with regards to the economy. Western societies do well but they have lost focus on working well, and that is why is so hard to include in their economic equation the good that is united not to economic profit but to human work.

5.5) There is a lot of voluntary unemployment. "Nearly twenty years ago, Amartya Sen ended an article with the statement, 'It is amazing that so much unemployment is so easily tolerated in contemporary Europe'" (Ackinton 2015). And we know that the western society is being acquired by other worlds, which would not only be an economic purchase, but a cultural one.

> "In the case of the UK, the 2012 survey of the beneficial ownership of UK ordinary shares showed that over half were owned by "rest of the world" investors (up from under one-third in 1998—a striking indicator of the way the world is changing)" (Ackinton 2015).

Cultural shifts can be observed in the fact that today there is a real difference among property and control, and between wealth and capital. Pension funds owners have not possibility to determine where their money is going to be invested, so we live as Luhmann observed facing "the control of intransparency" (Luhmann 1997). Owning a house is not anymore expression of being wealthy, as due to demographic decline and mortgage systems we can dispose of capital still being poor. Both systems, real estate and financial investments are subject of economic debates and likewise, political achievements look at economic development regarding property and capital, rather than control and wealth.

But the use of human beings as parts of a system requires cultural understanding. Who is keeping control of economic and financial systems and to what purpose? Social, political and economic positions can be held according to intellectuals' collective expectations. Political philosophers reflecting in the midst of heavy State intervention and control could be attracted by economic systems aiming for de-regulation and operational freedom (Rodríguez-Luño 2016). On the contrary, thinkers reflecting in high free economic systems may stress the importance of filling the social gap they observe, so calling for social collaboration.

What remains at the end of our cultural examinations? Can we really expect an easier future for the next generations and a better personal development based on technology, democracy and economic developments? That would be hard to tell. Not by any chance some thinkers affirmed that western societies are less and less kindled, like if they would start to lose hope. "Modern societies are built upon science. They owe it their wealth, their power, and the certitude that tomorrow far greater wealth and power still will be ours if we so wish" (Monod 1970, 170). The crisis of western society is a crisis of hope. The deepest challenge regards our personal behavior.

6. Conclusions

Habermas observed that our hopes and fears in society are driven by urgent issues worrying us, but their solution is not in urgent actions. According to the philosopher, hope and fear are only solved in a long term understanding of our being with others, sharing in society (Habermas 1990). The exercise of measuring urgency against memory is what we are trying to define as hope. It guarantees the human dimension of work in society and also of the development of current startup. When hope is real, it allows us to escape from false appreciations, from easy earnings and from injustices toward others. On the contrary, when we lose hope, our life gets reduced to immediate satisfactions. We could perhaps imagine that losing hope would be like experiencing a deep desolation, or an interior anguish that is wordless. It is not usually the case. Tired and depressed people struggle a lot, according to their real capacities, and hope is living in them (O'Callaghan 2011, 4). Losing hope could be something that happens unobserved, almost without pain. It is neither anguish nor lack of consolation. It is all about our self-conception, we leave behind responsibilities that in the long term will lead us to lose hope. It is fruit of a lack of consideration of ourselves and of our reality.

It is mostly on the understanding and belief that we can–and should–behave in a way that does not fit with collective expectations that we can change our cultural interactions. It requires the manifestation of others' personal success when facing the worst human troubles, making us aware that there is a way for overcoming social malaise. And even if pain and death will always accompany us, we also know that the only pain we cannot overcome is senseless pain (Romera 2016, 17).

When faith-based institutions such as the Catholic Church aim to create startups for cultural and personal changes, they should foster dissatisfaction. Social unease is one of the most important engines for social change and, for faithful of religious organizations, the only way to create change is to make evident our social malaise. Only then can we stress that this world should be better, moving people into action. It was perhaps on this principle, thinking about the future of society, that Aristotle defined work in relation to expectation or hope, as both human expectations and work aim to reach the same goal: a good not present, hard to obtain, yet possible to get (Flannery 2013, 229).

Modernity brought a great confidence in the human capacity to understand and to change the world. The hope that was at the base of our actions changed into hopes on science and technique, so that the ancient hope was now called progress. Christian hope operates with commitment to changing our common world for the sake of making another world better, with the condition of knowing that material realities will not last forever. Social imagination has united back again in our days a certain conception of work and human expectations, thanks to massive technological development. Hope has likewise recovered a sort of Aristotelian character, becoming intrinsically linked to work. Fromm thought that hope was becoming a right only for a few chosen. Those who have the real capacity to make a difference own hope as a right, the others can only aspire to a passive hope (Fromm 1968, 23). For him hope is only significant for specific groups of people. Those who live on hope can make things change, the rest live on other's power for changing society. Fromm spoke about active and passive hope in this sense. The hope of those who can improve social life is an active hope; others should be at ease with their 'waiting for hope'. Not having the right to hope means taking for granted that only a very few can expect changes. The most we can do is ask those with active hope what they are going to do with it: What does it mean to hope from the privilege of having faith? Or hoping from a high social position? Or from a specific kind of work granting a future? Fromm thought that hope in the new order is active hope, but it is also exclusive hope.

Hope, especially active hope, is not just a feeling. It is not about knowing that we can change reality or even having the sense of our own capacity for doing it. Optimism is not hope, but just a positive outlook of reality. Pessimism is not lack of hope, but mostly a denial of our and others' talents when aiming to make a difference in society. Actually pessimism and optimism find their root in the conviction that nothing can be done, both lay on laziness. Pessimists do not do anything as they think nothing can actually be done. Optimists do not do anything under the observation that things are as good as it gets (O'Callaghan 2011, 5). Both are passive and both refer to passive hope and bear waiting hopes. To define active hope as an intention above every personal feeling, we need to consider the uniqueness of our being humans in the world. As no one would reasonably think that he or she can effectively change society alone, active hope creates interest for others, leads us to provoke relational interchanges, multiplying our capacity of understanding others, and grows common empathy in society.

Active hope demands from us in the measure of its goal, so it is essential to distinguish among hopes and the Hope. The latter being the ultimate ground for our own life. "The capacity to suffer for the sake of the truth is the measure of humanity. Yet this capacity to suffer depends on the type and extent of the hope that we bear within us and build upon"(Benedict XVI 2007). Hope, when it is real, requires a goal exceeding individual capacities. In this sense it is always transcendent to us, and active hope never stops in the individual, it goes beyond us. It can thus be defined as intergenerational, cross-cultural and global.

Startup hubs could foster reflection and putting different worlds together, if they will flourish new apps or using digital tools its fine, the important thing is that they create awareness and personal changes. Their goal is not programming but rather assuring us that something can be done for shaping society according to integral human development. For that, they do not specify what to do, rather stressing that something can actually be done for including people in the social and economic system, for overcoming ‘a throwaway culture’, being in close contact with those who suffer the most (Francis 2013, 53). It is in this specific role that startup hubs become relevant for faith-based institutions and so also for the Catholic Church. Startup hubs neither aim to foster the specific use of tools nor of communication and management techniques. And they are not in place for leveraging the minority condition of groups stressing doctrinal or liturgical orientations either. Startup initiatives for faith-based organizations include contents able to encourage change of personal behavior towards becoming its best.

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The Use of Smartphone Applications with Press Coverage during Crisis: A Descriptive Study on a Sample of Sudanese Journalists in the Period from February to June 2016

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Abstract

The present paper tried to throw light on the impact of information technology on press development.

The study adopted a descriptive analytical procedure by using a questionnaire for data collection and the formation of a clearer picture of the evolution attained through implementation of communication means, in particular, the smartphone.

The study concluded that:

- Most of the newspapers possess internal network for the exchange of editorial material between the departments head and the other members of the press staff.
- The implementations of information technology have helped to minimize the steps of gathering press matter.
- There is harmony, between senior and junior staff, in implementing the technical properties of smartphone device. In addition to the fact that smartphone have contributed to the improvement of editorial performance in gathering, preparation, and processing up to the stage of publishing and \ or broadcasting.
- It is recommended that there is a need for intensification of the practical training in digital publication. The press editor should be encouraged, by to possess the modern technologies with facilities or free of charge.

Keywords: smartphone apps, crisis coverage, Sudanese journalists, information technology

1. Introduction

The different eras of human history, since early prehistoric times, have been classified according to their contemporary tools and applications.

Man has been well acquainted with Stone Age, steam era and the era of computer and internet. He has enjoyed the utilization of the discoveries of each era respectively.

At the present time, the most prominent event is the emergence of smartphone and it is importance as means of quick and easy communication. In the last few decades, the human communities practices, in line with the great revolution communication and information technology represented by the computer appliance.

The press was able to attain great benefits from the revolution of information and communication technology through the use of the computer.

In my opinion, the computer has resulted in improving the press performance in its different branches such as radio broadcasting, television, and newspaper.

The present paper tries to throw light on the effect of information technology on press development. The study depended on the analytical and descriptive procedure by preparing a questionnaire for data collection.

1.1 Research Methodology

The present study followed the descriptive approach, which is concerned with setting the parameters of the problem, analyzing and interpreting them, The ultimate aim is to reach useful extrapolations (Hijab 2003, p203) Descriptive method was adopted, in the present study for predicting the current status of smartphone application and the extent of its use in printed press coverage, particularly during crisis episodes (Nielsen2012).

1.2 Research Hypothesis and Objectives

The present study is based on two hypotheses:

a- Using smartphone applications in press applications has lead to noticeable advances in the coverage of the crisis. Smartphone and the internet are supported by better mechanisms as compared to other communication tools.

b- There is a gap between the senior and junior journalists. The young press officials are more efficient in using modern communication devices.

The questions of the research problem:

1- What are the prominent press applications provided by smartphone applications?

2- What is the advantage of the smartphone in press environment?

3- What are the motives of using smartphone applications in Sudanese press industry?

1.3 Research Problem

As smartphone applications use to increase the quality and acceleration of press coverage during a crisis and helping the journalists creating more credibility news (Kumar, 2011).

The researcher noted that: a few number of journalists concerns resort to using Mobile in the press coverage during times of crisis, such as taking pictures or information sharing (Kumar, 2011).

The current paper focused on the potential of smartphone applications as a new public sphere in new editing, and they will reveal that media features in this applications, using can facilitate democratically desirable outcomes such as political participation.

A journalist working in crisis areas use smartphones because it is the most convenient way to stay connected and accomplish a variety of everyday tasks and they are reasonably priced. The smartphone as a new technology is commonly adopted for maintaining relationships with colleagues (Alamaddin, 2000).

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Concept of Crisis

The crisis in the language is distress or harsh, the Webster Dictionary defines crisis as a turning point occurs about change for the better or worse, or is the decisive moment or rough time, and a time of great disagreement, confusion, or suffering, also refer to an extremely difficult or dangerous point in a situation, crisis point a moment during a serious illness when there is the possibility of suddenly getting either better or worse, a sudden loss of confidence (merriam-webster.com).

Scientists and researchers define the crisis, it is a cautionary stance involves several risks escalating the most important position and exposure to intense scrutiny of the monitoring by the media (Ashmawy, 2008), or the government, the conflict with the normal work processes as well as exposure positive public image enjoyed by the organization or the responsibility is at risk as well as damage to the results of the work of the organization in any way, among the characteristics of the crisis, surprise, lack of time, the confusion in decision-making, there is an abundance of information, lack of potential tension, the tension and sense of danger (Rwaili: 2011).

In the media perspective, the crisis is defined as "position causes the organization to make the place a widespread negative attention from the media and local and international media, and on the other groups such as consumers and employees, politicians, trade unionists and legislatures (Eslim, 2007 & Regester, 2002).

The media perspective in crisis and disaster management "has a growing importance as is a key component of an integrated mix of various sciences in the study of crises components, Is a mix which assumes that every crisis involving complex and intertwined relationships of individual and collective things are internal and external. (Mekkawi, 2005).

The crisis may be sudden and unexpected, and confusing, so that creates a state of tension and anxiety, and uncertainty in the available alternatives, especially in the lack of information, "it also occur more rapidly, thus losing parties to the crisis the ability to control the situation, especially in distress time available to deal with the crisis and its repercussions, also, serious threats, so sometimes lead to material losses and immense human " (Rogester & Larkin 2002)

The mass communication operates in a time of crisis to "demystify the crisis, in order to prevent rumors and protect the image and reputation of the organization, and to deal intelligently with the media to limit their drawbacks, and satisfy their need for information during the crisis, and in a way to ensure not to exacerbate, and the supply of media all the facts of the situation and developments first hand.” (Shaaban:2005).

That the media in a crisis situation "is the double-edged sword, they either contribute to containing the crisis, and to avoid the negative effects arising from them, and support the position of the institution, and it causes a crisis of the institution of the reality of the media coverage of the crisis, which may cause a crisis of credibility in the organization, and raise public opinion against the position, which offers services to the public." (Ashmawi: 2008).

Degrees of public adoption vary on the media as a source of information in the event of a crisis, this relationship is clearly growing under conditions of social stability and social changes and the threat of conflict and its different forms, particularly in the case of security crises. Resort individuals in this case to the media in an attempt to create a constant sheen of events and to find the proper interpretation. (Bait Almal:2011).

Press coverage is defined as "the process of getting the most amount of information on a specific event through the adoption of a journalist in charge of the delegate of covering up its sources, and methods to get the facts and information on the issue of interest to a certain segment of people, or of interest to most people for any reason and displayed in a clear and obvious.(Rubaie:2012).

The media should be a performance in times of crisis on the highly important and sensitive so that the informational messages directed to the public during the security crisis intervention and its development as a key element in the interactions of the crisis positively and negatively. (Salah: 2012)

2.2 The Concept of the Information Technology Evolution

Information technology is the application of computers and internet to store, study, retrieve, transmit, and manipulate data, or information, often in the context of a business or other enterprise. Information Technology is considered a subset of information and communications technology (ICT) (Shaaban, 2005).

The term is commonly used as a synonym for computers and computer networks, but it also encompasses other information distribution technologies such as television and telephones. Several industries are associated with information technology, including computer hardware, software, electronics, semiconductors, the internet, telecom equipment, engineering, and healthcare, e-commerce, and computer services (Wikipedia).

The development, which provides news of modern communication technologies has enabled him to handle, writing for the press, and it appeared as an extension of the developments brought about by information technology in the press and edit the news and extended to include news-makers and editors (mmu.edu.my).

Press editing is a science and an art of transforming events, idea's and experiences and humanitarian issues, article can be understood when the various categories of recipients, which is the general theory of journalism is based, and the theory of journalistic genres, that define journalistic types and areas of use, and the tasks and functions that can be completed, and the stages of the process of creativity.

The editorial is a reflection of the potential of an intellectual, cultural and professional journalist.

2.3 The Features of the Modern Means of Communication

Significant changes to the editor of the work, it has emerged as the electronic news term which is used in the preparation of the technical media article instead of the old media (Fadly, 2005).

Technical development has contributed to the emergence of new technologies and tools to serve the journalistic work, the helps journalists to create content professionally, the easily superior (lamya, 2014).

Press editing by using modern technical means intended to replace paper-based tools used by the editor technology tools achieve a higher level of accuracy during the writing process, especially if you use a subsidized potential linguistic correction word processing program, or monitoring of language and correct errors, in addition to providing a greater degree of speed when the desire to make adjustments by deletion or addition, or transfer the particles that make up the press material.

Modern means of communication and information characterized by many features including multimedia, interaction and participation, empowerment, networking and the ability to control exposure conditions, speed and immediate and continuous updating, personalization, - open borders, flexibility, archiving, saving time, effort and money.

2.4 Media Features of Information Technologies

The most prominent media features offered by information technologies, communication services, mailing lists, newsgroups or discussion groups, to participate in the vote or opinion polls, declined to comment on the news, the dialogue with the different personalities.

In the broadcast and publishing services, television broadcasting, online radio, re-deployment of the newspaper as a PDF or Flash, a subscription service in the printed newspaper (Gheitas, 2009), Technology simultaneous publication Simple RSS (Really Simple Syndication), podcasts Podcast service.

On the side of search services and downloading files, the search service, search the Archive Service, and the participation of other news.

2.5 The Smartphone

Is the term given to a class of modern mobile phones that use the sophisticated operating system, most of the touch screen is used as an interface user is running mobile applications?

If no agreement is reached between the manufacturers of mobiles on a common definition of the smartphone, some of them considered a smartphone is a phone that offers the advantages of surfing the Internet and synchronize e-mail and open MS Office files, and has a full keyboard QWERTY (Alakbawi,2010**)**, although there was no agreement between the manufacturers of mobile phones on a common definition of the smartphone but the common definition and most widely accepted today that mobile phone that works on one of the following operating systems: Windows Phone, or, Linux, or their derivatives, is considered running Apple OS (iPhone) and Google's Android and Nokia's system of elaborate systems for Linux, it's referred to as Mobiles operating on one of these systems Phones smart because they often are where all the previous conditions are met (Wikipedia).

Smartphones are no different from laptops, personal computers or any other device in anything, each smart devices consist of a two-part complementary to each other are: the Hardware, is a physicist part that possible to the touch, the Software is part programmatic operator of the device (operating system) (Shikhani, 2010), who leads the Hardware such as Windows and Linux, without operating system device cannot be work (Sadiq, 2003).

Operating systems began to evolve at the hands of Nokia, where we drove Symbian OS system and was the first advanced operating system, enough to meet the simple and some complex needs, in the same time period was Samsung's own OS system.

Smartphone differs from the traditional phone in that it provides a number of functions and advanced computing capabilities and advanced communication along with other traditional phone functions.(Aljazeera net:2014).

The integration of the first smartphones It was between traditional phone capabilities and benefits of other popular consumer devices such as PDA and media player and digital camera, and GPS positioning system (GPS).

The current smartphones, it supports additional features more advanced, such as resistance touchscreens to scratches, compact cameras, and high-resolution imaging, we have begun to see smartphones have cameras precisely 16 megapixels, twenty-megapixels, and some arrived in the matter to an unprecedented accuracy of 41 megapixels, smartphone features as well as strong with equipment such as dual-core processors and the Quartet cores and eight cores, as well as smartphone includes a special graphics processors enables operation of three-dimensional games, and random access memory (RAM) is sufficient and adequate storage space.

2.6 Employ Phone Applications in Coverage during Crises

As technological developments brought about a coup in the press and the news editor has the same thing with editors and Newsmakers there has become the citizen journalist, a journalist who can handle and writing in the newspaper using electronic means, the introduction of electronic editing system as an alternative to manual editing to the editor printed the paperwork from several angles such specificity typography angle to Puntland title according to the degree of importance of press material and the angle of the relationship between writers, editors and reporters outside the headquarters of the newspaper has affected.

2.7 Models of Smart Applications

1. **Story Maker,** which is an open source application run on the Android operating system, the application is primarily intended for journalists and citizen journalists, it was developed by a group interested in journalism and international organizations such as the Organization unlimited Free Press, and The Guardian Project and others.

   The application allows users to do editing and filming and production of digital stories, relying entirely on this application without the need for any tools beyond him, and published live through it.

   The application takes the slogan "Learning, Make, participated" to express his goal and function. The application is based on two parts, the first is a special lessons part, which you can find many diverse and renewable states and classified according to different areas, where you can choose between lessons in journalism, photography and editing, digital audio and security, and to download any of the lessons you want easily, The second part is the part of the relevant industry news reporting the story, which lets you program a few simple and easy steps to producing a digital story, you'll find a place to put the title, another to choose a mediator type you want, whether text, video, image or audio clip, the application also lets you model that can be used to produce digital story and add what you wants from the text, images and other and add an explanation of the story and many other possibilities such as the combination of sound and images, and other.

2. **Telegram** and an application of text-messaging supports strict confidentiality, security, and is characterized by several features, including the possibility of working groups of up to a thousand members and the channels establishment of news websites an unlimited number of members and send voice messages are encrypted and cannot any third party shall have access to its content, as well as the possibility of the destruction of messages self after a period specified by the user.
3. **Soma** and an application of text-messaging, voice, and video conversations are also characterized by secrecy and safety were not stored conversations on servers, and is cleared all the messages that have not been received from the second party after a week and a technical advantage of the purity of the sound and picture quality and the possibility of working groups for voice conversations.
4. **phone** It is also the application of text-messaging and audio and video and is completely safe and is distinct from the rest of the applications its failure to introduce a phone number, but a personal account is similar to email and more like Skype.

2.8 Technical Effect on the Press Editors in Sudan

To see how the Sudanese journalist benefited from applications provided by information technology and its impact on the editorial process, a questionnaire was designed and distributed to a sample consisting of 75 journalists via e-mail and Facebook's response was 86%, the Response rate in the first ten minutes about 48% of the total sample.

Table (1). Sex and Percentages of the Sample

Categories	Frequencies	Percentage
Male	51	78%
Female	14	22%
	65	100%

Ages ranged from 15 years to 25 years the proportion of 7% .26 to 35 years the proportion of 33%, 43% 36-45snh, where the majority of the 15-45 age group by 84% and the age group between 46-65 years amounted to 17 %.

Table (2). The age groups

Categories	Frequencies	Percentage
25-15	5	7%
35-26	21	33%
45-36	28	43%
55-46	5	7%
65-56	7	10%
	65	100%

Table (3) pointed that the 61% of the sample of bachelor campaign while the campaign degrees above the BSc (Diploma, Masters, and Ph.D.) were up 29%.

Table (3). Educational level of the sample

Categories	Frequencies	Percentage
Schools	7	10%
University	40	61%
Post Graduate	19	29%
	65	100%

Table (4) shows that the sample varied specializations between media, languages, information technology, international relations, engineering, economics, and sociology at rates 44% 0.11% 0.6% 0.6% 0.6% 0.11% 0.16%, respectively .

Table (4). Number and % of academic disciplines of the sample

Categories	Frequencies	Percentage
Media	29	44%
Language	7	11%
Computer & IT	4	6%
International Relations	4	6%
Sociology	7	11%
Economy	10	16%
	65	100%

Table (5) respondents classified by function within the newspaper where he participated editors and managers editor and columnist of 17% for each category, heads of departments by 22%, the editors of 27%.

Table (5). Sample positions inside the institution

Categories	Frequencies	Percentage
Editor-in chief	11	17%
Managing Editor	11	17%
Columnist	11	17%
Head Section	14	22%
Editor	18	27%
	65	100%

The questionnaire shows the sample is subjected to communication applications and using them in the development of journalism as explained 77% of the sample that they have the mobile devices supporting Android applications, The sample of 100% have e-mail, 50% of the sample (s) email more than once during the day, 72% s mail via mobile phone, admitted 89% of the sample size of the existence of the evolution of the editorial performance due to technical, 90% of their printing press their material themselves and choose the appropriate images from the archives or the Internet as well as the delivery of materials through an intermediary technical (Flash or send internal network to the newspaper) 0.50% of respondents pointed to reduce the presence of newspapers to print on the computer technician 0.78% share their writings through social networking sites and 22% equally between personal blogs and codes offered by newspapers.

Table (6). Possession of communication technology in the sample (%)

Categories	Yes		No	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Owned a device that supports Android	50	77%	15	23%
I have an email	65	100%	0	0
access e-mail via phone	47	72%	18	28%
Use the phone in the editing	58	89%	7	11%
Keep an archive in a telephone	59	90%	7	11%
Type articles and send it	33	50%	33	50%
No character's in the newspaper	51	78%	14	22%

3. Results

Evident from the data that came out of questionnaire:

1. A large proportion of the newspapers has a private internal network is the exchange of materials between the editor and head of the department, and the department head and editorial director, and the managing editor and editorial secretary and two to the editor.
2. Applications provided by information technology, which summed up the steps and helped to improve the content.

3. There is a balance in the use of technology applications in smartphones between the young journalists and the elderly.
4. Respondents said that there is a negative impact in the field coverage of the events of the adoption of the editor on the network colleagues from other newspapers.
5. Smartphones have contributed to the development of editorial performance regarding the collection of information and communication resources and the preparation and processing of information until the stage of publishing or broadcasting.
6. There is a positive correlation between the research specimens and the use and applications of the smartphone in press performance, of even during crisis times (Table 6).
7. Also, table (6) shows a positive correlation between the different classes, in the researched specimens, and their interest in following the smartphone application stages.
8. There is a positive correlation between the response of pioneer press generation and smartphone applications and this is reflected in their quick response to the questionnaire. This leads us to agree that advances in technology are always accompanied by increased interest in all press levels. That might be due to the curiosity of press officials for testing and applying any new technique.

4. Recommendations

1. **There is a need for practical training intensification in the digital publication field.**
2. Intensification of training courses in the fields of publishing applications uses the digital press. Encourage the editor to possess modern applications with facilities or free grants from corporations, to improve their performance.
3. Encourage further research and studies to assess and evaluate the impact of technology and its impact on press performance.
4. With the increase in Internet service speed and availability of more than the means by which the average user access to data, where a lot of things that go into everyday uses of the human being become connected to the Internet, and the success of innovations and devices in the future "will depend on its ability to disappearance of our lives in the sense that the ideal situation is not to hold any hardware at all, with the ability to harness and manage decryption code filtering and data analysis.

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A Series of Class Acts: Mystifications in Irish Print Media Discourses

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Abstract

In this study, in the context of increasing inequality across the developed economies and beyond, I engage with the related issue of social class. I argue, despite postmodernist claims to the contrary, that social class continues to be a tendency to structure capitalist societies, and a primary determinant of life chances. In so doing, I draw on several strands of international class-based theory and research, and on research in the specifically Irish context. Using an explanatory critique, I highlight the failure of contemporary Irish print media discourses to acknowledge the class-based content of the issues to which they refer, while nevertheless promoting the interests of the dominant parties concerned. In conclusion, among other things, I claim that social class is deeply ingrained in Irish society, but that the sources concerned in the print media are much more likely to mystify than accurately inform their readers on this issue.

Keywords: explanatory critique, social class, mystification, print media

1. Introduction

According to Winnie Byanyima (2015), executive director of Oxfam International, and co-chair of the World Economic Forum, 2015, burgeoning global inequality between nation states is one of the defining challenges of our time. In addition, Picketty (2014), and Dorling (2014), in their analyses of several contemporary developed economies, highlight the huge inequalities that have arisen since the 1980's within nation states, both in terms of income and wealth. In this study, I will argue that this should come as no surprise to those familiar with the Marxist tradition of critical social analysis and commentary, in which such tendencies are understood as formal, and as following directly from the nature of capitalism itself (Marx, 2016).

Nevertheless, it is claimed in the postmodern present that Marxism has nothing to tell us, that modernity's promises are a cruel illusion, and that the present cannot be improved upon. Indeed, with the eclipse of Marxism, the victory of capitalism, and the demise of the historical ideological struggle between them, that we now live in an era characterised by the 'end of ideology' and the 'end of history' (Fukuyama in Sim, 2000). In this postmodern world, all universalities and essentialisms, including social structures and practices based on common experience and/or interests, such as social class, are replaced with fragments, flexibilities, and contingencies (Wood, 2006). Neither does materiality 'compel' what we say regarding it, our evaluations are not 'forced' by the realities to which we refer, and hence no systematic material foundation for either domination or exploitation exists (Nanda, 2006).

There is, however, resistance to this narrative. As the science of capitalism's contradictions, it is simply incoherent to assert the demise of Marxism in the same breath as the triumph of capitalism, however definitive this triumph turns out to be (Jameson, 2006). In its critique of modernity, and of the idea of progressive enlightenment, postmodernism's failure to adequately distinguish between reason in the service of the commonweal, and reason in the service of sectional interests, has a tendency to conflate modernity with capitalism, and hence to visit the inadequacies of the latter on the former (Malik, 2006).

The postmodern emphasis on the local and the unique elides the totalising materiality of capitalist social relations, whose class-based structures and practices now operate on a global scale (Harvey in Palmer, 2006; Palmer, 2006). It also conveniently overlooks the fact that an individual human right, such as freedom of expression, for example, exists only to the extent that it is universalised and essentialised, that within a given geo-political area it is not arbitrarily suppressed or denied, wherever in the world this may be (Ahmad, 2006). Finally, regarding materiality and our representations of it, as we shall see, it is my contention that we cannot simply construct the world, and our place in it, as we would like them to be.

For these reasons, it is my contention that the postmodern position in this respect offers a default symbolic endorsement of late capitalism's highly 'disorganised' and mobile globalism, and is deeply conservative. It is so because it negates the very analytical tools capable of confronting dominatory and exploitative structures and practices where they exist, placing them beyond the critical gaze. As such, following philosopher Jacques Derrida, I want to argue for a reengagement with the spirit of Marx, for a 'hauntology' of his work (Derrida in Sim, 2000). I also want to argue, in opposition to the claim that humanity is at the very pinnacle of its potential, following Eagleton (2006), that genuine progress in reducing inequality will signal the beginning, rather than the (postmodernist) end, of human history.

In what follows, using theoretical, empirical, quantitative and qualitative data, and based on an explanatory critique (Bhaskar, 1998), I will establish the actuality of social class in Ireland, and contrast this with representations of such in the contemporary Irish print media. Given that most information is communicated symbolically, rather than somatically, and the central role of both information and knowledge in the shaping of practice, as we shall see, accuracy is, I contend, essential in order for individuals, and collectives, to decide which social structures they wish to reproduce, and which they wish to transform.

In the section 'Theoretical orientations', I briefly outline my theoretical approach. In 'Theorising social class', I refer to strands of international class-based theory and research. In 'Social class in Ireland', I focus on strands of Irish class-based research. These accounts are short sketches, for reasons of word space, and I include only those details which I consider the most appropriate. In 'Mystifications', I offer examples of previous mystifications of social class in Ireland, and I introduce, and critically comment on, four texts dealing with social class issues in the contemporary Irish print media. Finally, I summarise and conclude.

2. Theoretical Orientations

Human social practice is a complex interaction between the subjective and the objective, involving purposive causal activity through which we shape and reshape our environments, which in turn shape and reshape us. All social practice is productive, and by virtue of its type, occupies a specific position in the socio-economic structure, and hence is positioned-practice. Relations between relatively enduring positioned-practices constitute social relations, and the product of all social relations is society (Bhaskar, 1998). However, as a consequence of the capitalist separation of ownership of productive resources from the labour power utilised in their consumption, social relations are not indiscriminate or random, but tiered and ranked, such that they are graded and ordered horizontally and vertically along class and occupational lines.

All social practice is reflexive, and, as a consequence, semiosis is always a significant constituent factor, and, depending on the type of practice concerned, is differentially combined with the practice's material resources (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Material resources include the social structures and institutional rituals involved in the practice, such as employer/employee relations, while semiotic resources include the knowledge brought to bear on practice by agents. The former function to constrain the latter, such that we cannot simply construct the world, and our place in it, as we would like them to be. Such that we cannot, for example, confuse the coal miner at the coal face deep underground with the rentier who lives of income from stocks and shares they own in the mine.

Knowledge in this respect is the product of an on-going process of investigation and study, normative for a time until superseded by an understanding more compatible with the world as it exists independently of us. Accurate information is a unit of such knowledge. However, and crucially, agents' understanding of their activities may, through inaccurate information, be subject to mystification, and hence correction, such that they may believe they are doing or witnessing one thing, when in fact they may be doing or witnessing quite another (Bhaskar, 1998).

When I use the term mystification, I refer to inaccurate information. For example, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu considers the concept of meritocracy to be a mystification, and likens the idea to that of the roulette table, an 'imaginary universe', where with each spin of the wheel anything is possible, and anyone can become anything. He contrasts this with the 'constraints' inscribed in social structures and practices which persist over time, such that anyone cannot become anything, and anything is not possible (Bourdieu, 2016).

When I refer to tendencies, I imply causal forces operating in the 'open system' of the social, as opposed to the 'closed system' of a laboratory. In society, structural tendencies, such as social class, as the focus of this study, but others also, including gender and ethnicity, operate among other tendencies, because control and isolation are not an option, as in the laboratory. They may operate realised and acknowledged, or unrealised and unacknowledged, that is, their causality is checked by countervailing tendencies, for instance. Or they may operate realised but unacknowledged, either because masked by other tendencies, or because their causality is incorrectly ascribed to that of others.

3. Theorising Social Class

During the production of the goods and services needed for human survival and well-being, the producers enter into specific class-based social relations. As I have alluded to above, this is so because, characteristically, social relations in capitalist societies are marked by property relations, and the separation of employers from employees, of capital from labour power. In the private sector, a productive property or capital-owning employer class stand opposed to a capital or productive property-less waged or salaried employee class. In the public sector, the capitalist State takes the role of an employer, replete with its productive assets and capital, and maintains similar relationships with its employees, waged or salaried.

The social relations concerned are characteristically dominatory and exploitative because their interests are antagonistic, with the employers' expanding at the expense of the employees' through their appropriation of the surplus product (Picketty, 2014; Marx, 2016). Also, the common interests of the waged or salaried class in maximising returns of surplus to labour are frustrated by a contrived and hierarchically stratified division of labour within the class itself. While all are either waged or salaried, their homogeneity is undermined by strata, such as managers and technicians, for example, who are instrumentally allied to, and who promote the interests of, capital, as we shall see.

In addition, as the philosopher of history Walter Benjamin observes, while such social relations are material in the first instance, over time they give rise to an overlaid and differential allocation of refined non-material things, again in favour of capital, and at the expense of labour, as we shall see also (Wright, 1997; Benjamin in Eagleton, 2011).

There are, of course, social classes intermediate to, and other than, the two characteristic and enduring classes described above. Those who have productive capital assets, but who do not employ labour, those who draw a wage or a salary, but who are not contracted to an employer, and the unemployed living on the 'crumbs' of society, for example. However, as a consequence of the competitive pressures of capitalist production and accumulation, these classes have a tendency to transience, and to be assimilated into one of the two characteristic classes over time and economic cycles (Marx, 2016; Ollman, 2016).

In the US, Wright (1997) has argued that class is pervasive in contemporary life, a key determinant of life chances. He formulates a position consistent with Marxist class theory in which he defines the structural properties of classes; they are relational, relations are antagonistic, antagonisms are rooted in exploitation, and exploitation occurs in production.

He is particularly concerned to account for the 'embarrassment' and apparent contradiction of productive agents, such as managers and technicians, who, while belonging to the capital or productive property-less waged or salaried class, nevertheless serve capital's interests. He does so by dividing productive capital assets into three types, material, organisational, and intellectual, synonymous with employers, managers, and technicians, respectively. Subsequently, by extending the scope of class-based antagonisms to include acts of domination, he argues that managers and technicians in performing such dominatory acts, and to the extent that they facilitate the appropriation of the surplus of the labour of others, are exploitative in kind (Wright, 1997).

In the UK, the 'Great British Class Survey' (Savage et al, 2015), draws on Pierre Bourdieu's model of social class as comprising three distinct types of capital; economic, cultural, and social capital, referring to income and wealth, interests and activities, and networks and associations, respectively. The authors acknowledge the importance of economic capital in shaping social class relations, but claim that an exclusive focus on such misses class markers which the three types of capital complementing each other can identify. That the three together can furnish a more sophisticated and refined picture of the wider political and cultural significance of social class.

They identify 'elite' and 'precariat' classes at the poles of the class structure. Among the elite they distinguish a strong sense of entitlement for themselves, and of just deserts for the precariat, who the former see as the authors of their own misfortune. Significantly, they also claim that most people remain firmly in the social class into which they are born, and, as a consequence, that notions of meritocracy, equal opportunity, and social mobility, are largely mystifications (Savage et al, 2015).

It is clear that this notion of just deserts allows for the impoverished conditions accruing as a result of capital's structured and class-based demand for low-wage and insecure labour to be ascribed to the fecklessness of the poor themselves. It is also clear that the notion of entitlement allows for the flattering conditions of the elite to be ascribed exclusively to their personal integrity and hard work. This in spite of all the evidence identifying a strong tendency for capital to be largely inherited, and indicating that while examples of the 'self-made' entrepreneur exist, they are rare, and very much the exception (O'Toole, 2010; Chang, 2011; Picketty, 2014; Klein, 2015; Savage et al, 2015).

The evidence also indicates widespread social segregation between the classes. One hundred years ago in the 'big houses', contrary to contemporary mystifications, such as the popular TV series 'Downton Abbey', for instance, great efforts were made to keep servants out of the sight of their employers. They were 'invisible' only for their labour, performed mostly when the employing family was asleep, or out of the house (Hyams, 2011). In the present period little has changed. Class-based social segregation remains pervasive, with separate schools, separate housing, and indeed separate sporting and leisure activities persisting and proliferating, such that the distinct social classes seldom, if ever come into contact with each other (Dorling, 2014; McWilliams, 2015).

Finally, in relation to the notion of an elite class at the apex of society, both Dorling (2014) and Picketty (2014) argue persuasively for their status as a 'dominant' or 'ruling' class. Although not homogenous in form in many respects, through their hegemonic cross-ownership and control of productive assets and other forms of capital, the elite are able to strongly influence political, social, and cultural structures and practices on a national and international scale.

4. Social Class in Ireland

Much of the research on social class in Ireland adopts a 'Weberian' position, as opposed to a Marxist position, so-called after the sociologist Max Weber, and has a tendency to conflate social class with occupational strata, as we shall see in this section. It uses the former when actually referring to the latter, and understands inequality as an inability to move through such socio-economic strata. Thus, in his conceptualisation of social class, Weber emphasises factors in addition to property relations, interests of a given 'type', between skilled and non-skilled labour, and that of 'status', between white and blue collar labour, for example (Tovey and Share, 2003). This slippage of meaning does not embody concepts of domination or exploitation. Nevertheless, such occupational strata are central to the class schema I have described above, and are relevant here as indicators of the enduring social cleavages associated with the capitalist division of labour, and the differential rewards resulting therefrom.

According to the research, 'rigid' class distinctions are central to Irish life; from the foundation of the State, and indeed before, they are blatant and glaring (Ferriter, 2005; Convery, 2013a). They are palpable during the Dublin Lock-Out, an intense industrial dispute, August 1913 to March 1914, with Dublin a low-wage 'slum' city, very profitable for capital, with the highest mortality rate of all UK cities (McCabe, 2013). They are evident at the birth of the State, between 1919 and 1923, a period of intense working-class activism (Convery, 2013b; Devoy-McAuliffe, 2013). They are evident from July to October 1934, with Dublin a city virtually without a press, following strikes over issues of pay, the length of the working week, and holiday entitlements (Fallon, 2013). They are evident in the institutional incarceration of those with dissenting philosophies, at odds with the 'classless' hegemony of Church and State, with Ireland interning more people in this manner as a proportion of its population than the much maligned USSR in the mid-twentieth century (Convery, 2013a; RTE, 2013a). They are evident also late into the twentieth century in the committal of the children of the poor to industrial schools and convents, well known as places of neglect, abuse, and ill-health (Buckley, 2013).

4.1 Health

Social inequality and class in Ireland is strongly registered in its correlation with health, both physical and mental. Research throughout the closing decades of the twentieth century consistently shows that the lower the class the poorer the health. Indeed, across the island as a whole, the vast majority of causes of death occur at a higher rate in the lowest as opposed to the highest social class, and in many cases the variations are 'startling' (Balanda and Wilde in Tovey and Share, 2003). While in the contemporary period, in terms of health improving or declining as one goes up or down the social class 'ladder', as it were, there is a clear social gradient, in that both mortality and morbidity rates are higher in the lower social class groups (O'Toole, 2010). Indeed, across the island as a whole, mortality rates are one hundred to two hundred per cent higher in the lowest occupational class than in the highest for almost all causes (Battel-Kirk and Purdey in O'Toole, 2010).

4.2 Education

Social distinctions based on landed and agricultural capital decline as a tendency to structure Irish society over the course of the twentieth century with the growth of industrial and financial capital, and with the expansion of the State (Ferriter, 2005). Conversely, education increases in importance as a tendency to procure well-paid and secure employment. This scenario brings about structural social mobility, that is, mass movement from the blue collar and farm labourer class into the pre-existing white-collar class.

Research from the end of the twentieth century, however, indicates that the latter benefit disproportionately from educational expansion. Indeed, in terms of participation rates, the more advanced the education, the greater the disparities, with the children of manual workers and/or farm labourers constituting a tiny proportion of third-level university entrants (Jackson, 1990; McCullagh, 1990; Drudy and Lynch, 1993). From around the same time, research shows relative social mobility, that is, movement through the occupational structure aside from any large scale structural changes, to be low among the lower classes, and that this situation is enduring (Breen and Whelan, 1996; Tovey and Share, 2003).

In the contemporary period, in terms of third-level education, the participation rates of the children of higher professionals are at saturation point, and have been for years, with those of the children of semi-skilled and unskilled workers remaining a fraction of this (O'Toole, 2010). Thus, despite investment in education over the decades, patterns of inequality have remained largely undiminished, and, if anything, have been reinforced, such that the relative advantage associated with class persists (Clancy, 2001; Tovey and Share, 2003).

5. Mystifications

At this point, prior to my textual commentaries, as cultural contextualisation, I want to briefly exemplify the use of mystification in the confounding of issues of social class in Ireland. This has involved, for instance, a Limerick courtroom's ruling that class distinctions between farm owners and farm labourers do not exist. Dublin's Abbey Theatre refusing to host the play 'Whistle in the Dark', by Tom Murphy, because the 'dispossessed class' which it refers to, likewise, does not exist (Ferriter, 2005). It has involved national newspapers, such as the Irish Times, and the Irish Independent, promoting a picture of Ireland as a classless idyll. It has also involved the use of the amorphous and catch-all term 'coping classes' in the print media to blur deep social distinctions based on hierarchically ordered socio-economic structures and practices (Cullinane, 2013; Pierse, 2013).

Similar tendencies are implied in the dearth of emphasis on the class-based works of lauded poets and playwrights, such as W.B. Yeats and Sean O'Casey; the former's apparent 'contempt' for waged or salaried workers is tellingly sidestepped, as are the latter's 'socialist' texts (Pierse, 2013). Finally, they are also implied in a recent Sociology of Ireland, which, despite the authors' claim regarding the primacy of social locations in shaping agents' social practice, omits any chapter dedicated to social class in a section given over to social divisions (Share, Corcoran, and Conway, 2012).

5.1 Notes on Textual Commentaries

The textual commentaries here are purposefully cross-sectional rather than longitudinal in kind, marking a specific time in Irish society, and were chosen at random from newspapers across the range for such. They do not follow a formal methodical approach, but are the product of an informal, unobtrusive, and iterative process, involving close attention to both vocabulary and grammar.

All the texts but Text One, which features the entire original article, constitute the opening paragraphs from the originals, and capture their substance and thrust, as I understand them. The texts have authority and significance in virtue of their institutional status, and warrant critical investigation by virtue of their presenting a particular version of reality to their readers. It is important to stress that these texts are 'hard' news items, and not editorials or opinion columns, and that the actualities presented could have been presented differently, as compilers have many options available to them in terms of lexico-grammar (Halliday, 2004).

The term 'relational process' refers to the grammatical use of a form of the present tense to assert a judgement as factual; in the clause 'Summer is a lovely time', for example, 'is' functions as a relational process. When I refer to modal auxiliaries, such as 'would', 'will', 'might', 'could', and 'would', among others, I do so because while expressing judgement and degrees of possibility, they can confer a sense of inevitability, such as in the sentence 'It will be warm today', for example.

A 'passive voice' statement is one which allows for the removal of any reference to agency, or to the source of a judgement. For example, the clause 'The critic likens the film to a classic' is in the active voice, as opposed to 'The film is likened to a classic' in the passive voice.

Nominalisation involves the substitution of a noun or noun phrase for a process. For example, nominals 'the economy' and 'the recovery' represent nominalisations, such that the complex social practices and relations concerned are elided.

A superordinate functions collectively, such that it may conceal divisions and conflicts of interest. For instance, in the clause 'The legislature is small in Ireland', the superordinate nominal 'legislature' masks the hierarchies and tensions involved both within and between political groups.

In terms of productive assets, and forms of capital, that is, material, organisational, and intellectual productive assets, and economic, cultural, and social capital, I highlight their existence where relevant, but I do not refer to assets or capital not directly implied by the text itself.

It is significant that all of the texts function as tendencies to promote specific interests, the interests concerned are exclusively those of the dominant parties, and that none acknowledge either that they are so doing, or indeed the class-based nature of the practices themselves.

All the texts are declarative in mood, and each is prefaced with a short situational contextualisation. The commentaries are not intended to be exhaustive, including only those elements which I consider significant, and for reasons of word space, are kept to a minimum.

5.2 Textual commentaries

Text One

The Irish Daily Mirror 16 September 2015.

National politicians are 'starkly' unrepresentative of the population as a whole, that is, over-representative of the professional stratum, and under-representative of the manual working stratum in the capitalist division of labour (O'Toole, 2010).

> Prefabs plan could tackle homes crisis.
>
> PREFAB homes could help ease the homeless crisis, it has emerged.
>
> Two-bedroom units went on display in Dublin yesterday and could be used as a short-term solution.
>
> Environment Minister Alan Kelly said they could last for up to 70 years.
>
> He added: 'The quality is excellent. The lifespan of some of these units is 60 to 70 years guaranteed.
>
> 'These aren't cheap. They range from E75,000 to E100,000 a unit.
>
> 'But what it does is it allows us to develop homes quicker.
>
> 'We're only going to put people in here for a certain amount of time until we have a more long-term solution'. (p14)

This text, while tacitly acknowledging the limitations of prefabs, nonetheless constitutes a defence of their use as a remedy for the growing homelessness crisis in Ireland. In so doing, it empowers the Minister, and hence the State, while disempowering the homeless. It implies social capital, in that politicians have access to wide networks of contacts by virtue of being legislators. It is also significant in that it implies a precariat who rely on the State for housing provision.

The dubiousness of the plan is implied in the phrase 'a more long-term solution', line 8, an anaphoric reference to that of 'a short-term solution', line 3, which it affirms. It is implied also in the phrase 'a certain amount of time', line 8, in which the modifier 'certain' signals an unspecified temporality, such that the political decision-makers, as agents in this text, are themselves unsure of the time-scales involved.

However, the use of the nominal 'homes' throughout, rather than 'houses', for example, implies intimacy, and represents a tendency to negate the pejorative implications of prefab. The nominal 'on display', line 3, connotes something worth seeing, and that of 'unit(s)', repeated in lines 3, 5, and 6, a self-contained and completeness. In a similar manner, the nominal 'lifespan', line 5, as an anthropomorphism, assigns a vital human characteristic to the prefab, connoting a further sense of intimacy. All have a tendency to commend the prefab for the purpose at hand.

The present perfect 'it has emerged', line 2, allows for the content of its report, which is supportive of the prefab, to go unattributed, rather than to its source, Minister Alan Kelly, thereby conferring a false sense of impartiality to it. The clauses 'The quality is excellent' and 'These aren't cheap', lines 5 and 6, respectively, are relational processes which, while registering opinions, factually equate the prefab with good taste and good value. In addition, all four uses of the modal auxiliary 'could', lines 1, 2, 3, and 4, imply both the availability and suitability of the prefab for the purpose.

Finally, and specifically in terms of agency, all the personal pronouns 'We're', 'us', and 'we', lines 7 and 8, operate exclusively, and imply a practice enacted by politicians on others. Indeed, the clause 'But what it does…', line 7, with pronoun 'it' substituting for the process of allocating homeless people to prefabs, represents a cataphoric reference to the following clause complex, in which agency is denied the homeless, who are simply acted upon.

Text Two

The Irish Times 23 October 2015.

Irish Rail (Iarnrod Eireann) are the national State-owned rail carrier. The First Class seating arrangements which they provide do not map directly onto wider societal class structures. They are significant, however, because of the implication, fully endorsed by the State, that segregation in public spaces is normative. Siptu and NBRU are the trade unions involved.

> Irish rail says drivers offered 8%.
>
> Talks were continuing late last night to avert a threatened strike that will bring rail services nationwide to a halt this morning.
>
> Management at Iarnrod Eireann maintained that productivity proposals under discussion would see the earnings of train drivers increase by nearly 8 per cent over three years.
>
> Siptu and the NBRU said it was 'manifestly untrue' to say a position had been reached where productivity

> measures could be delivered which would generate a rise in earnings. The dispute centres on claims by drivers for payment for past productivity. The company has said it would share the benefits of future productivity with drivers.
>
> It is understood company proposals centre on introducing more efficient rosters which would see drivers operate trains more frequently within existing shift arrangements. This would be aimed at generating savings which could be used to fund additional payments to drivers…(p1)

This text is significant because in its dealing with opposing class-based interests, it implicitly promotes the State's position, through the defence of its management, with the use of linguistic devices such as euphemism, modality, nominalisation, and the passive voice. In so doing, it implies organisational productive assets synonymous with management in their capacity as decision-makers.

The issue of productivity is central to this text, and features in all paragraphs, except the opening paragraph, in which it is presumed. The nominal groups 'productivity proposals', line 4, 'productivity measures', lines 6 – 7, 'past productivity', line 8, and 'future productivity', line 8, all signal an increased workload on drivers.

The nominalisation 'Talks', line 2, abstracts from the social relations between the two parties to the dispute; it does not apportion unreasonableness to either, and, as such, implies impartiality. However, and on the contrary, the perlocutionary effect of the combination of the claim that management have offered a pay rise, line 1, the modified nominal 'threatened strike', line 2, and modalised process 'will bring rail services nationwide to a halt this morning', lines 2 – 3, is to connote a sense of culpability on drivers. The modified nominal 'late last night', line 2, furthermore implies a sense of drivers having to be tirelessly placated.

The modalised process 'would see', line 4, clearly registers management's claim of the possibility of benefits to drivers of their productivity proposals. However, the elision of the drivers in the passive voice modalised process 'could be delivered [by drivers]…', line 7, denies drivers a voice, and, as such, a response, in the context of their denial of such possibilities being precisely the issue at hand. The modalised process 'would share the benefits of future productivity', line 8, registers management's intention to give to drivers only a fraction of the product of their labour in the event of future productivity, and is euphemistic because it presents an act of exploitation as if it were an act of generosity.

The passive voice 'It is understood', line 10, allows the compiler to put management's position while concealing that this is so. In effect, the modalised processes 'would see', 'would be aimed at', and 'could be used', lines 10 – 12, allow for demands, such as increased productivity, and intentions, such as to partly withhold any additional value produced, to be expressed as possibilities, thereby moderating their force.

Text Three

The Irish Daily Mail 20 November 2015.

This text reflects the operation of a 'Golden Circle', both in the public and private spheres, who are well-rewarded for their services to capital, with twenty-one bankers in Ireland earning over one million euros in 2011, a time of deep austerity for many (O'Toole, 2010; RTE, 2013b).

> Central Bank to 'keep retention pay in place'
>
> The Central Bank says it intends to continue giving 'retention payments' to middle management – after it emerged the bank has paid secret top-ups of around 21%, to 30 members of its staff.
>
> The bank said that the payments are used as an 'incentive' to keep 'skilled' staff in their jobs and to stop them leaving
>
> It was claimed that those in receipt of the payments were in 'middle management' and earning salaries ranging from E67,000 to E84,000.
>
> 'We are not talking about huge salaries,' a Central Bank spokeswoman told the Irish Daily Mail.
>
> In a statement released yesterday, the Central Bank also said it had met with representatives from the Unite trade union in May of this year to brief them on the retention policy, and had provided them with more details and numbers since then.
>
> Unite, which is the main trade union for Central Bank staff, is seeking legal advice over the confidential payments of more than E20,000…(p16)

This text is significant because it mystifies the conflict of interests between management, and non-management in the Central Bank as State employees, but nevertheless defends the former. As such, it implies organisational productive assets.

In lines 2 and 6, and lines 3 and 4, respectively, the modified nominal ‘middle management’ and nominal ‘staff’ are used synonymously. However, and on the contrary, the nominal ‘staff’, line 12, is also used to designate non-managerial workers. In this way, their opposing interests are confounded, and both are defined according to the same criteria. The use of the superordinate nominals ‘Central Bank’ and ‘bank’ throughout functions to mask the hierarchical division of labour within the bank, and the fact that it is managers who are secretly paying other managers.

The quotation ‘We are not talking about huge salaries’, line 8, is marked by informality, and the use of the nominal group ‘Irish Daily Mail’, also line 8, functions to personalise the message, directly implicating the reader as reader of the Irish Daily Mail. The perlocutionary effect, as in a conversation between friends, is to invite the reader to sympathise with the contents. Additionally, the personal pronoun ‘We’ functions inclusively, reinforcing this intimacy, and, as a whole, the clause complex constitutes a tendency to mitigate the inequity of such payments, against a backdrop of severe pay cuts for many across the public sector at this time.

The purpose of the infinitives ‘to keep’, and ‘to stop’, line 4, is to stress the necessity of the payments – there was and is no choice but to make them – and they operate tautologically, such that the sentiment is repeated, double stressing its justificatory rationale.

The significance of the simple past tense process ‘it emerged’, line 2, and passive voice ‘It was claimed’, line 6, is that they remove any reference to the original source of the claims regarding the payments, thereby masking the fact that the bank only acknowledged them after they were challenged on the issue in the media via the trade union. They function to deflect criticism from the bank.

Text Four

The Irish Independent 2 February 2016.

It has been claimed by the State in the aftermath of the economic crisis beginning in 2008, that a deficit of expertise, such as business acumen, in the Department of Finance was responsible. To the extent that this promotes particular class interests, and masks the crisis-prone nature of the capitalist system itself, it registers the State’s class bias (Allen and O’Boyle, 2013). The Dail is the Irish parliament.

> Business chiefs warn ‘political instability’ will place jobs at risk.
>
> Exclusive.
>
> Pre-election letter says the economy is at a ‘critical point’.
>
> JOBS will be lost if the result of the General Election leads to ‘political instability’ or gives a greater sway to fringe elements, the country’s top business leaders have warned in a letter to the Irish Independent.
>
> Executives working with a range of national and international companies have joined forces to ask voters to look at the global economic situation.
>
> With polls suggesting the country could be heading for a hung Dail, they warn: ‘Ireland needs a stable government capable of making the right policy choices for the future’. In the letter, the senior business people write that the recovery is at a ‘critical point’.
>
> They caution against handing ‘greater influence to populist left political parties and fringe elements that are anti-business and anti-job creation’…(p1)

This text constructs a dualism between business, which it normalises, and leftist politics, which it problematises. It is not clear whether the business people concerned are owners of productive resources and capital, or salaried senior managers. In the former scenario, economic, cultural, and social capital, and material productive assets are all implied, as is their status as an elite, dominant, or ruling class. In the latter, cultural, and social capital, and organisational productive assets are implied.

The verbal processes ‘warn’, line 1, ‘have warned’, line 5, and ‘warn’, line 8, all imply a threat, as does the process ‘caution’, line 11, intensified with the use of the modified nominal ‘critical point’, repeated in lines 3 and 10. Indeed, similar alerts feature throughout, registered by modified nominals ‘top business leaders’, line 5, and ‘senior business people’, line 9, nominals ‘chiefs’, and ‘Executives’, lines 1 and 6 (and by pronouns ‘they’, line 8, and ‘They’, line 11). These labels imply competence, and hence credibility, a credibility which is extended across space and time by the phrase ‘a range of national and international companies’, line 6.

The source of the threat is ‘political instability’, repeated in line 1, and line 4, synonymous with the political left, repeated in line 5, and line 11, with the modifier ‘fringe’ functioning as a spatial metaphor to signal their distance from the complex issues concerned. Indeed, the significance of the modified nominal ‘populist left’, line 11, is that it conflates the left with the uninitiated majority who lack the expertise to manage the economy. This is given more resonance in lines 6 – 7; the implication of the exhortation by business executives to voters ‘to look at the global economic situation’ is that they have, are conversant with it, and are the ones qualified for the task ahead.

The clauses ‘the economy is at a critical point’, line 3, and ‘that are anti-business and anti-job creation’, lines 11 – 12, are relational processes, and function to construct the opinions of business leaders as if they were factual. The modalised processes ‘will place jobs at risk’, line 1, and ‘JOBS will be lost’, line 4, while also expressing opinions, function to assert these opinions as inevitabilities. The upper case adds stress to the sentiments.

Finally, nominals such as ‘the country’s’, line 5, and ‘the country’, and ‘Ireland’, line 8, are superordinates, which function to denote a common interest, rather than the characteristic class-based interests which prevail.

6. Summary and Conclusion

In this study, I argue that inequality is intrinsic to capitalism, and that an effective way in which to confront such socio-economic cleavages, contrary to the postmodern position, is through class-based critical analysis.

I explain that all social practice is purposive causal activity through which we shape and reshape our environments, which in turn shape and reshape us, and that semiosis is always a significant factor in practice, but is constrained by materiality, such that we cannot simply construct the world and our pace in it as we would like them to be.

I explain the class-based nature of capitalist societies, and engage with research from the US, which, through its identification of different types of productive assets, establishes both the persistence of social class, and its centrality in determining life chances. I engage with research from the UK, which, through its emphasis on distinct types of capital, also confirms the on-going significance of social class in shaping opportunities in life. I cite claims from across the developed economies establishing that, for most, notions of social mobility, equal opportunity, and meritocracy are mystifications, and I offer evidence indicating widespread and enduring social segregation along class-based lines. I also invoke research from across the developed economies, which confirms the existence of a ‘dominant’ or ‘ruling’ class, in terms of their shaping of national and international political, social, and cultural structures and practices.

In the specifically Irish context, I argue that blatant and glaring class-based distinctions are central to Irish life, both prior to and since independence, although over the years mystified in various ways. That deep cleavages in health care outcomes persist between the social strata, and despite educational advances in the twentieth century, that the research clearly shows patterns of inequality remain undiminished in the present era, with socio-economic origins continuing to map strongly onto socio-economic destinations.

Regarding my commentaries, I establish that the texts represent tendencies to mystify the actuality of social class because all promote specific class interests, interests which are exclusively those of the dominant parties, but that this is not acknowledged, nor indeed is the class-based nature of the practices concerned. Thus, they function to empower the State while denying agency to the precariat, to promote capital’s position over workers in an industrial dispute. To confound conflicts of interests in the public sector in favour of capital and at the expense of labour, and to contrive a dualism between business elites and leftist politics, attributing desirability, and undesirability to them, respectively.

In conclusion, it is clear from the foregoing that if we are to seriously confront inequality, both within and across national boundaries, we have to challenge capitalism as a class-based socio-economic system, and its inherently unequal social relations. However, postmodern mystifications reject the notions of social class, Marxist critique, and indeed capitalism itself, as essentialisms, such that the distortions I have identified above do not register on the postmodernist scale. Through this default symbolic endorsement of late capitalism’s highly ‘disorganised’ and mobile globalism, what we have is a conservative deference to the dictates of capital, which is given effective immunity from any critical gaze.

To accurately inform agents and collectives is to empower them, such that, if they so wish, they can transform, rather than simply reproduce, inequitable social and institutional structures, through changing their practices accordingly. It also enables them, if they so wish, to produce and reproduce structures and practices synonymous with a state of genuine equality, such as that envisaged by Karl Marx in his vision of the ‘realm of freedom’, wherein each contributes according to their ability, and receives according to their needs.

This is why it is important to challenge all mystifications, whether postmodern, print media, or otherwise, because if we do not tendencies to produce and reproduce inequality simply pass us by, operating realised but unacknowledged. Indeed, critical social scientists are obliged in terms of knowledge interests to do so. This short study, in challenging such tendencies, and in highlighting the emptiness of notions of ‘classlessness’ in Ireland is, I hope, a modest contribution to such.

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Research on Dissemination Rule of Public Opinion from SNA Perspective: Taking the Vaccine Safety Event as an Example

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Abstract

With the rapid development of social media, the dissemination of health information has attracted more attention from people. To reveal the rule and mode of information diffusion path is the key to effective crisis prevention and control of information. In this paper, the team took the vaccine safety events as an example, selected and analyzed two hottest microblogs from each phase of one event. The team did visual analysis via Zhiwei which was one academic micro data analysis platform, and utilized social network analysis (SNA) to explore the propagating rules of public opinion.

Keywords: vaccine event, social network analysis, microblog, public opinion, dissemination

1. Introduction

1.1 Health Information Dissemination

In the era of information explosion, people pay more attention and prepare for participation on health public opinion, with convenient grasp of the dynamic development of health events. Research and analysis of the dissemination rule of public opinion might control the crisis information effectively (Chengzhi Y, 2011). Just like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, as one of the most popular social medials in China, Sina microblog provides micro-blogging service in its social networking site where users can edit messages or upload pictures about their daily life or something else happened around them(Xiaohui L., Siqi D. , & Zhaixing J., 2015). It is easy to become the birthplace of public opinion events.

This paper took Sina microblog as the carrier of information and the recent vaccine safety event with high attention as an example. From the perspective of social network analysis, this paper employed the visual method to analyze the health information dissemination path and explore the diffusion rule and mode of health information from the social media (Rongying Z, & Jing W, 2011).

1.2 Review of Vaccine Events

On March 18, 2016, @澎湃新闻 issued a blog with the title *vaccines valued hundreds of millions of Yuan inflow into 18 Province without refrigeration: Possible to bring influence to life, Shandong sends investigation letters widely* which immediately attracted great attention from the public. In one month, this event triggered a large-scale attention and repost in Sina microblog and WeChat. The network public opinion fueled the vaccine event rapidly. Our team sorted out the occurrence and development of the vaccine events from four stages: start-formation-down-end. We selected 12 microblogs with high attention around 3 voice points: the government, the media and users of personal authentication, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of blogs in each phase of the vaccine event

	Government	Media	Users of authentication
Start （Mar.18th）		@澎湃新闻：*Vaccines valued hundreds of millions of Yuan inflow into 18 Province without refrigeration: possible to bring influence to life, Shandong sends investigation letters widely*（Mar., 18th）	
Formation （Mar.19th-Mar.22nd）	@中国食品药品监管: *Food drug administration, Ministry of Public Security, national health and family planning commission published Notice On Joint Investigation of Illegal Vaccines*（Mar., 21st） @中国政府网: *Keqiang Li made important instructions on illegal vaccines business*（Mar., 22nd）	@央视新闻: *Shandong announced vaccine cases involving 24 provinces and 300 list of sales personnel*（3.20th） CCTV News: *Supreme People's Procuratorate supervise the handling of the case* (Mar., 22nd）	@稀土部队：*China's vaccine safety problems, criminal record. The current situation is worrying…*（Mar., 20th） @贾乃亮:*All give you exposure*...(Mar., 22nd) @胡蝶: *Is it really safe to inject imported vaccines on the baby in the big hospitals ?*（Mar., 22nd）
Down （Mar.23rd-Apr.12th）		@新浪头条: *The food and drug administration announced: the vaccine involved are qualified* (Mar., 23rd) @央视新闻: *Ministry of Public Security said Shandong vaccine case has been placed on record 69 cases, more than 130 suspects were arrested*(Mar., 24th) @央视新闻: *Ministry of Public Security, National Health and Family Planning Commission of PRC, the State Food and Drug Administration for the "Shandong vaccine incident held a joint press conference"*（Mar., 24th）	
End （Apr.13rd）	@中国政府网: *Executive meeting of the State Council conducted people involved on trial* (Apr. 13rd)		

Notes: In order to keep the authenticity of the research, we retained the name of micro-blog in original language.

2. Method

2.1 Social Network Analysis

Smooth flow of social media information, depends largely on the social media relationships between users. Users' relations constitute a complex network structure. Therefore, to study the information dissemination of social media, it is needed to establish the physical form of communication channels firstly. This requires analysis by means of the social network. SNA, a set of norms and methods for analyzing the structure and attributes of social relations, mainly analyzes the structure and attributes of different social units, and reveals research hot spots essentially and finely by establishing visualization and measurement directly on the social network (Song G., 2011).

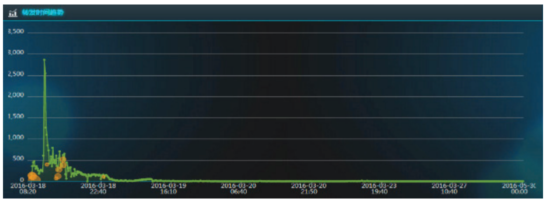
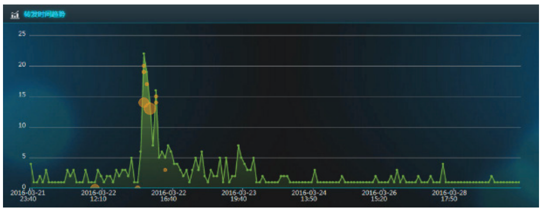
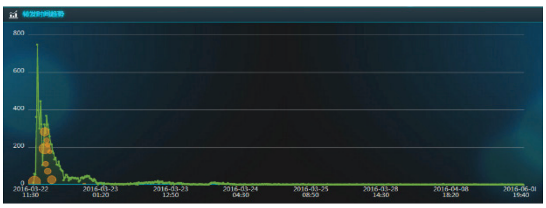
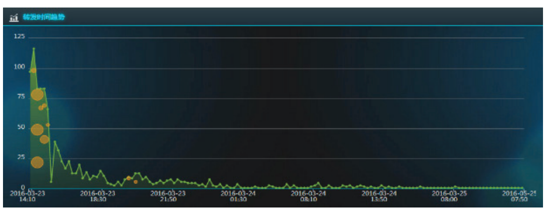
2.2 ZhiWei Dissemination Analysis—www.weiboreach.com

Combining the principle of social network analysis, the team collected the institution of attention, repost and comment by analyzing the original microblog text. By counting characteristics of the information repost rate with time, the paper detected the effect of the information dissemination, analyzed the path and process of information repost, and displayed the dissemination path, key words, dissemination time and repost range visually.

3. Data Analysis of Dissemination

3.1 Reposting Time Trend

Table 2. Reposting time trend in each stage

Stages	Reposting time trend	
Start	 Time trend of @澎湃新闻	One Sinamicroblog published by @澎湃新闻 at 8:22 on March 18th, drew attention of various medias and civilians. Within 3 hours, the repost amount in unit time reached achieved 2800 and reached the peak during 23:00-24:00.
Formation	 Time trend of @中国食品药品监管	At 23:40 on March 21rt, the government responded actively. @中国食品药品监管 published a microblog. Its repost amount reached a peak during 13:00-15:00 on March 22nd, but just with a maximum repost amount in unit time less than 25.
Down	 Time trend of @胡蝶	At 11:30 on March 22nd, @胡蝶 published a relevant microblog with pictures of the news of illegal vaccine flowing to 24 provinces and regions. This microblog was reposted rapidly and reached its climax during 13: 00-14: 00, its maximum repost amount in unit time reached about 700.
End	 Time trend of @头条新闻	At 14:10 on March 23rd, @新浪头条 published a microblog. During 14:00-15:00, its repost amount reached the peak, with a maximum repost amount in unit time about 125. People reposted the blog rapidly and participated in discussion actively.

In the end (April 13rd), @Chinese Government published a microblog entitled *executive meeting of the State Council conducted people involved on trial*. So far, the vaccine event came to the end. Although people were paying attention to the vaccine events and continuing to repost this information, its maximum repost amount merely reached 125. Table 3 showed the time lasting from information release to peak, and the repost amount in unit time.

Table 3. Comparison of time and repost amount in the vaccine event

Stage	Publisher	time lasting from release to peak	repost amount in unit time
Start	Media	3 hours	2800 times
Formation	Government	15 hours	25 times
	Users of authentication	1.5 hours	700 times
Down	Media	1 hour	125 times
End	Government	0.5hour	125 times

3.2 Keywords

The vaccine event lasted for a long duration and caused wide impact. During the whole process from the start to the end, users of personal authentication, government as well as the media conducted hot spot transmission continuously with the mode of original - Repost - Comment, and a large number of keywords appeared (Group S., 2011).Repetition of these key words which represented communicators' attitude concerning to this event on each phase promoted the continuous development of public opinion.

Table 4. High frequency words in each phase of the vaccine event

Stage	type	word	F	word	F	word	F	word	F	word	F
Start	optimistic word	accuracy	97	prestige	55	autonomy	48	try	48	publicity	44
	pessimistic word	anger	236	disease	182	kill	62	illegal	58	fuck	58
Form-ation	optimistic word	benefit	1212	authority	632	thorough	619	harvest	618	timely	79
	Pessimistic word	crisis	640	hurt	639	against	636	bitter	577	greed	193
Down	optimistic word	qualified	326	important	60	hope	29	thorough	16	Ensure /praise	15
	pessimistic word	anger	177	illegal	35	fuck	34	disease	25	mistake	24
End	optimistic word	service	41	praise	11	first	9	good deed	1	hope	1
	pessimistic word	collapse	4	revert	1	maggots	1	always	1	malfeasance	1

Notes: F infers Frequency.

3.3 Bursting Point and Dissemination Path

3.3.1 Bursting Point

The bursting point which affects the depth and width of the spread of public opinion is an indispensable part in the spread of public opinion. In the start stage of the vaccine event, the information released by @澎湃新闻 became the icon bursting point which stimulated 15990 times of secondary repost. Then four bursting points brought out by @姚晨, @陈坤 and other V users evoked 651 times of secondary repost, as shown in Table 5.In the formation and down stage, the media's secondary repost amount was still high. Users of personal authentication in this stage functioned as the key bursting point, causing a large number of secondary reposting, as shown in Table 6.

Table 5. Statistics of the secondary repost amount in start stage

User type	@澎湃新闻	V users	users of personal authentication
secondary repost amount	15990 times	5248 times	651 times

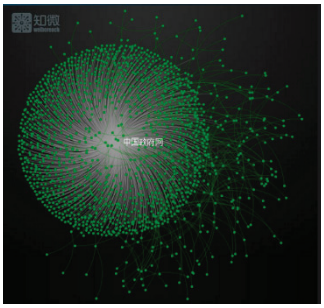
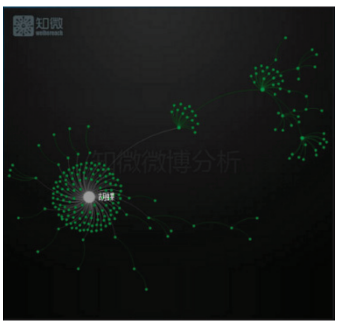
Table 6. Statistics of the secondary repost amount in formation and down stage

User type	bursting point	secondary repost amount
government	government	795
	V users	124
	users of personal authentication	22
media	media	1536
	V users	175
	users of personal authentication	106
users of personal authentication	@胡蝶	10913
	V users	6613
	users of personal authentication	2978

3.3.2 Dissemination Path

In order to accurately describe the path of information dissemination and to compare the differences in four stages, this paper respectively selected one microblog of the government, media and the users of personal authentication on the same date, March, 22nd.The ZhiWei platform provided each information dissemination path with visual analysis, shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Dissemination path

User type	Path graph	Description
government	 Dissemination path of @中国政府网	The news entitled *Keqiang Li made important instructions on illegal vaccines business* by @中国政府网 reached the peak of reposting in a short time. It accounted the first layer repost of 80.3 % and a maximum depth of 8.
media	 Dissemination path of @央视新闻	@央视新闻 issued the news entitled *Supreme people's procuratorate starts* supervising and handling the case of *illegal vaccines business, and criminal qualified should be arrested in time* . It accounted the first layer repost of 84.8 % and a maximum depth of 6.
users of personal authentication	 Dissemination path of @胡蝶	@胡蝶 published the original information entitled *Is it really safe to inject imported vaccines on the baby in the big hospitals ?* with pictures of the news of illegal vaccine flowing to 24 provinces and regions. It accounted the first layer repost of 66.7 % and a maximum depth of 9.

4. Analysis of Dissemination Rules

- **Media functioned as the chief bursting points and the users of personal authentication sped up the dissemination process.**

Media functioning as chief bursting point and V users functioning as main bursting point extended the width of the dissemination of public opinion and played a crucial role in the process of it (Yang Z, & Wanyang L, 2012); common users widened the dissemination depth and accelerated the spread of public opinion among common people.

- **Publishers and the transmission phase had a direct impact on the dissemination time.**

In different stages, dissemination times of microblogs by the same publisher differed. In the formation-down stage, media's microblogs required a shorter time from the publication period to its peak, and got a lower repost quantity in unit time. In the same stage, the dissemination times of microblogs by different publishers were different. Government's microblogs required a longer time from the publication period to its peak, but got a lower repost quantity in unit time (Kuhlman, Kumar, & Ravi, 2013).

- **Communicators were constantly changing with the development of this event.**

During the whole process of this event, the government, the media as well as the users of personal authentication, all played important roles (Savigny, 2002). However, the communicators and their participation degree were different in each phase.

In the start phase, media was the main communicator, and the first exposure by media（@澎湃新闻) attracted considerable attention; in the formation phase, the users of personal authentication, media and government were active, the users of personal authentication concerned and participated in the topic, relative government departments investigated and handled the case, and the media kept series reports in time; in the down phase, media returned to be the main communicators by promoting the relevant reports continuously; in the end phase, government was the main communicators, while the users of personal authentication and the media had few comments (Wolfe, 1997).

- **Characteristics of high frequency words shifted from being negative to being positive over time.**

With a gradual diffusion of public opinion, both the quantity of positive high-frequency words and that of the negative high frequency words changed according to the trend of being less-more-less as time went on. This indicated that the degree of people's concern to the Shandong vaccine event changed over time (Xiong, Gang, Huang, Chen, & Ke, 2013). In the start stage, the quantity of the negative high frequency words was significantly larger than that of the positive ones. The inborn negative colors of the *poisonous vaccine event* would lead to public anxiety, concerns about exposure to social malign events and the hatred towards notorious people. However, in the formation-down-end stage, the quantity of the positive high frequency words was larger than that of the negative ones. This fact indicated that certain influence and positive energy had been brought with the involvement of media and government, and it also reflected people's concern and trust on government's responsibility.

- **Microblog repost was the main dissemination path and government showed an enormous influence.**

Microblog repost was the main dissemination path of public opinion. The first level of the media had a high repost proportion and a low depth; the first layer of the government had a high repost proportion and a higher depth, while the first level of the users of personal authentication had a low repost proportion and a high depth. Media and the users of personal authentication had both advantages and disadvantages in the repost proportion and depth. With media's exposure and large V bloggers' repost, public concern and participation in live discussions arose, which would easily lead to a climax of people's repost and comment. Government played a moderate role in the dissemination path (Jalili, 2013). Though the government microblog was set not to be commented, it showed great influence on the development of the whole vaccine events.

Notes: *Almost the bloggers mentioned in this article registered with their real names. Hudie(胡蝶), Yaochen(姚晨) and Chenkun(陈坤) are all Chinese stars, having a great influence on Sina microblog.*

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Impoliteness and Thematic Variation in Spanish Television Interviews

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Abstract

This paper analyses Spanish television interviews and presents a contrast between the impolite argumentative strategies employed by the interviewer to attack the image of the interviewee in interviews with politicians and celebrities. It aims to demonstrate how the topic addressed and the subtype of interview influence the strategies employed and degree of impoliteness shown by the interviewer. The analysis of our corpus has shown that the current television interview differs from the traditional format of this genre in a number of respects. Impoliteness is used in Spanish interviews in order to attract the audience and to build the journalist's face in political interviews as participants in ideological confrontation. Nevertheless, the detailed study of the impoliteness strategies employed by the interviewer has shown that the modification of features largely depends on the subtype examined. We observed in television celebrity interviews a wider range of strategies of verbal impoliteness, which are absent from political interviews. This explains why a variationist perspective has been adopted in the analysis of verbal impoliteness.

Keywords: television discourse, Spanish television interviews, impoliteness, pragmatics

1. Introduction

This paper has a twofold aim: on the one hand, to show how verbal impoliteness is a defining factor in modifying televised interviews in Spain and, on the other, to determine whether the topic discussed affects the degree of verbal (im)politeness shown in these programs. The selected corpus comprises twenty television interviews: ten were conducted with important figures from the world of politics and the other ten with media celebrities[1]. This selection will allow us to compare different television interviews and, within them, to describe the influence exerted by the topic around which the interaction revolves, together with the register used.

Broadly, the article describes the range of impoliteness strategies used by the interviewer in Spanish television interviews and the functions that impoliteness may perform, establishing a contrast between political and celebrity interviews[2]. Our analysis is qualitative and located within the framework of variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron 2008). The results show that the principal aim of verbal impoliteness in the interviews analysed is to attract the audience's attention and to define the interviewer's identity. As a result, what was initially a genre based on the adjacent question-answer pair becomes a direct confrontation based on the adjacent assertion-rejection pair, where good manners are largely abandoned. This is the hibridity described by Ekstrom & Patrona (2011). A similar shift has been detected in talk shows and reality television (Garcés-Conejos, Lorenzo-Dus, Bou-Franch, 2010; Brenes Peña, 2011). In interviews with politicians, however, the topic discussed, the status of the interviewee, and the register employed ensure that the level of impoliteness is lower than that of the celebrity interview.

Politeness theory provides the basis for the methodology adopted in this paper (Section 2). Previous studies on the television interview are presented in Section 3. Section 4 focuses on a characterization of the Spanish television interview and its essential features. A detailed description of the various impoliteness strategies deployed in interviews follows in Section 5. This is followed by an analysis, in section 6, of the functions or purposes for which impoliteness is used in these programs. Finally, Section 7 is dedicated to a discussion of the results obtained.

2. Methodology

2.1 Verbal (Im) Politeness from a Variationist Perspective

At the outset, it is important to explain briefly what we mean by verbal (im) politeness. Our approach is based on a variationist conception of pragmatics (Schneider-Barron 2008, Fuentes Rodríguez 2013) whereby the assessment of a situation as polite or impolite is arrived at on the basis of the behaviour that is considered appropriate in a communicative situation (Locher and Watts 2005). This allows us to avoid both the two-way linguistic element-social effect association and ethnocentrism (Locher and Watts 2005, Fuentes Rodríguez 2010a, 2011, Brenes Peña 2011).

Our point of departure is the need to adopt a pragmatic perspective (Fuentes Rodríguez 2000) in which conditioning factors of the sociocultural milieu are combined with wider aspects based on the linguistic act as a communicative event. These are the discourse type or genre (Fuentes Rodríguez 2000, 2011), which are fundamental for studying the strategies the speaker employs to relate to the addressee. Similarly, the role of the participants in the act is a key factor in media discourse in order to determine the degree to which it corresponds to what is expected and conventionalized. It is a question therefore of a framework which connects with relational work theory (Locher-Watt 2005), according to which the sociohistorical and cultural context around the communicative event must be taken into consideration. Our approach likewise draws on argumentation theory since in our view (im)politenes is a strategy which the interviewer in this case employs to achieve his or her communicative ends[3].

On this basis, then, each situation and genre includes a number of norms concerning what is expected, by which positive behavior (respecting the interlocutor's face) is assessed as polite whereas negative behavior (attacking the other's face) is considered impolite, generally by the ideal receiver. Both zones constitute a gradual continuum whose operation may be shown by means of syntactic, phonemic or semantic procedures:

+impolite -impolite -polite +polite

In this particular case, one of media discourse, the medium (television in this instance) is a relevant factor, since its aim – to attract and entertain viewers – will influence how the receiver will evaluate the impolite strategies employed. Our aim then is to establish whether or not this influences the evaluation of impoliteness.

In the specific case of TV interviews, a set of rules governs the interactive relationship between interviewer (IR) and interviewee (IE). These are the 'rules of the game' which create a framework of forces together with a hierarchy in interaction. A formal media-based discourse is created in which respect for the other's face is essential and the expected discursive uses are those associated with formality. Even so, accusations, especially if expressed aggressively, can strain the atmosphere. In this case, our aim is to demonstrate how these factors influence the course of the interview and the assessment of the interaction as polite or impolite.

This assessment should be complemented with other types of face-related operations (Holmes and Schnurr 2005, Spencer-Oatey 2007), and identity (Joseph 2004; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Arundale 2010), which are essential in media discourse (Fuentes Rodríguez 2013). The participants in an interview do not jeopardize their personal face as individuals (labeled image 1 in Fuentes Rodríguez 2010b, 857). It is rather their role face, that of a professional or a public figure, which is important here (image 4). At the same time, they embody a group image (Bravo 2004), either that of the political party they represent if they are politicians, or that of their social or professional class, if they are celebrities from the world of music, theatre, etc. This representation of a group may be conscious (they may be acting as spokespersons) or an undesired extension of their professional identity[4]. At a particular stage of their careers, media professionals may opt to construct a distinct identity which allows them to stand out from their colleagues and rivals. Impoliteness is one of these features (Brenes Peña 2013a and b, Brenes-González 2013, González Sanz- Brenes Peña 2013, Fuentes Rodríguez 2016).

2.2 Methodology and Corpus

Operating with this conception of verbal (im) politeness, we have analyzed twenty televised interviews (ten with politicians and ten with celebrities), of nine hours' duration in total. The length was roughly the same, in order to be able to make the comparison but we were unable always to choose from the television schedules .The ten interviews with media celebrities were taken from the program 'La Noria' [The Ferris Wheel], broadcast every Saturday night on the private channel Tele5 since it is the only program that has interviews of this sort in the time-slot selected. The interviews with political figures, came predominantly from the breakfast show 'Los desayunos de TVE', broadcast daily on the Spanish public channel TVE. Two other interviews were selected from the private channel Antena 3. The two interviews were conducted by the News Programs Director, one with the then Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, and the other with the leader of the opposition Mariano Rajoy. The time range extends from 2009 to 2012.

Following the theoretical model we have adopted, the working methodology consisted of identifying the argumentative strategies employed to express confrontation and assessing which are polite or impolite. Since this article aims to establish that the presence of impolite strategies is a constitutive feature of these new formats in Spanish television, our study is mainly qualitative. With this aim, and in order to avoid any kind of ethnocentrism, we identified and described in detail all the factors which influence each of these television formats: the features characteristic of the Spanish sociocultural community, the defining characteristics of the commmunicative genre and the communicative situation, the participants, their relationship to each other and the topic discussed.

Apart from contextual factors and knowledge shared with the community, an interpretation of impoliteness is derived from the reactions of the audience and of the participants themselves. For instance, example 1 shows the female IR's anger at accusations of partiality made by her female guest concerning her news program (political interview), whereas example 2 highlights the complaints expressed by the female IE in relation to the treatment received at the hands of the IR (gossip press interview):

(1) [IE[5]: (…//) ser de una objetividad meridiana y de una imparcialidad meridiana/ y/ mire usted/ aunque a algunas personas les moleste/ sobre todo a los dirigentes de Televisión Española [yo le tengo que decir=]

IR: [*y a los trabajadores/ se lo aseguro*]

IE: =bueno/ a algunos les molestará/ a otros estoy segura que no/ se lo tengo que [decir=]

IR: [*no*]

IE: = a otros estoy segura que no]

[IE: (…//) be guided by crystal-clear objectivity and crystal-clear impartiality/ and/ look/ even though it may annoy some people/ above all the top management of Television Española [I must tell you=]

IR: [*and the employees/ I can assure you*]

IE: =well/ some will be annoyed/ others will not, I'm sure/ I must [tell you=]

IR: [*no*]

IE: = others will not, I'm sure] ("Los desayunos de TVE," April 26, 2011)

(2) IR: [Sonia, qué cutre eres] de verdad

IE: *a mí no me insultes tú, no me insultes tú [es que no, es que es una cuestión, es que si a mí no, es que a mí no me llames tú cutre porque, porque la persona* <<…>>]

IR: [sabes que no, es que es una cuestión ya, es que eres muy cutre, sí, sí, te lo digo a la cara, cutre, cutre]]

[IR: [Sonia, you are so tacky] really

IE: *you don't insult me, don't insult me [it is not, I mean it is a question, it is not about if you don't call me, you don't call me tacky, because the person* <<…>>]

IR: [you know it is not, it is already a question, I mean you are so tacky, yes, yes, I can tell you to your face, tacky, tacky]] ("La Noria," May 30, 2009)

Other factors which attest to this evaluation are the reactions of the viewers, who may send text-messages, which then appear on screen or write comments which are posted on various internet forums and social media.

3. Verbal (Im) Politeness on Television

3.1 Previous Studies

Traditionally, the study of verbal (im) politeness has been carried out on face-to-face interactions. Since the mid 1990s research on impoliteness has mostly focused on institutional communication (Lakoff, 1989; Penman, 1990). Nevertheless, given the dependence of this phenomenon on enunciative parameters, a comprehensive characterization of verbal (im) politeness requires complementing the analysis of its formalization in conversation with the study of other types of communicative interactions. Modifying the communicative situation can even result in the alteration of the features or the function of this phenomenon (Spencer-Oatey, 2007).

In this respect, im(polite) verbal expressions in television discourse were first analyzed in 2003 by Culpeper et al. Since then, a number of studies have focused on television quiz shows (Culpeper, 2005), British or American talk shows (Lorenzo Dus, 2009), television debates (Blum-Kulka, Blodheim, Hacohen, 2002; Lunginbühl, 2007), television interviews in English (Greatbatch, 1992; Emmertsen 2007), and also on English television discourse as a whole (Lorenzo Dus 2009). In the specific case of Spanish, some of the most important studies are analyses of blatant impoliteness in chat shows (Brenes Peña 2011, Brenes-González 2013, Placencia-Fuentes 2013), talk shows (García

Gómez, 2000), reality shows (Garcés et al. 2013; Blas Arroyo, 2014) and quiz competitions (Brenes Peña 2009, 2013). We were unable to find any detailed study on this type of discourse which included the divergences caused by the type of program or the style adopted. This paper therefore seeks to bridge this gap.

3.2 Impoliteness as a Feature of Genre (or Exploitative Variant)

The studies cited above point to a phenomenon already described by Culpeper (2005) in his pioneering study: verbal impoliteness has generated a new television format. Culpeper (2005, 46-47) adopts the expression 'exploitative variants' to describe it: "What truly separates the exploitative chat shows from the standard shows is that they are all characterized by impoliteness. (…). Exploitative shows have evolved through the subversion of the politeness norms of the standard shows." Verbal impoliteness in Spain has also impinged on the superstructure (Van Dijk 2002) of certain programs. This substantially alters the communicative purpose, the obligations associated with the different roles, and the topics dealt with:

> Everything that used to be forbidden is allowed in these new television genres in a process of approximation to the general population, who thus see television not as a 'fiction' but as another part of their lives. The aim is to identify with viewers, with their emotions, their conflicts and even their boring routines. The strategy of scandalizing and breaking rules has the sole aim of providing an innovative feature to capture the spectators' attention. A new format is thus generated, and doubts arise in relation to the purpose of a conversation: it is no longer meant to seek agreement but rather to spring surprises (Fuentes Rodríguez and Brenes Peña 2011, 66, our translation).

This tendency first emerged in talk shows which sought to win the acceptance of a more diversified audience, no longer confined to the average housewife (Brenes Peña 2011). The success achieved led to the extension of impoliteness to other discursive types where it plays different roles[6].

This type of interview represents another step in the shift described by Clayman and Heritage (2002), where the IR still strives to appear neutral. The goal of this new television interview is to reaffirm the TV channel's, or program producer's opinion concerning a given IE. For this reason the strategies based on impoliteness and the criticism of the IE's face are preferably directed at those who variously deviate from the program's ideology, which tends to coincide with the values of the viewers who regularly follow such interactions[7]. The IR openly disagrees with answers contradicting the positions defended by the news program and uses a range of tactics to coerce the IE into providing the answers the IR and the viewers want to hear. In fact, the time taken up by the IR in his/her speaking turns is longer than that used by the IE, which runs counter to what is customary in the traditional interview genre, where the prominent role is always accorded to the IE[8].

It is our aim in this paper to examine the extent to which the television interview genre has been affected by the aforementioned shift in the IRs and in this context to explore the role of the thematic variation, a feature which has not previously received attention.

4. Television Interview in Spain: Impoliteness and Thematic Variation

4.1 The Televised Interview in Spain. Characteristics

According to Cortés Rodríguez & Bañón Hernández (1997) and Haverkate (1998), the interview has been defined as a discursive genre based on the adjacent question-answer pair, which essentially has an informative purpose: to obtain as much information or opinion as possible from an IE concerning a given topic. However, our analysis has shown that this goal may be modified according to the topic addressed in the interview. Interviews with celebrities basically seek to entertain viewers, as the topics under discussion are largely of secondary importance.

In our corpus, there are also differences regarding the people involved in the interaction. The IE generally tends to be someone who is in the spotlight for whatever reason. In this respect, the divergences between political interviews and those involving celebrities lie in the status of the person who conducts the interview. In the political context, the role of the IR is usually performed by well-known and respected journalists. The IRs who conduct tabloid television interviews are known for their skills in confrontation with guests rather than for their professional training.

Finally, our analysis has shown that the two subtypes of interviews analyzed differ in register. The register in political interviews is more formal, whereas interviews with celebrities are marked by their colloquial tone. The divergence between both subtypes is so pronounced that it would be unthinkable to exchange the linguistic modality adopted in the two categories. The relative triviality of the issues addressed in tabloid television interviews is matched by the often undesirable status of the IE. This leads to the use of a certain register and communicative behavior that would be absolutely out of place in interviews with people from the political sphere.

4.2 Impolite Strategies

Taking into account the features mentioned above, our main concern is to determine the communicative behavior regarded as polite in television interviews. Thus, attention must be paid to the relationship of functional asymmetry existing between the roles of IR and IE. In functional terms, the IR will always enjoy a higher position in the enunciative hierarchy of this format, since it is he or she who has control over the planning of questions and, to some extent, over the adequacy of the answers offered; IRs may simply and pointedly repeat a question if they consider it to have been poorly answered.

As Cortés and Bañón (1997, 48) suggest, “the IR must not be too explicit about his/her dominant role, as this would negatively affect the IE’s behavior” (our translation). In other words, as Fuentes Rodríguez (2006, 75) explains, politeness in the television interview would consist in “achieving as much benefit as possible in obtaining all the necessary information, while praising the other’s face. It follows then an agreeable atmosphere should be created for the IE, so that he or she can feel comfortable and, consequently, talk” (our translation). The adjacent question-answer pair on which this genre is based implies a certain degree of restriction on the IE’s freedom of expression. Hence, the IR should not attack the IE’s face, and refrain from coercing or insulting; otherwise, the IE will not provide the IR with the information he or she is seeking.

The analysis of the twenty interviews, according to the methodology set out in section 2, showed that the role of the IR made use of the following impolite verbal strategies, which will be analyzed in detail in the next section:

- Criticizing the IE’s evasiveness. Disagreeing with the IE about what has been said.
- Using inferences strategically.
- Accusing the IE of breaking the maxim of quality.
- Using ad hominem argument. Attacking the personal features of the IE
- Undervaluing the IE’s discourse.
- Interrupting the communicative exchange

In order to arrive at a polite or impolite assessment, an emic rather than ethic perspective must be adopted. Taking the discourse into account from a relational work point of view, the assessment is made on the basis of perceived appropriateness of behavior. Formally, this behavior is impolite, but the effect is attenuated by the genre, or is accepted. Therefore we must not equate what is not accepted with impoliteness. The norm differs from the standard in this genre as does public acceptance. The behavior (and means employed) is impolite, but predictable, since they constitute the rules of the game. We propose to call it "formal impoliteness".

5. Analysis of Impolite Strategies Results

5.1 Sanctioning the IE’s Evasiveness

One of the IR’s functions is to ask IEs the sorts of inconvenient or awkward questions that might be of interest to viewers. Interestingly, IEs can react to such questions avoidance of a direct answer, employing circumlocution or any other rhetorical strategies available to them. Should this occur, the IR may repeat the question, perhaps rephrasing it, but always addressing the same issue. An impolite social effect occurs when IRs openly sanction the IE’s attitude, since they thus present the IE as someone who does not abide by the conversational contract intrinsic to the genre[9].

Political interviews and those that involve celebrities differ in this respect only in terms of register. In the political interview, IRs in both subtypes openly reprimand their guests for evasiveness (3), and may even claim their enunciative superiority (4). Nevertheless, the more informal register in chat shows with celebrities makes possible the use of expressions such as those in (5):

(3) [IR: Presidente/ el año ha empezado con una empinada cuesta de enero con subidas en la luz/ el gas/ el butano/ la electricidad/ y esto cuando se acaba el cheque-bebé/ los 426€ para los desempleados de larga duración y la desgravación por vivienda. ¿De verdad sigue pensando que la salida a la crisis será social?

IE: (…) pero para que tengamos a más jóvenes/ sobre todo a los que han perdido el empleo/ con más oportunidades/ tenemos que hacer más hincapié en las políticas ACTIVAS y de formación que en las políticas pasivas

IR: *todavía no me ha contestado si sigue pensando que la crisis sería social/ la salida*]

[IR: Mr. President/ the year has started with a steep ‘January hill’ with price increases in (natural) gas/ butane/ electricity/ and this when the ‘baby-check’/ the 426€ for the long-term unemployed and the tax deduction for the acquisition of a primary residence all come to an end. Do you still really think that the way out of the crisis will be a social one?

IE: (…) but, in order to have more young people/ especially those who have lost their jobs/ with more opportunities/ we must place more emphasis on ACTIVE and training policies better than in passive policies

IR: *you still have not answered me about whether you still think the crisis/ the solution would be social*] ("Informativos de Antena 3," January 10, 2011)

(4) [IE: que no voy a comentar eso, de las maneras// hay temas muy importantes en España y en el mundo para que vayamos a hablar de este tema

IR: *bueno/ ya sabe que aquí los asuntos no sólo los decide usted/ los decidimos también aquí en esta mesa]*

[I: I mean, I am not going to comment on that, on manners// there are very important issues in Spain and in the world for us to start talking about this topic

IR: *well/ you already know that it is not up to you to decide the issues (treated) here/ that is also decided here on this table*] ("Los desayunos de TVE," October 14, 2010)

(5) [IE: *Jose Antonio/ has conta(d)o lo que te ha da(d)o la gana*

IR: no/ he contao/ he contao lo que tenía que contar]

[I: *Jose Antonio/ you've told us just whatever you liked*

IR: no/ I told/ I told what I had to tell] ("La Noria," January 15, 2011)

The use of this impolite strategy in both interview subtypes with the same level of intensification is due to the positive social effect accruing to the IR's face. Explicitly denouncing the IE's evasive attitude is a strategy that produces an impolite face-threatening effect but at the same time it serves to enhance the image of the journalist as someone who will not allow himself to be pushed around or deceived by the politician. In short, what the IR achieves in this way is to demonstrate his/her freedom with regard to the IE's utterances, and underscore a quality that is especially appreciated in this context, a determination to provide viewers with the information they are entitled to expect.

5.2 Disagreeing with the IE about What Has Been Said

The IRs in these TV programs are not neutral, as Heritage (1985:99) claims[10]; they make no attempt to conceal their skepticism, disagreement or disbelief with regard to what has been said. How to verbalize this impolite strategy varies according to the type of interview.

Our analysis shows that, in interviews with politicians, the IR may disagree with the opinions expressed, but always indirectly and without ridiculing the IE. On the other hand, interviews with celebrities represent a further stage within the spiral of verbal impoliteness. This is illustrated in the following two extracts:

(6) [IE: DISCREPO absolutamente de la dirección política de Televisión Española

IR*: Bueno/ yo le digo que no hay una dirección política [hay una dirección profesional*=]

IE: [se lo vuelvo a decir]

IR: *= por cierto/ elegida también por la dirección del PP*

IE: Bueno/ perfecto/ usted tiene su opinión/ pero yo le hablo en nombre del Partido Popular]

[I: I totally DISAGREE with the political management of Televisión Española

IR: *Well/ I can tell you that there is no political management [there is a professional management*=]

I: [I tell you once again]

IR: *= by the way/ (she was) also chosen by the PP management*

I: Well/ perfect/ you have your opinion/ but I am speaking to you on behalf of the Popular Party]

("Los desayunos de TVE," April 26, 2011)

(7) [IR: *mira/ eres tan poco interesante que no me das ni asco/ Sonia*]

[IR: *look/ you're so uninteresting that you don't even disgust me/ Sonia*] ("La Noria," May 30, 2009)

As it can be seen in these examples, the IR makes no pretence of neutrality with respect to the opinions expressed by the IE. In (6), the journalist rebuts the female IE's assertion concerning the lack of impartiality in TVE's news services. However, based on the addressee's reaction, we can say that the damage to the IE's face is much more serious in (7), where the IR openly abuses the IE using highly offensive language. Therefore, in the (im)politeness continuum, (7) is closer to the impolite zone.

5.3 Using Inferences Strategically

In the two kinds of interviews, discourse progression sometimes forces IRs to refer to what the IE has said by summarizing or interpreting their words. Confrontation with the IE arises when such rephrasings or summaries are made with a mischievous intention. That is to say, IRs reinterpret what has been said by the IE in order to arrive at conclusions that suit their own interests. They also control the interview, channelling it in a chosen direction .In the extract below a female IR tries to force her female IE to admit her opposition to a measure that had just been adopted by the Council of Ministers concerning the speed limit permitted in Spanish motorways and highways. With this aim, the IR starts by presenting an objective fact (discussion of the issue in the Council of Ministers) and then uses it to pose her question. Since the discussion of the issue is common knowledge, the IE has no choice but to answer the question, which in other circumstances she might choose to avoid. Only when the IR realizes she cannot obtain the desired outcome does she choose to infer information, create an implicature from the IE's utterances, and oblige her to respond, even though –as can be observed– the IE flatly refuses to:

(8) [IR: el pasado viernes se habló en el Consejo de Ministros – se decidió de nuevo aumentar el límite de velocidad a los 120/ ¿Ha perdido la batalla la Vicepresidenta Salgado?

IE: no/ bueno/ en primer lugar/ a mí me sorprende que se hable de los debates en el seno del Consejo de Ministros§

IR: § pues solo puede salir de un sitio Vicepresidenta/ y es de los que estáis/ de los que están ahí sentados/ ¿no?/ digo yo/ vamos

IE: bueno/ las decisiones/ como se sabe/ son decisiones de todos/ no son decisiones de uno o de otro/ la decisión es una decisión de todos/ también es verdad que si todos los Ministros pensáramos igual de todas las cosas/ sería→

IR: *así que no pensaba usted que hubiera que cambiar el límite*]

[IR: last Friday the Council of Ministers discussed – decided to raise the speed limit back to 120 / has Vice President Salgado lost her battle?

IE: no/ well/ in the first place/ it surprises me how people can speak about the debates within the Council of Ministers§

IR: § well, it can only come from one place, Vice President/ and it is from you who are there/ you all, who are sitting there/ can't it?/ (that's what) I would say/ at least

IE: well/ the decisions/ as everyone knows/ are the decisions of all of us/ they are not decisions adopted by one (minister) or another/ the decision is a decision made by all of us/ it is also true that if we all as Ministers had the same opinion about every issue/ that would be→

IR: *so you didn't think the limit had to be changed*] ("Los desayunos de TVE," June 27, 2011)

Occasionally, journalists in celebrity interviews also strategically exploit inferences in order to reorient what the IE has said or to present information or opinions that the IE has not expressed as if they had actually done so. An example of this can be found in the following extract, in which an IE disagrees with how the IR summarizes the problems he has had to overcome in the bullfighting world, because of the undesirable inferences involved.

(9) [IR: [pero Paloma/ a mí me ha parecido entender] perdona/ a mí me ha parecido entender que Canales Rivera está diciendo que no ha toreado porque sus primos lo han vetao/ ¿es así o no?

IE: *a mí la palabra "veto"/ la palabra "veto" la verdad es que no me gusta en absoluto*]

IR: [but Paloma/ as I understood it] excuse me/ as I understood it, Canales Rivera is saying that he has had no bullfights because his cousins have vetoed him/ is that true or not?

IE: *for me, the word 'veto'/ the truth is I don't like the word 'veto' one bit*] ("La Noria," January 15, 2011)

5.4 Accusing the IE of Breaking the Maxim of Quality

The IRs who takes part in the two types of interview analyzed frequently manifest their incredulity at the IEs' opinions. Bearing in mind that it is their professional duty to obtain reliable information, it is logical that the IR should ensure that questions are properly answered and that IEs observe the maxim of quality. In interviews with people from the world of politics, the IR usually verbalizes this impoliteness strategy in a rather attenuated way (10). In celebrity interviews the IR is more overtly impolite (11).

(10) [IR:(…)¿por qué es diferente el caso de Ternera del de Troitiño?

IE: (…)

IR: Realmente/ cuesta ver la diferencia/ se lo digo porque es verdad que él era diputado/ lo cual no le exime de cometer un delito/ lo único que le va a juzgar el Supremo y no [cualquier tribunal/ pero él fue llamado para una causa]

(…)

IE: *Claro/ a usted le costará ver la diferencia/ como me dice usted que [le cuesta ver la diferencia=]*

IR: [me cuesta/ sí]

[IR:(…)why is Ternera's case different from that of Troitiño?

IE: (…)

IR: Really/ it is hard to see the difference/ I'm telling you because it is true that he was a Member of Parliament/ which does not exempt him from committing a crime/ the only thing is (that) he will be judged by the Supreme (Court) and not by [any court/ but he was summoned for a lawsuit]

(…)

IE: *Of course/ you must find it hard to see the difference/ as you tell me that [it is hard for you to see the difference=]*

IR: [I do find it hard, yes] ("Los desayunos de TVE," April 26, 2011)

It is also worth highlighting here that the IR initially presents her criticism impersonally: *cuesta ver la diferencia [it is hard to see the difference]*, thus mitigating any imputation of impoliteness. Only after the beleaguered IE repeats the expression does the interviewer lay personal claim to the opinion. As regards the other interview subtype, these same accusations present a higher degree of direction and intensification. An illustration can be found in the following excerpt, where the IR repeatedly and openly casts doubt on the IE's truthfulness and does not hesitate to interrupt him:

(11) [IR: (…) insisto/ que me parece muy bien/ ¿qué/ pasa/ contigo y con tus primos? ¿qué mal rollo hay?

(…)

IR: *[que no hablemos de/ que no tiene nada que ver con] que no me creo que sea NADA de temas de empresarios/ que no me lo creo/ vamos a ver [que entiendo/ que el mundo del toro lo entiendo]*

IE: [¿no? bueno/ de empresarios/ no/ es profesional] es un tema profesional

IR: *que no/ que no/ que no me lo creo/ que no me lo creo]*

[IR: (…) I insist/ I'm perfectly happy/ what's/ the matter/ with you and your cousins? what's wrong?

(…)

IR: [*I mean, let's not talk about/ you see, it has nothing to do with] I mean, I don't see it's a question of about promoters AT ALL/ I mean, I don't believe it/ let's see [you see, I understand/ I understand the bullfighting world]*

IE: [you don't? well/ about promoters/ no/ it's professional] it's a professional issue

IR: *you see, I don't/ you see, I don't/ I mean, I don't believe it/ I don't believe it, you know*] ("La Noria", January 15, 2011)

5.5 Using Ad Hominem Argument Attacking the Personal Features of the IE

An easy way to undermine the message is to belittle the speaker. Thus, the IE is presented in a sufficiently negative light for their position to be rejected by association. Such ad hominem tactics rely on "providing arguments which do not refer to the content of the actual reasoning and its validity, but serve to achieve victory by exerting pressure upon the person and questioning his or her credibility" (Lo Cascio, 1998, 292, our translation).

Nevertheless, the higher degree of impoliteness implied in this mechanism accounts for its absence in the political interviews analyzed. In spite of it being very common in political discourse (Ilie 2004, Bolívar 2008), IRs at most employ questions that implicitly convey some criticism of the IE. Thus, the journalist questions the trust inspired by the then leader of the opposition, Mariano Rajoy, by citing a survey carried out by the CIS [Centre for Sociological Research]. However, the journalist does not necessarily subscribe to this opinion herself. She merely presents data, which damage the politician's face:

(12) [IR: Señor Rajoy/ usted ha dicho que los mercados aprietan por la falta de credibilidad política del presidente Zapatero// *¿tienen motivos los mercados para fiarse de usted? Porque el CIS/ la confianza en el CIS/ ahí tampoco sale usted muy bien parado*]

[IR: Mr. Rajoy/ you said that the markets are applying pressure due to President Zapatero's lack of political credibility// *do the markets have reasons to trust you? Because the CIS/ trust in the CIS/ you don't come too well there either]* ("Informativos de Antena3," January 24, 2011)

However, in interviews involving celebrities, criticisms, accusations and defamatory remarks can be stinging and highly personal. Rude language causes considerable impact and captures the addressee's full attention, thus highlighting what has just been said:

(13) [IR: *esta tía es imbécil/ Jordi/ esta tía es imbécil*]

[IR*: this woman is stupid/ Jordi/ this woman is stupid*] ("La Noria," November 13, 2010)

5.6 Undervaluing the IE's Discourse

Another impolite strategy which is confined to tabloid television is to discredit the IE's discourse. IRs conducting political interviews at most draw attention to the inconsistencies or contradictions found in the IE's line of argument. In interviews with celebrities, well-reasoned counter-argumentation may degenerate into an exchange of insults. The IE's discourse may be characterized initially as false and contradictory, but then also as absurd, immoral and even surreal, all of which deprives the argumentation presented of any dialectic value.

(14) [IR: Te dolería más por él →

IE: es diferente el malestar// él es el culpable de haber roto el matrimonio/ pero ella se tenía que haber quedado en su sitio/ el que le correspondía/ el de amante

IR: *me parece inmoral que digas una cosa así de una mujer*]

[IR: You'd be hurt more for him →

IE: the upset's different// he's the one to blame for the marriage breaking down/ but she should have stayed in her place/ the one that was hers/ to be the lover

IR: *it seems immoral to me that you should say something like that about a woman*] ("La Noria," November 11, 2009)

5.7 Interrupting Communicative Exchange

The impoliteness encountered in celebrity interviews can lead to acrimonious confrontation, so much so that the IR, taking umbrage at the IE's words, may decide to leave the studio or stage and put an end to the interview. This radical infringement of the cooperative principle occurs twice in the interviews analyzed. The following is one of these two cases:

(15) [IE: usted ha dicho que yo me he aprovechado/ que USTED ha dicho que yo me ha aprovechado de no sé qué cosas QUE ME EXPLIQUE USTED de qué me he aprovechado yo y quién me ha beneficiado a mí/ ex –plí-que-me-ló

IR: le dije hace un rato que usted ha ido de víctima desde hace mucho tiempo [sin que nadie lo persiguiera]

IE: [pero diga un nombre] conteste sí o no/ ¿es usted puta o no es puta? (APLAUSOS)

IR: yo no

IE: dígame/ dígame quién me ha beneficiado a mí/ o sea/ quién me ha apoyado a mí/ qué partido político

IR: *yo no tengo por qué aguantar este insulto/ ni estoy cinco minutos más sentada aquí al lado de una persona que tiene la poca vergüenza de insultar a una mujer*. (SE MARCHA DEL PLATÓ. APLAUSOS, GRITOS)]

[IE: [you said I have taken advantage/ I mean, YOU said I have taken advantage of I don't know what] I AM TELLING YOU TO EXPLAIN what I have taken advantage of and who I've benefited from/ ex –plain-it-to-me

IR: I told you a while ago that you have played the role of a victim for a long time [even though nobody chased you]

IE: [but mention a name] answer yes or no/ are you a whore or not? (APPLAUSE)

IR: I'm not

IE: tell me/ tell me who's benefitted me/ that is to say/ who's supported me/ which political party

IR:*I don't have to put up with this insult/ and I am not going to sit here even for five minutes more sat here beside a person who is shameless enough to insult a woman*. (SHE LEAVES THE STUDIO. APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)] ("La Noria", April 16, 2010)

This breakdown of communication due to confrontation and verbal impoliteness would be unthinkable in the traditional configuration of this genre. Such an eventuality was not envisaged in the television interview based on the adjacent question-answer pair. The genre has undergone a transformation marked by verbal impoliteness, which has substantially altered its features. However, as has been observed in our examples, this transformation has not affected all types of interview to the same extent.

Establishing a continuum, interviews on political issues may be said to remain closer to the prototype, whereas celebrity interviews are characterized by confrontation and a marked colloquial style that takes them closer to exclusive impoliteness (Brenes Peña 2011; Briz 2013).

6. Discussion: Functions of Verbal Impoliteness in Interviews

The analysis of our corpus has shown that verbal impoliteness is used for different purposes in the two subtypes of interview studied. The reason lies in audience expectations, which not only determines the topics, the participants and the configuration of the television format but also decisively influences the selection of the social effect caused.

In political interviews, the use of verbal impoliteness is closely associated with the construction of one's face. The IR seeks to present him -or herself- as an impartial professional who does not take sides or follow the dictates of any political party. Consequently, (s) he does not hesitate to threaten the face of the socially more powerful IE, in order to obtain the information the viewers' demand. Furthermore, this implacable attitude to the IE allows the IR to win over viewers, who feel that the IR is confronting the IE in search of the truth. The ultimate goal of this impoliteness is, therefore, to achieve alignment with viewers and create an identity. The IR damages the IE's social image with the aim of establishing a coalition with the public.

As for interviews involving celebrities, the use of verbal impoliteness has another essential goal: not so much to create an ideological alliance with the public as simply to excite their interest, to capture viewers' attention, to amuse and entertain them by transgressing what is regarded as socially acceptable. The subversion of normal expectations generated by defamatory remarks in the interviews analyzed captures the viewer's full attention. The celebrity interviews analyzed here, in which the interlocutors adopt the 'anything goes' approach so as to attract the highest number of viewers, manifest the entertainment value of the verbal dimension of violence. This is always present, for instance, in quiz shows (Culpeper et al. 2003, Brenes Peña 2009) and television documentaries (Culpeper et al. 2003; Bousfield 2008), where the selection of broadcast images is based on the level of verbal impoliteness they exhibit. This is therefore another example of the media-ludic impoliteness described in Brenes Peña (2011) with regard to chat shows with celebrities, in which impoliteness is a device employed to shock and amuse the viewer.

Since the impoliteness is already a feature of this genre, IE and IR do not perceive that his face has been discredited. But the viewers evaluate these strategies as impolite. A proof of this is their comments in chats. Impoliteness is a means to capture the viewers' attention. This is a formal impoliteness used as a strategy.

7. Conclusions

The analysis of our corpus has shown that the current television interview differs from the traditional format of this genre in a number of respects. Impoliteness is used in Spanish interviews as a component that alters their format and produce "hibridity", (Ekstrom 2011) between interview and talk-show. Its fundamental goal is to attract the audience and to build the journalist's face in political interviews as participants in ideological confrontation. Nevertheless, the detailed study of the impoliteness strategies employed by the interviewer has shown that the modification of features largely depends on the subtype examined, which is why no generalizations can be made in this respect. This moreover explains why a variationist perspective has been adopted in the analysis of verbal impoliteness (Barron-Schneider 2008).

The element which is common to all the interviews analyzed and which, from our viewpoint, has given rise to the current television interview format, is the figure of an incisive IR who does not allow the IE to manipulate him or her and conduct a non-accommodating type of interview (Haverkate, 1998). In the programs analyzed, the IR never chooses to empathize with the IE. On the contrary, the IR queries the answers provided and tries to ensure that the IE is not evasive. He or she also highlights the inconsistencies in the IE's argument and indicates disagreement when the IE is suspected of insincerity or subterfuge. This shift coincides with what has been observed in other countries and other television interview programs (Greatbacht, 1992; Clayman y Heritage, 2002).

In political interviews, the new role of the IR emerges because he/she has become the viewers' champion at a time when viewers are increasingly disillusioned with politicians. The politician comes to the interaction with the clear goal of winning the favor of the electorate. For their part, the IR's main objective is to ensure that IEs are aware of the viewers' perception of reality. Faced with the evasion tactics of the politicians (Rasiah 2010), IRs seek to uncover the truth and satisfy the viewers' expectations.

The IR's role in interviews involving celebrities also conforms to the detective or forensic role described by Arfuch (1995), but as the issues discussed in these sorts of programs tend to be neither important or novel, the informational interest is insignificant. The viewer's attention, thus, is captured by means of strategies that do not involve disclosing new information. The best way to achieve this, of course, is by means of something not socially expected or sanctioned: verbal impoliteness. In other words, its capacity to provoke together in the context of the lower degree of formality in this genre make verbal impoliteness a preferred resource.

As a result, the interview can end up drifting towards another genre in the most extreme situations. What was initially a genre based on the adjacent question-answer pair becomes an acrimonious confrontation based on the adjacent assertion-rejection pair, where good manners are largely ignored. The interactive purpose of these interviews is consequently not to induce the IE to provide relevant information on a current issue but to degrade the IE's face.

Moreover, in television celebrity interviews we observed a wider range of strategies of verbal impoliteness, which are absent from political interviews. Thus the strategies labelled 'underevaluing the IE's discourse' or 'interrupting the communicative exchange' are exclusively a feature of interviews with media celebrities. As for common strategies, the dissimilarities refer to the linguistic material by means of which they are formalized. Thus, depersonalization of criticism, doxastic mitigation and preference for indirection are strategies typical of interviews related to politics.

In conclusion, in the programs analyzed verbal impoliteness can be said to have become a characteristic of the interview genre albeit to varying degrees and with different functions depending on the subtype. Establishing a continuum, interviews on political issues remain closer to the prototype, whereas celebrity interviews are characterized by confrontation and a markedly colloquial register that brings them closer to exclusive impoliteness. The issue discussed in this genre, political or social, is a highly relevant factor in this regard, which reaffirms the need to adopt a variationist approach.

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Notes

Note 1. The recording lasts nine hours.

Note 2. As has been shown in Brenes Peña (2011) and Fuentes Rodríguez (ed. 2013a), verbal impoliteness as exhibited in recent years in various genres in Spanish television is on the increase. In general, the tendency is much more marked in talk shows, television discussion programs and interviews.

Note 3. This perspective has been presented in numerous papers, such as Fuentes Rodríguez (2010a) and edited volumes on impoliteness strategies in the media (Fuentes Rodríguez ed. 2013a, 2013b).

Note 4. For the distinction between social identity and face, see Fuentes Rodríguez (2013a), and for the definition of the features which determine identity see Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Joseph 2004 and Simon (2004).

Note 5. IE: Interviewee, IR: Interviewer.

Note 6. There are genres in which impoliteness plays no part. Purely informative formats such as news programs, where interaction between journalists is minimal, are unlikely to accommodate impoliteness.

Note 7. On the whole, the ideology staunchly defended by these programs in US television channels is a conservative one.

Note 8. This alteration of the speaking turns is the factor that most clearly shows how the rules for this communicative genre are ignored in the interview with President Bush analyzed by E. A. Schegloff (1988/89).

Note 9. For this reason, in the opinion of Blum Kulka (1983,147-149), the IR's strategy to reorient the IE must be implemented tactfully in order not to threaten his/her public face. The IR must refrain from openly and unmitigatedly questioning the adequacy of the answers offered by the IEs. The same opinion is held by Cortés & Bañón (1997, 49), who observe how, when the IE does not answer, the IR "lets him know about this circumstance, but in a softened way".

Note 10. See Ekström-Patrona (2011), who denounces this lack of neutrality.

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Computer Supported Collaborative Work trends on Media Organizations: Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

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Abstract

There is a growing concern in the financial world regarding the lack of resources for the sustainability of media related enterprises. The increasing cost of computing resources and data storage have crucially established the deployment of cost-saving and high-effective technologies. The aim of these technologies should be the support of teamworking. The work environments of the media organizations typically remain stable despite the development of internet. Our purpose was to investigate journalists' and media professionals' beliefs regarding Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW) and groupware effectiveness in work routines, based on their experiences. We used a mixed method analysis in the participants' sample. The participants were randomly selected senior and junior journalists/media professionals, head officers, chief editors and assistants, in two groups of 11 and 12 participants each. In conclusion, the need to improve our understanding of groupware in journalism practice has been recognized, not least because of the risk of "technology illiteracy", unemployment and isolation. Simply importing training techniques from non-journalistic disciplines has not resulted in improved news publishing.

Keywords: computer supported collaborative work, groupware, cloud computing, journalism practice

1. Introduction

During the last decade, media organizations have been forced to reconsider and identify their strategies by a combination of economic, technological and market changes. Media industry has been strongly affected by evolving technological aspects in terms of readership rates, distribution chains, publication options, etc. This influences the workflow of media enterprises in all the stages of publishing (pre-production, production, post-production). Traditional systems have been replaced by digital ones, where computerized editorial systems are employed to write texts, process images or report news events. Online journalism and new forms of media communication, such as blogs, Web Radio-TV, social media, mobile multimedia, etc., have dominated the media industry, establishing the 24h per day news production from both ordinary users and journalism professionals (Dimoulas et al., 2014; Lee D. H., 2013; Spyridou et al.,2013; Siapera & Veglis, 2012). Digital news and Internet services lead in the formulation of a new global media environment, both in terms of geographical expansion and of participating users, where displacing and complementing effects of printed media from electronic ones have been observed and thoroughly studied (Veglis et al, 2014; Westlund & Färdigh, 2011). Nowadays, people have many opportunities to instantly access news and other generic-purpose information, but also to produce and share their own content. The exponential growth of the smartphone market and the number of mobile users, along with the new, rapidly evolved, mobile cloud computing and contemporary mobile media capabilities, have led to a large-scale development and deployment of mobile news applications (Dimoulas et al., 2014; Dey, 2012; Dinh, Lee, Niyato & Wang, 2011; Zhu, Luo, Wang & Li, 2011). In this context, a variety of tools is available offering increased flexibility in news creation, content editing and distribution (Dimoulas et al., 2014; Veglis et al., 2014; Westlund, 2013). Obviously, the appearance of such mobile services in the news industry has influenced both the news-producer and consumer view in terms of knowledge flow and information sharing, enabling and/or promoting collaboration possibilities (Westlund, 2012). Indeed, the boundaries between the news production and consumption have been blurred in such a degree that they are not really separable, so that media sharing seems to better describe contemporary news propagation models, favoring the adoption of the cloud computing technologies (and mobile cloud computing) paradigms (Dimoulas et al., 2014; Veglis et al., 2014).

A critical debate regarding the possibility to formulate a 'collaborative environment in media' has recently become pressing, given the increasing social media integration into groupware (Franken et al., 2013), the blurriness between some kinds of media practices (Wright, 2014) and the audience participation in news production (Schmidt et al., 2015). Additionally, the lack of relevant training, the news media change as described above and the recent global economic crisis contribute to an augmentation of the need for a collaborative media environment. At the same time, research has shown that the co-creation of news is explained by the development of participatory and grassroots journalism (Paulussen et al., 2007; Campbell, 2015; Wall, 2017; Gillmor, 2006) as well as the raising of innovative forms of news production (Lăzăroiu, 2014; Hermida, 2013) like mobile news and social networks (Westlund, 2015; Chan-Olmsted et al., 2013). Recent studies show that the interaction between new media teams (Lewis & Westlund, 2015) and the co-creative behavior of the team members (Agarwal & Barthel, 2015) enhances outcomes. For example, "The New York Times", "The Guardian" and other leading newspapers have recruited IT specialists within their newsrooms, specifically to design innovative contents, consisting of online presentations, interactive maps or visualizations, rely on a wide range of computer techniques used to collect, process, analyze and visualize data sets (Parasie, & Dagiral, 2013). In Greece, the data journalism" is closely related to "open data" releases. These emerging kinds of journalism are putting into question the traditional work methods of journalistic investigation and their practices.

Cloud computing provides software and hardware resources of third party users via web-based applications depending on the usage (Qian et al., 2009; Hoefer & Karagiannis, 2010; Dillon, Wu & Chang, 2010). It consists of a network of end user computers, data centers, and web services (Mell, 2009; Jin et al., 2010; Nick et al., 2010; Zhang et al., 2010). The cloud applications support sharing data and computations in this network (Mei at al, 2008; Sultan, 2011; Rittinghouse & Ransome, 2010; Hoefer & Karagiannis, 2010). Given this context, we set ourselves the research goal to assess this technological solution in order to support journalists' actual work practices around their work and information flow. Workflow is the specification and the execution of a set of coordinated activities representing a business process within a company or an organization (Borghoff & Schlichter, 2000). This study would try to exhibit here some work with regard to extending online Journalism with groupware enhancements in the light of the collaborative co-creation processes in a media organization. Efficient co-creation is the key to successful media work and management that requires developing and managing co-creative processes in media environment, in particular in the online context (Malmelin & Villi, 2015). Desire of good outcomes, together with the proliferation of 'Web 2.0' applications (Borger et al., 2016) has made groupware training in journalism practice a priority for media workers (Sidiropoulos & Veglis, 2014). However, there is a lack of evidence to inform the implementation of groupware training. Much of the literature on groupware in journalism draws on assumptions (Sidiropoulos & Veglis, 2013) rather than scientific evaluations. The goal is to investigate media workers' opinions on groupware, teamwork and media training, aiming to determine aspects of groupware working that are perceived as beneficial or detrimental to the effectiveness of teams in media organizations.

A local media organization typically consists of a group of people working in relative tasks. Its workflow is mainly focused on its editorial department. The main characteristic of this group is the need for awareness and collaboration. The use of web-based collaboration work environments (CWEs), such as Google's and Microsoft's relevant applications, which have developed their own cloud applications, could support the workflow using the collaboration and technology as basic components (Avraam et. al, 2004). The contributions of this research are:

• The identification of the need to explore and improve the interrelationships between journalisms' informal work practices and the organizational workflow in a media setting.

• The design and implementation of a CSCW concept, designed to enhance awareness and collaboration as an integral part of the official production process.

• The study and analysis of focus group feedback from journalists and media professionals to evaluate their feedback on the effectiveness of a CSCW approach.

• The presentation of a set of design guidelines for future technology development.

In this paper, we present findings from a qualitative research project on the introduction and use of CSCW in media organizations. Section 2 includes a literature review of the area. More specifically it provides the information concerning cloud computing technologies and CSCW aspects. The workflow of an editorial department is described and significant case studies are presented. Finally, Section 5 includes Results and Discussion and Section 6 Conclusion and Future Work.

2. "Groupware as a Cloud"

2.1 Computer Supported Collaborative Work

Computer Supported Collaborative Work (CSCW) is a multi-disciplinary research field, which focuses on tools and techniques that support multiple people working on related tasks. A number of research studies have focused on the usability of groupware in supporting collaborative work (Tang et al., 2014). The implementation of a CSCW or groupware system demands a wide range of resources. Within industry, groupware systems are offered as a Software as a Service (SaaS) solution, which may be deployed across various business functions within an organization or a supply chain; these systems often allow workers within an organization to better communicate, collaborate and share information and knowledge with their colleagues (Evans et al., 2015; Kebede, 2010). Consequently, the technology increases collaboration, self-sufficiency, awareness, communication and motivation of the co-workers (Jiang & Yang, 2010). Except for technological parameters, the social factors have also significant influence on the development of an effective CSCW system. We introduce below some dimensions of CSCW. The characteristics of each one of these dimensions have already been described in the CSCW literature. In media industry, this could provide support for group collaboration and task orientation in distributed or networked settings (Veglis, 2005). Emerging business collaborative technologies could be effective for journalists in the ease of employability, teamwork motivation and social awareness.

2.2 Cloud Computing tools and Support of Collaboration Processes

The technological progress of cloud infrastructure has significantly influenced the wide development of such services. To this extent, Google offers its cloud applications supporting collaborative work (i.e. Google Docs, Google Calendar, etc.), Facebook provides users' private groups and Microsoft offers its applications as web-based services (Sidiropoulos, 2010; Hilley, 2009). Among the great number of platforms available, Microsoft365 has been chosen initially to be studied. This platform is currently the most recent commercial solution and has been designed to implement collaborative project-based activities. Microsoft365 integrates tools for a) synchronous communication (chat, web conferencing), asynchronous communications (email), b) file sharing (storage), c) teamwork (team sites), d) publicity (website) etc. A thorough analysis of cloud computing tools and their support of collaboration processes is described below (Miller, 2008):

- **Communication/Negotiation systems:** such email services have replaced the traditional email software applications. Google and Microsoft provide email services that are available to the users from anywhere. Also, both of them offer chat tools for instant messaging between users.
- **Task Schedule Management / Group scheduling systems:** such scheduling applications (i.e web calendars) support co-ordination and improve teamwork in a collaborative environment. Google Calendar (calendar.google.com) has a user-friendly interface for sharing events with other collaborators and provides several functions enabling collaboration between workers. Task monitoring of work teams is available. Workers can create public or private calendars. The invitation access to an event is sent via email. Microsoft Online Calendar also supports users to schedule tasks as well as share them.
- **Group Editing systems:** This kind of systems are tools to improve co-authoring and management of documents which are basic processes of an enterprise. The cooperation among different departments (Financial, Advertising, HR) for the creation of a report often demands the development of specific co-ordination and collaboration mechanisms. Cloud Computing technologies provide these mechanisms through SaaS applications, such as Google docs and Microsoft's online office suite. The key functions of these systems are creation, editing and sharing of documents that are stored on the cloud. In this way, the workers can collaborate and contribute to the creation of a report, by having access in the same document (in real time). Monitoring of the editing procedure (corrections, data entered and confirmation) is also supported.
- **Tools to support mobile workers:** Most applications are available in mobile version for tablets and smartphones. Mobile version tends to have fewer features and it is customized for smaller screens, lower bandwidth and other parameters that concern mobile services. In addition, a synchronization function can often be used for synchronizing the device with calendar, contacts and email services.

Cloud computing technology promises to offer groupware. "This indicates a close relationship with Computer Supported Collaborative Work and creates a socio-technological system" (Jiang & Yang, 2010). However, is Cloud Computing ready to support CSCW?

CSCW demands a wide range of services for users (Ackerman, 2000). Cloud Computing combines existing technologies (such as Web Services and Rich Internet Applications (RIA)) to support collaborative systems. (Lee CP et al., 2006). As a result, the developers focus on the collaborative characteristics and cooperative mechanisms (Jiang & Yang, 2010). Except for the technological parameters, such as usage and processing, CSCW development has also been affected by social factors, such as management and policy decisions. A successful system must respect the users' social habits. This leads a system to be adopted. It is considered that Cloud Computing "respects" the social habits of users. Tools and applications on the cloud are similar to their desktop versions which are familiar to the users. Given that, they are not obliged to learn new technologies and change their habits (Jiang & Yang, 2010).

Finally, motive is offered to users and developers for the adoption of this technology. Users are motivated to participate in collaboration procedure and their contribution will increase (Ackerman, 2000; Grudin, 1988; Mills, 2003). Cloud Computing provides services such as unlimited resources, service on-demand and pay-per-usage. This supports continuous access to information during their work processes (Armbrust et al., 2009).

3. Modeling the workflow in a Media Organization

The structure of a Mass Media organization can be divided into the creative department and administrative department. The structure of the administrative department does not differ from that of other companies. The creative department consists of the advertising, editorial, printing and circulation departments (Veglis, 2005). The structure of an editorial department in a typical daily local newspaper is represented in figure (1). The Publisher is at the top of hierarchy. He collaborates directly with his Director. The Director supervises the Chief Editors of each section in the newspaper (Politics, Social, Culture, Financial, e.t.c.). Chief Editors are responsible for the newspaper's content and they collaborate directly with Area Head officers. The Head officer of each section collaborates with Journalists and Text editors for article creation. Finally, the Content and Material Head officer defines the articles' title, photos and the general content of the newspaper. (Veglis, 2004; Veglis, 2005).

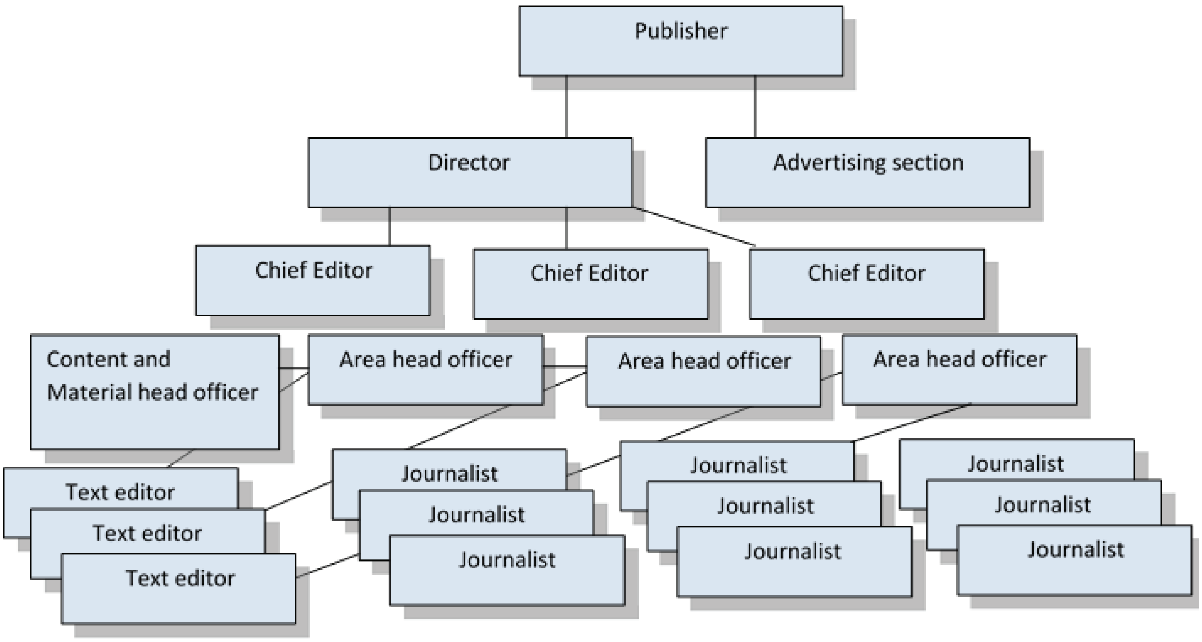

Figure 1. The structure of the editorial department in a Mass Media organization

It becomes obvious that the editorial process in the corresponding department (i.e. of a newspaper) may be consisted of groups, especially at the lower layers (see figure 1). However, groups can also exist at the higher layers. Hence, it seems that the editorial process is based on a teamwork structure. A variety of teams between workers and managers is used as the basic unit of accountability and work. The teams are usually supported by procedures of informal collaboration and organized around processes, products, services or customers (Beyerlein & Harris, 2003).

3.1 CSCW in Media Organizations; Alignment of Scope

Based on the model presented in the previous section, we can describe in detail the four cases of usual or potential collaboration between employees can be considered (Veglis, 2005):

- The Chief editor with the Content and Material head officer
- The Area head officer with Journalists
- The journalist with Text editor and
- The Director with Chief editors

Groupware could support the editorial process in a Mass Media organization, either by co-editing systems or communication tools, especially in the case of breaking news. (Stenberg, 1997). These advances build a new type of workflow in Mass Media. The potential implementation of groupware in the processes of companies could create a cluster of activities that are increasingly interrelated. In this respect, we tried to analyze the attitude of media professionals regarding the integration of these technologies in their work activities. CSCW activities could be summarized in the following major layers: communication, co-operation, co-ordination, information sharing, and group-oriented processes. Groupware processes can be grouped into the following categories (Van Audenhove et al., 2008):

a) Coordination mechanisms: The journalist has the ability to assign tasks to the coworkers and send them notifications. The journalist is expected to perform basic functions like scheduling and coordinate the team in information retrieval and the creation of work framework. The journalists search all the necessary data which will contribute to the creation of their article. This task can also be accomplished more easily by using cloud computing applications (like Messaging chat). Communication activities and awareness as well as the task management and decision making could be supported.

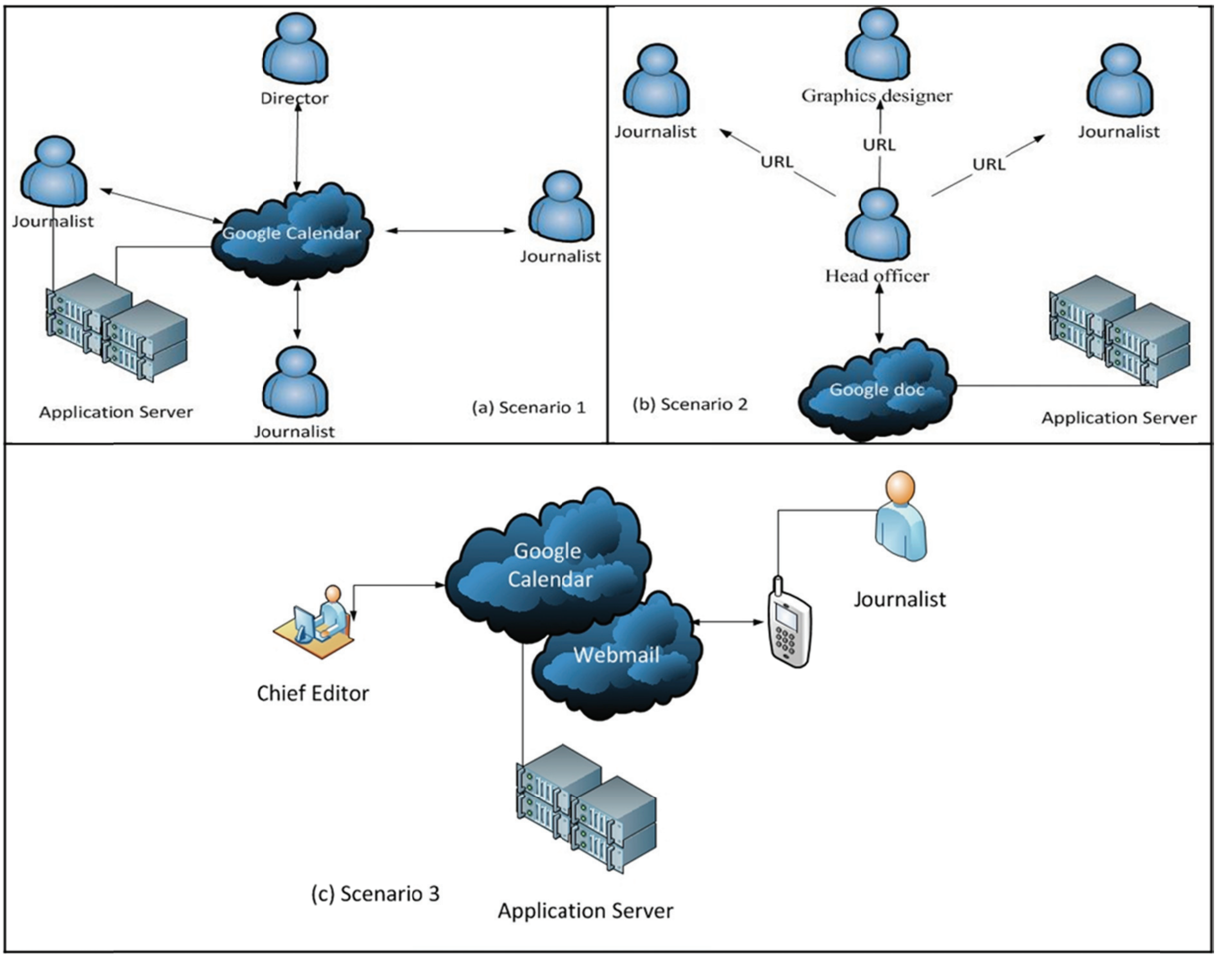

Figure 2. Group scheduling case in a newspaper workflow (b) Group Editing case (c) Mobile groupware case

b) Knowledge Management and Awareness: This stage involves the processes of article editing and layout. The collaboration and distribution between text editors, graphic designer, journalists and head officers could be coordinated through the support of web-based collaborative editing applications (i.e. Google docs). Document structure and reviews could be accessed by co-workers at any point.

c) Data Analysis and Decision Making: This layer contains the end–processes of the editorial department (prepress processing). The coordination and collaboration need to be conducted for the final evaluation of the content. All the sectors of the newspaper should be ready to contribute in any case. In this layer, all the cloud services could support the inclusion of direct and simultaneous communication, as well as information and collaboration among end-users.

The proposed CSCW delivery model is one of combining teamwork paradigms for media organizations through a cloud environment. The goal is to build a CSCW web-based environment which should provide information and knowledge on a variety of topics relevant to journalists' tasks, enhancing the users' decision-making skills and thus reinforcing awareness of the members especially of those who are not familiar with new technologies. A thorough analysis of work routines in a newspaper organization using CSCW components through scenarios (Fig. 2) will be examined.

Research Questions

In the previous sections, CSCW mechanisms and groupware were described and discussed. The question that naturally arises is which are the results of a potential groupware integration in the workflow of a media organization and the behaviors of professional journalists with regard to this aspect. Thus, to thoroughly study this matter, certain research questions must be investigated. More precisely,

RQ1: Which types of groupware are thought to enhance effective teamwork in a media organization?

RQ2: Which types of groupware are thought to undermine effective teamwork in a media organization?

RQ3: Which factors could improve teamwork using groupware?

In this paper, we address the above research questions. We used cases in a media organization where previous and new results are presented as responses to a series of questions raised by the idea of CSCW.

4. Method

A pilot study was initiated in March 2014 in order to investigate how media professionals would manage to coordinate their work routines using CSCW technologies. The focus of this study was to understand how journalists collaborate in a traditional work environment including the use of various web-based collaborative services and their engagement in CSCW activities for the news production. A combination of questionnaires and interviews was used. The researchers interviewed 23 media professional participants (journalists, chief editors, and text editors) in traditional and online Media and observed approximately 2 occasions of focus group meetings where CSCW scenarios were presented to the participants (Fig. 2) and examined their feedback on a CSCW system (in our case Microsoft365 service was demonstrated). This qualitative research was conducted in order to highlight journalists' attitudes and the framework of understanding, to identify group norms and cultural values and facilitate the expression of ideas and experiences that might be left underdeveloped in other research methods. Each focus group session was facilitated by an independent coordinator (a journalist) as well as an observer (IT expert). A demonstration of the CSCW platform was conducted, introducing to the participants the platform's sub sections (webmail; group calendar; file sharing and editing) as well as the integrated communication components (Chat, Tele/Videoconferencing etc.). Hands-on sessions introducing some of the work activities were conducted in the demonstration sessions with the help of instructors. The evaluation of the sessions was based on open questions in order to achieve better interaction between the participants. During this session, a general introduction was presented, followed by the broad question "Can you describe yourself and your journalism role?". Field notes were made during the focus group.

4.1 Data Analysis Methods

Researchers used qualitative and quantitative methods to examine different aspects of the overall research questions. Data were collected and analyzed separately for each component to produce two sets of findings. Researchers attempted to combine these findings (triangulation) (O'Cathain et al., 2010). The data analysis methods were:

1. Focus groups / Framework Analysis

This type of analysis would track the temporal modifications of the journalists' profile regarding their attitude on groupware during an increasing task complexity. The forecasting of future work situation is also a task that is related closely to the identification of past trends and will facilitate the prediction of whether the work attitude of a journalist will be improved or not in the long-term. A set of codes organized into categories that have been jointly developed by researchers involved in analysis was used to manage and organize the data. The framework creates a structure that is helpful in summarizing the data in a way that can support answering the research questions.

2. Scenario based - simulation

The experimental group underwent a scenario-based simulation session. Observations were recorded by members of the research team for each scenario-based procedure. These focused on practical issues (e.g. chief editor - journalists communication, workflow planning and coordination by the area head officer, decision making of journalists – mobility, performance and engagement).

3. Frequency-based descriptive analysis/Statistical Significance

Online questionnaires (created using the Google Documents-Forms) were distributed to obtain data on the participant responses and attitudes against the CSCW field. These data were then statistically analyzed using SPSS statistical software. Frequency-based descriptive analyses were conducted to evaluate the participants' collected responses for every item. Moreover, a classification of the questions was made, based on the proportion of the number of answers corresponding to the two most important indices (Impact & Usability).

5. Results and Discussion

5.1 Descriptive Data

The baseline survey revealed that journalists lead busy lives. Nowadays journalists tend to experience unfamiliarity with ICTs and Web2.0 technologies (Blogs, Wikis, Social Media, and Cloud Technologies). Such barriers may further prevent journalists from ease employability or their role in a media environment. Next, we present the results of the focus groups analysis among journalists and media professionals. In total, 17.4% of them were males and 82.6% were females. Most of the participants (39.1%) belonged to the thirty-five to forty-four age group, 26.1% to twenty-five to thirty-four age group and 26.1% to forty-four to fifty-five age group. The participants were relatively computer literate, and were engaging with internet-enabled devices daily. Table 1 shows the codes and themes, and Figure 3 (concept map) details the thematic framework, presenting the interaction between codes and themes. Concept maps are graphical tools for organizing and representing knowledge models. Cmap software[1] was used for representing this knowledge model (Fig. 3).

5.2 Groupware Characteristics Thought to Enhance Effective Teamwork (RQ1)

The clear understanding of the nature of the work, the groupware, and the required tasks (newsreporting procedure), as well as awareness of the team members' hierarchy and abilities (team awareness) and the goal's needs (members focus/involvement) were central in the focus group discussions. Declaring (stating) the work as well as the use of groupware promptly was perceived as a critical step. For most participants, it was considered important to pay attention to the "information flow" and the "hierarchy":

"When I am going to write a news story, I should have access in the available information. I should have access not only in my organization's database but also the other web sources." [P15, Male]

Several issues were raised about the influence of leadership on teamwork (see Table 2). Chief editor should be informed and have access to journalists' stories for better awareness and decision making. A particularly important factor was said to be the presence of a leader who should take the final decision and know team members' roles and responsibilities reassuring news stories publishing.

"I don't have access to my colleagues' data. However, the Chief Editor has access to all our data." [P12]. Others reported about the media organization's reaction to the new technologies and the required training on these systems for journalists.

The value of groupware in communication was identified repeatedly in the focus group discussions. More specifically, email communication is used as asynchronous communication in specific conditions and teleconferencing may help in more than two members' communication: "*...If the workload is increasing, the use of new technologies is demanded...Then an email is better than a phone call*" [P10]. This will help more in distributed conditions and not in an editorial department. The participants explained that the collaborative document editing and data storage could also support effectively teamwork even though these will be difficult to adopt. Group scheduling seems to be a new work practice that supports team worker to be more professionals but verbal reporting of task completion was described as necessary for tasks being completed. Finally, mobile groupware seems to enhance more effectively communication and teamwork because the journalist needs to capture, edit and publish content in this context. New technologies in mobile groupware (speech recognition and file annotation) should be embedded. Attributes and behaviors of the journalists and their focus and involvement in groupware was a common theme in all focus group discussions (see Table 2).

[1]http://cmap.ihmc.us/

Table 1. Codes, Themes, and the Frequency Count of Relevant Quotes

Codes	Exemplary Quotes	Frequency	Groups	Themes
Digital journalism and groupware	Integration of online technologies in Journalism	23	2	Overarching principle
Limited Awareness	I do not have full access to the story of my co-workers	12	1	Core elements of workflow in Journalism
Clear defined leadership	You should inform your chief editor	12	1	
Teamwork	Teamwork is limited in phone communication	23	2	
Roles/task delegation	Chief editor has access to journalists' stories	12	1	
Group scheduling	It sounds very professional. It is a new "window" in team scheduling	23	2	Demonstrations of Groupware
Group editing	Group editing for a story seems to be easy	23	2	
Mobile Groupware	Effective email communication using smartphones is feasible	23	2	
Database of media organization	I should have access in the news archive for a story	12	1	Groupware that could promote/support effective teamwork
Social Media	Twitter is very useful for journalists	12	2	
Wikis	Wikipedia	11	1	
Mobile Cloud Computing	Smartphone helps communication and awareness	23	2	
Email	Email communication is used in specific conditions	23	2	
File sharing/storage	File sharing/storage could enhance teamwork	23	2	
Speech Recognition services and annotated content	Groupware would be more efficient if technologies like speech recognition and file annotation are embedded	23	2	
Lack of experience	Unwillingness in the integration of new technologies	11	1	External Factors That Threaten Groupware Performance
Individual characteristics of journalist	The journalist is not familiar with co-editing in his/her story	11	1	
Multitasking	The journalist should be able to capture, edit, publish content	23	2	
Lack of training programs	Media organizations should support their staff training in these technologies	11	1	Limitations in Media Organization towards CSCW
Workflow issues	Groupware will be integrated in sales and administration department of a Media Organization	11	1	

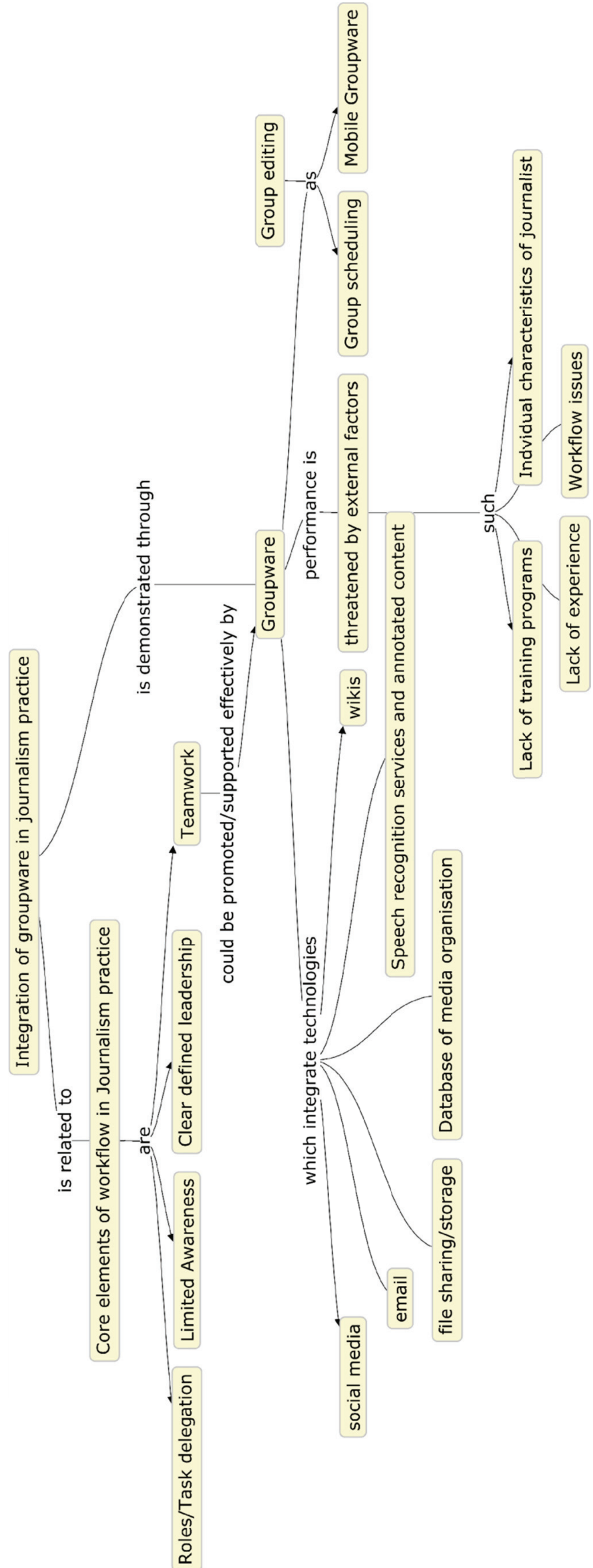

Figure 3. A concept map presenting the relationship between codes and themes

5.3 Groupware Characteristics Thought to Undermine Effective Teamwork (RQ2)

Table 2. Involvement in groupware: Attributes and Behaviors

Issues	Focus Groups[2]	Triangulation[3]	Simulation[4]
Leadership and journalist involvement	Presence/attendance of director can be reassuring for publishing	complementarity	Coordination mechanisms were associated with better awareness and decision making
Journalists focus and involvement in groupware	Group editing seems to be a new practice that includes professionalism	complementarity	Group editing groupware was associated with ease of content supervision and better notification for any changes
	The leader should take the final decision and know team members' roles and responsibilities.	dissonance	Group scheduling groupware was associated with better task management but respondents were concerned about task completion
	Mobile technology has been adopted in practice	complementarity	Mobile groupware behavior was more effective in communication and content sharing.
Non-phone communication	One of the most common comment was that due to the lack of time to assure the task assignment the direct phone calling will be preferred	dissonance	Communication using groupware Better teamwork in distributed locations was associated with using teleconferencing. Further research is necessary

Four interconnected individual and team characteristics emerged that were thought to threaten effective groupware adoption: lack of experience, individual characteristics of journalist, lack of training programs and workflow issues. Lack of experience was said to be the result of daily multitasking, leading to lack of time for training. Individual characteristics of journalists were particularly emphasized and were described as the unwillingness of journalists to interfere and co-edit their news stories. Two external threats to effective adoption of groupware were described: (a) lack of training programs by their media organizations and (b) workflow issues. The participants explained that the variation of different departments of media organizations and newsrooms, in terms of workflow and type of work practices, resulted in unwillingness in integrating new technologies and in delaing their adoption: *"The processes are different in a newspaper, news agency, television and radio.*" [P12] Moreover, few stated that "*an integration of CSCW systems using cloud technologies may be more feasible in the administrative or marketing department of a media organization*". With regard to the lack of training programs by the media organizations, the participants described instances in which journalists tried to be trained on their own, whereas media organizations cannot afford to cover such training programs. However, they also described the need of expert staff to support them.

5.4 Group Proposals for Improving Groupware and Team Working (RQ3)

The participants commented on current provision of groupware simulation and suggested ways to improve it. Participants recommended the development of mobile groupware (Tablet or Smartphones) that will support more effectively the teamwork in media organizations. In this way, professionals will be able to receive directly information to their emails, schedule their meetings using web calendars and access their files, stored in the cloud. The participants confirmed that they use "smart" mobile devices for their work daily:

> P1: "… I would never give up my smartphone. A journalist should know everything. Nowadays, a photograph in a protest is a news story. The journalist should be able to shot the picture, edit the picture and write the story"
>
> P4: "Because our entire day works on the news story and immediacy, everything we do (i.e. when we need to report), we use the smartphone. Many technologies could be integrated in this."

Participants also recommended the integration of new technologies in groupware for image and audio editing and analysis to enhance journalists' skills. Speech recognition and content annotation were viewed as especially important

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[2]Participants' beliefs and experiences in this study.

[3]Framework (O'Cathain et al., 2010): corroboration: convergence = the findings agree; complementarity = the findings offer complementary information; dissonance: findings were contradictory; silence/requires further study: findings from the focus groups were not tested in the scenario-based simulation.

[4]Scenario-based simulation

for these situations. Journalists will easily edit and share their audio material so they can better evaluate and disseminate it, without increasing computational load demands and/or complicating user interfacing and interaction processes. They will be able to report events in real time and process their content simultaneously (i.e. interviews) through automation processes on the cloud. The content will be easily uploaded in distributed databases, therefore network collaboration and cross-platform access will favor the content management and professionals-mobility. They will not have to think about limits such as the audio format, storage capacity, computing resources and continuous Internet connectivity. The automated intelligent processes of such a platform will offer the requisite results, requiring less expertise from the user. In the case where the outcome does not satisfy the end-user, a new process will be re-initiated and the file will be uploaded again for further processing.

Table 3. Opportunities/Threats of groupware

Issues	Focus Groups	Triangulation	Simulation
Threats to effective use of groupware	Understanding Media and Culture	dissonance	Proposed scenarios seem to be "simplified". Further research with real-life observations is necessary
Groupware that could promote/support effective teamwork	Data storage is useful	complementarity	More efficient teams were more likely to have used data storage groupware
	Speech Recognition services and annotated content	complementarity	There seems to be significant effect on team efficiency; its value was difficult to test

Finally, some participants described that they use social media in their work routines providing them access to break news and users' comments. Some participants suggested the potential of social media (i.e. Facebook, Twitter) integration in groupware for better communication and awareness: "The social media is a useful tool." [P9]. Triangulation of the findings from the focus groups with evidence from simulation demonstrated convergence and complementarity for several findings; however, there were also some surprising dissonant findings (see Tables 2,3).

Table 4 demonstrates the results of the participants' self-assessment regarding team work efficiency, groupware efficiency and the effects on their skills. Generally, teamwork seems to be benefited when there is awareness and communication on specific tasks. More work needs to be carried out so that the groupware is adopted by media professionals. Groupware poses benefits for CSCW processes as respondents rated above the average score in most of the cases. Groupware seems to be less effective on group scheduling and communication/negotiation processes in media organizations. On the other hand, group processes such as collaborative text editing/creation and presentation seem to be more benefited by groupware. Finally, respondents thought that groupware also poses benefits for individual and team work skills. Their work skills and team awareness seem to be more benefited according to the rating scale which indicated a positive feedback. The contribution to their business profile and the team's effectiveness follow with a higher score close to the average. It is worth noting that the collaboration skills are also above the average score. More specifically, a Pearson's analysis was also conducted in order to determine which factors influence the participants' perception about CSCW systems utility and improvement of their effectiveness. The collected data presenting the influence value of CSCW systems benefits in all the types of teamwork allow us to investigate the existence of correlations between various parameters of the study. Specifically, it was shown that the participants believe that the use of CSCW systems would benefit (a) the team's awareness ($r=0.640$, $p <0.002$), (b) work skills ($r=0.433$, $p<0.039$) and (c) their business profile ($r=0.433$, $p<0.039$). However, they are concerned about the CSCW benefits on (a) their collaborative skills and (b) the team's effectiveness. The above findings can be explained by the necessity for CSCW education at the early stages of informatics education (Sidiropoulos & Veglis, 2013).

Table 4. Merge Results

Themes	Qualitative Results	Quantitative Results
Teamwork efficiency	More work needs to be carried out so that the groupware is adopted by media professionals	Teamwork efficiency (Likert scale, 1-poor, 5 high): • Teamwork awareness (Mean 4,09) • Communication on a specific task (Mean 4,00) • Groupware is involved in teamwork (3,96)
Groupware efficieny	Respondents thought that groupware poses benefits for CSCW processes	CSCW processes (Likert scale, 1-poor, 5 high): • Communication/Negotiation (Mean 3,35) • Presentation (4,09) • Collaborative text editing/creation (4,09) • Collaborative scheduling (4,00) • Collaborative Task Management (4,04)
Effects of Groupware on their skills	Respondents thought that groupware poses more benefits for individual work skills and team awareness	Individual and team skills (Likert scale, 1-not influenced, 5-very influenced): • Individual work skills (Mean 3,95) • Individual collaboration skills (Mean 3,82) • Individual business profile (Mean 3,86) • Team awareness (Mean 3,95) • Team effectiveness (Mean 3,86)

The results both negate and support some of the initial research questions, concerning the effectiveness of groupware on media workflow, as it was stated. During the focus group meetings, participants often used the term *online technologies* (see Table 1). Cloud Computing (CC) and Mobile Cloud Computing (MCC) are considered key factors in the development and maintenance of effective groupware and teamwork. In this study, we were able to analyze the concept of *groupware* and identify the important components (see Figure 2) and elicit factors of enhancing/threatening each one. The development of information and communication technology is leading media experts (Journalists, IT experts, etc.) to transform themselves into broader knowledge creators rather than simple authors. The basic processes of information gathering, journalistic and literacy writing, editing, design and advertising have value in forms other than traditional publishing (Picard, 2002).

In this study, findings from the focus groups were corroborated by data from scenario-based simulation and questionnaires indicating that teamwork efficiency is likely associated with groupware but further research is also necessary into journalists and media professionals' interaction and technologies adoption. Groupware framework during news publishing is interesting because both teamwork and online technologies are important, but it should not get in the way of breaking news (immediacy). It is not surprising that experience was reported as a valuable asset in the focus groups improving both groupware and teamwork outcomes. The participants described how media organizations could enhance their workers' skills to reduce lack of experience. Equally, participants recalling their own experiences noted the difficult problem of multitasking and lack of time. In such situations, clear leadership and effective team communication were seen as particularly valuable. Directive leadership was associated with better awareness and decision making. One might argue that the proposed scenarios seem to be simplified. Nonetheless, this can be justified by the fact that they must be described and understood by the participants of the focus group. (More complicated scenarios are expected to be implemented in future extensions of this work).

The means of inculcating positive teamwork and groupware attributes might not be immediately evident or straightforward. Mobile Groupware for instance, has been specifically developed to benefit teams in using teamwork skills but has not shown yet any extra benefit over news publishing, perhaps because mobile groupware was originally developed for informatics rather than for journalism. Although lessons regarding groupware from other scientific areas are undeniably useful, improvement in outcomes of groupware in journalism might require customized training based on evidence from experiences of real-life news publishing. It is possible that the improvement of groupware requires approaches that are oriented in journalism practices. Finally, more effective groupware would have to address different work styles and needs, using several different teamwork methods rather than a one-size-fits-all approach. It might also have to address other technological aspects, often ignored, such as the social media (i.e. twitter) or multimedia editing and analysis (i.e. speech recognition technologies/annotated content).

6. Conclusions and Future Work

The main goal of the study was to identify strengths and weaknesses of the design and implementation of CSCW systems simulating a media work environment. Specifically, we tried to investigate whether CSCW systems facilitate or impede journalists' practices around their work and information flow and gather suggestions for improving them. We elaborated scenarios that describe possible types of collaborative work in an editorial department towards a cloud-oriented model for media organizations. For doing this, two fundamental fields were examined, 1) the Computer Supported Collaboration Work from the perspective of a media work environment, and 2) the Cloud Computing technology as groupware through SaaS model. To contextualize the scenarios, we focused on the organizational structure of a newspaper's editorial department and its daily activities. Furthermore, we complemented the analysis with information based on the collaborative work routines that could be computer supported. Besides the crucial role of the technological parameters used in this study, too many sociological variables also exist — hence the methodology is based on the hierarchical organization of an editorial department. The potential effectiveness of these scenarios is related with the workers' volition for collaboration and awareness.

The novelty of the present study relies on the fact that it is the first one to describe the perspective of groupware in relation to media organization workflow. It includes a media and communication experienced diverse sample. Respondents were asked about a variety of work practices. A further strength is that the study includes responses from journalists/media professionals as well as participants who are also chief editors or area head officers. The analysis was rigorous and involved multiple researchers to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings. A possible limitation could be that the findings represent opinions based on recounted experience rather than direct observation. Due to the nature of the survey there was a lack of probing questions for the examples that participants provided by their experiences. Experiences are inherently subjective and may not fully reflect actual events or practice. However, we could triangulate the findings with observations from simulated cases in media practices (Bristowe et al., 2012). The use of mixed methods by multiprofessional researchers does not necessarily guarantee the validity of conclusions because the same biases might affect all the data sets (O'Cathain et al., 2010), but the similar composition of groups in the two studies (focus groups —questionnaires) made comparisons easier and relevant. Further study is required for all the findings using data sets from observed real-life journalistic practices.

In conclusion, the need to improve our understanding of groupware in journalism practice has been recognized, not least because of the risk of "technology illiteracy", unemployment and isolation. Simply importing training techniques from non-journalistic disciplines has not resulted in improved news publishing. In this study of interprofessional focus groups, we identified some weaknesses of effective groupware, as perceived by media staff, while forming identifiable elements suitable for educational training programs. Further research should address issues described in this study and ideally obtain evidence from the direct observation of real-life news publishing, to improve teamwork with better groupware training.

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Notes

Note 1. Code: A descriptive or conceptual label that is assigned to excerpts of raw data in a process called 'coding'.

Note 2. Themes: Interpretive concepts or propositions that describe or explain aspects of the data, which are the final output of the analysis of the whole dataset.

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Advancing the New Communications Framework for HIV/AIDS: The Communicative Constitution of HIV/AIDS Networks in Tanzania's HIV/AIDS NGO Sector

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Abstract

Although health communication research on HIV/AIDS has acknowledged the work of HIV/AIDS non-governmental organizations (NGOs), we know little about how such NGOs are collaborating in their response to the epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). UNAIDS estimated that over two-thirds of world-wide HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths take place in SSA and normative models have highlighted organizational collaborations as an important part of the response to public health risks and crises. This study advanced the New Communications Framework for HIV/AIDS by drawing on a constitutive model of communication to develop a discursive perspective on HIV/AIDS NGO collaborations. Analyses of interviews with 36 leaders of Tanzanian HIV/AIDS NGOs resulted in (a) networks of organizations of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) and (b) networks expressing the following identities: as single entities that unify PLWHA organizations in/across administrative divisions, as structures for reaching grassroots PLWHA and facilitating their participation in decision-making forums at various scales, and as vehicles for various social impacts such as advocacy for PLWHA.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS, non-governmental organizations, organizational identity, organizational networks

1. Introduction

Health communication studies of HIV/AIDS have highlighted the important roles of public health organizations (Airhihenbuwa, Makinwa, & Obregon, 2000). Although hospitals emphasize curing and treatment, public health organizations originate from different sectors of society (e.g., for-profit, government, and non-profit) and instead emphasize advocacy and education (Zoller, 2010). Those from the non-profit sector are often engaged in community organizing defined by Dearing (2003) as "community empowerment through grassroots initiation and activity" (p. 208) that stimulates members to "improve certain conditions experienced in a community" (p. 208).

Community-based non-profits with a focus on HIV/AIDS are constituted by staff and volunteers from local communities that are affected or infected (DeJong & Mortagy, 2013). These organizations are locally-owned, they operate at the grassroots (Cooper & Shumate, 2012), and they provide services such as care and support for marginalized, poor, and vulnerable populations (e.g., Kiley & Hovorka, 2006; Svenkerud & Singhal, 1998).

The New Communications Framework for HIV/AIDS (NCF) is a resource for HIV/AIDS prevention in sub-Saharan Africa that draws attention to HIV/AIDS non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Airhihenbuwa et al., 2000; Diop, 2000). In response to concerns about the ability of individual-level health communication models/theories to stem the tide of the epidemic in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America (see Airhihenbuwa & Obregon, 2000), Airhihenbuwa et al. (2000) argued for a shift in emphasis from individual behaviors to ecological contexts[1]. In one context, they highlighted HIV/AIDS NGO collaborations.

Despite drawing attention to NGO collaborations, the NCF did not provide a discursive perspective on these

[1]Airhihenbuwa et al. (2000) pointed to the five ecological contexts of critical issues facilitated by governments, culture, gender relations, socio-economic status, and spirituality. These ecological contexts resonate with the broader cultural, national, and historical-level concerns that Craig (1999) associated with the critical and socio-cultural traditions of communication theory.

collaborations. This study developed a discursive model of collaboration and drew on it to study HIV/AIDS NGO collaborations in Tanzania. Tanzania is an east-African nation that has a 5.3% adult HIV/AIDS prevalence rate that is ranked 12th highest in the world ("United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS," 2015). Through interviews with 36 leaders of 34 local HIV/AIDS NGOs in Tanzania, the study provides insight into the communicative constitution of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) organizational networks in the HIV/AIDS NGO sector. In the sections that follow, the NCF is presented, it is used to organize the literature on HIV/AIDS NGOs, and a discursive perspective on NGO collaborations is provided through a constitutive model of communication.

2. The New Communications Framework for HIV/AIDS

The NCF introduced the ecological contexts of government and policy, culture, socio-economic status (SES), gender, and spirituality. The context of government and policy pointed to supportive climates for collaborations by NGOs and regional organizations. The culture context highlighted the ideology of culture as a generator of health (and not only a barrier) and cultural differences such as collectivism. The SES context introduced the considerations of affordability, allocation, and distribution of health resources. The gender context pointed to the conditions and practices that make women vulnerable to HIV and advocated for gender equity and the foregrounding of gender in HIV programs. The spirituality context emphasized the link between spirituality and health and pointed to the importance of religious leaders and traditional healers (Airhihenbuwa et al., 2000). Health communication research on HIV/AIDS has taken up some of these considerations (e.g., Bekalu & Eggermont, 2014; Uwah, 2014). For example, studies have considered cultural contexts (e.g., Basu & Dutta, 2009), economic contexts (e.g., Dasgupta, 2013), gender relations (Dako-Gyeke, 2013), and spirituality (e.g., Muturi, 2011).

The NCF's context of government and policy highlighted collaboration by community organizations, NGOs, and regional organizations. In a supplement of the *Journal of Health Communication*, Airhihenbuwa et al. (2000) considered HIV/AIDS NGO collaborations at different scales (i.e., local, regional, global) when they wrote "An important role of government is fostering interregional and intraregional collaboration in HIV/AIDS programs such as sharing lessons learned within and between regions and facilitating cross-border interventions" (p. 105). The supplement also provided the successes of Senegal, Thailand, and Uganda (Airhihenbuwa et al., 2000; Diop, 2000). For example, Diop (2000) attributed Uganda's success to "formation of networks of organizations that help with coping mechanisms for the disease" (p. 117).

Several studies have taken up the NCF's focus on global South HIV/AIDS NGOs' collaborations at different scales. Studies have emphasized collaborations taking place in the same global South nation (de Souza, 2009; Garcia & Parker, 2011; Kiwanuka-Tondo, Albada, Waters, Jameson, & Hamilton, 2011). For example, Kiley and Hovorka (2006) studied HIV/AIDS NGOs in Botswanna. They found the NGOs marginalized, suffering from challenges to collaboration (e.g., travel distance), lacking resources, being over- or under-represented relative to populations, and lacking attention to socio-cultural issues such as stigma and gender.

A few studies have pointed to global South HIV/AIDS NGOs' regional collaborations (e.g., Cooper & Shumate, 2012). An example comes from Murray, Garcia, Munoz-Laboy, and Parker (2011) who sought to understand a partnership between the Catholic Church and the Brazilian Ministry of Health. They found that a series of meetings, starting in 1999, led to the creation of the AIDS Pastoral, a regional Latin-American network for HIV/AIDS care and prevention that combined both biomedical and spiritual approaches.

Several studies have also examined global South HIV/AIDS NGOs' global collaborations (e.g., Desouza & Dutta, 2008; Murphy, 2013; Shumate & Dewitt, 2008). For instance, drawing on an historical study of relationships among Tanzania's faith-based health sector, Tanzania's government, and global north international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), Jennings (2015) argued that Tanzania inherited from the colonial era a vulnerable and insufficiently-funded health system (based on partnerships between the government and the faith-based health sector). To fund services, this health sector partnered with global North INGOs, which, according to Jennings, exacerbated the functioning of the health system because it undermined accountability to Tanzanians.

As a resource for HIV/AIDS prevention in sub-Saharan Africa, the NCF highlighted HIV/AIDS NGO collaborations at different scales. To develop a discursive perspective on these collaborations, the study next turns to the organizational communication literature.

2.1 Inter-Organizational Collaboration

Inter-organizational collaboration (IOC) is defined as "(1) cooperation, coordination, and exchange of resources (e.g., people, funding, information, ideas), and (2) mutual respect for individual and/or joint goals" (Lewis, Isbell, & Koschmann, 2010, p. 462).

2.1.1 IOC Collaborative Arrangements

IOC can be classified as a social collective or an informal process (Guo & Acar, 2005; Kwait, Valente, & Celentano, 2001). IOC as a social collective refers to a single entity with close-knit administrative or systems-level relationships that are often long-term and involve administrative commitments that decrease the autonomy of individual organizations. An example is the Canadian Treatment Advocate Council (CTAC), which included pharmaceutical companies, organizations of PLWHA, and HIV/AIDS service organizations (Hardy, Lawrence, & Phillips, 2006). IOC-as-social-collective includes forms such as alliances, consortia, and networks.

IOC as informal process, on the other hand, can be defined as service-oriented, loose-knit, and temporary. It minimally impacts each organization's autonomy and includes processes such as client referrals and the reciprocal exchange of informational and/or material resources (e.g., Werber, Derose, Dominguez, & Mata, 2012). For example, in a study of collaboration among 30 HIV/AIDS service agencies in Baltimore, Maryland, Kwait et al. (2001) found informal IOC processes such as information exchange and client referrals having greater densities than the collective IOC forms of written agreements and joint-program linkages.

Different benefits accrue to the collaborative arrangements. Social collectives are associated with multiple-party benefits (Lees, Kielmann, Cataldo, & Gitau-Mburu, 2012), political influence (Hardy et al., 2006), and obtaining funding from third parties (Kwait et al., 2001; Takahashi & Smutny, 2001). Informal IOC is associated with swift responses to clients (Kwait et al., 2001) and the mutual exchange of resources (Werber et al., 2012).

This study focused on IOC-as-social-collectives. Stated differently, the study focused on the collaborative forms that involve HIV/AIDS NGOs. In developing a discursive perspective on these forms, the study next reviews three different research traditions of IOC.

2.1.2 IOC Research Traditions

Three traditions in organizational communication are the network, critical, and discourse traditions. Studies from the network tradition draw primarily on surveys and network analysis to test the collaborative linkages in a field of organizations for particular forms and patterns (e.g., Khosla, Marsteller, Hsu, & Elliott, 2016; Shumate, Fulk, & Monge, 2005; M. Taylor & Doerfel, 2003). For example, Atouba and Shumate (2010) drew on network analysis to explain the network structure and networking predictors among 108 international organizations. They found several factors explaining the likelihood of collaboration (e.g., reciprocal ties, similarity in type of organization, similarity in funding sources).

Studies from the critical tradition, sensitive to power relations among organizations and communities, draw on methods such as ethnographies and case studies to interrogate processes and consequences of collaborating such as (a) (dis)empowering marginalized communities and/or (b) achieving and/or undermining democratic ideals among collaborators (e.g., Contu & Girei, 2014; Dempsey, 2010; Norander & Harter, 2012). For example, Murphy's (2013) ethnography of collaboration between a US-based university and a Kenyan NGO focused on HIV/AIDS education found the partnership sustaining and shifting post-colonial power relations.

Studies from the discourse tradition draw on case studies to capture participants' lived experiences of collaborating that highlight dynamics of discourse and language use such as participants' coping with the tensions of collaborating (e.g., Barbour & James, 2015; Cooren, Brummans, & Charrieras, 2008; Koschmann, 2013, 2016). For example, Maguire and Hardy (2005) conducted a case study of a Canadian HIV/AIDS multi-sector collaboration comprised of various NGOs and pharmaceutical companies. They found individuals using various strategies to manage tension between identifying with their home organization and identifying with the multi-sector collaboration (e.g., disidentification from home organization).

Of the three research traditions, the IOC discourse tradition goes the furthest in providing a discursive perspective on collaborative forms. This tradition draws on several ideas from the Montreal School's communication-as-constitutive-of-organization (CCO) perspective. The paper next summarizes several of the Montreal School's ideas and adapts them to this study.

2.2 The Montreal School's CCO Perspective

In a review of the organizational communication literature, Smith (1993) forwarded three root metaphors of the organization—communication relationship: communication conceived as taking place within an organization (the container metaphor), communication regarded as producing the organization and/or the organization producing communication (the production metaphor), and communication and organization as "variant expressions for the same reality" (the equivalence metaphor; J. R. Taylor, Cooren, Giroux, & Robichaud, 1996 p. 28). Both the container and the production metaphors conceive of organizations as entities that can be separated from communication, and, in most instances, reify them and assume their primacy over communication. The equivalence metaphor, on the other hand, suggests mutual constitution and a communicational worldview whereby organizations can be thought of as emerging and existing in communication (Ashcraft, Kuhn, & Cooren, 2009). In their review of the organizational discourse literature, Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) similarly found what they referred to as a grounded in action orientation where "the organization never assumes the form of an identifiable entity because it is anchored at the level of social practice and discursive forms" (p. 16).

The Montreal School's CCO perspective resonates with Smith's (1993) equivalence metaphor and Fairhurst and Putnam's (2004) grounded in action orientation (J. R. Taylor & Van Every, 2000). The fundamental unit is neither a reified organization nor collective but discourse and social interaction. Entities (or actants) with variable ontologies such as humans, objects, and organizations participate in discourse and social interaction. Actants participate neither as humans nor non-humans but as hybrid associations between humans and non-humans (for example, the organization-as-actant can speak because of its hybrid associations with policy documents and spokespersons). Due to these associations, both human and non-human actants are endowed with agency, defined as the "ability to make a difference" (e.g., Brummans, Cooren, Robichaud, & Taylor, 2014; Cooren, 2006; Fairhurst & Cooren, 2009; J. R. Taylor, 1999).

The Montreal School's CCO perspective finds expression in the dialectic of conversation and text that animates social interaction (e.g., J. R. Taylor et al., 1996). Conversations refer to talk and interactions that take place in time and space. Talk has the capacity to express as well as produce reality (J. R. Taylor & Cooren, 1997). Hence, conversation is regarded as the site for the creation of organizations. Social interaction is simultaneously animated by texts. Texts transcend time and space and have more enduring qualities than conversations. Texts, such as documents and logos, are the surfaces upon which the trans-local aspects of a social collective can be read.

Through hybrid associations, a trans-local text, such as an organization can act, speak, and be invoked in social interaction (e.g., J. R. Taylor & Cooren, 1997). In specific, a social collective can speak through human (macroactors such as leaders and spokespersons) and non-human agents (Cooren et al., 2008; Fairhurst & Cooren, 2009). Leaders and spokespersons endowed with authority by a collective can incarnate (or embody) the collective and, as such, animate, in social interaction, its trans-local qualities such as identity and image (see Cooren et al., 2008). One textual focus of the Montreal School has been the communicative constitution of a social collective's *identity* (e.g., Cooren et al., 2008; J. R. Taylor & Cooren, 1997). For example, J. R. Taylor (1999) wrote "The text is the carrier of the organizational intention and identity, individuals' actions and interaction its instrument" (p. 48).

2.2.1 A CCO Perspective on Non-profits

The Montreal School's perspective has been adapted to non-profit organizations (NPOs; e.g., Dempsey, 2012). Koschmann (2012) called for emphases on the communicative constitution of NPOs *and* the NPO *sector*. He advocated specifically for the development of a Montreal School CCO perspective when he wrote, "we could begin articulating a communicative theory of the nonprofit sector or nonprofit organizations based on the Montreal School ideas of text-conversation dialectics" (p. 143-144).

A discursive foundation for collaborative forms in the NPO sector lies in the hybridity between such forms and the human and non-human agents that it appropriates and/or that speak on its behalf. Through such appropriations/incarnations, collaborative forms can participate in social interactions. They become agents that can express their identities, intentions, and objectives.

2.3 Rationale and Research Questions

Although health communication studies of HIV/AIDS have acknowledged the roles of HIV/AIDS NGOs (e.g., Muturi, 2008), we know less about how these organizations are collaborating in response to the epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa. Drawing on the NCF's focus on the collaborations of HIV/AIDS NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa, a discursive perspective on such collaborations, and Koschmann's (2012) call for a focus on the communicative constitution of the NGO sector, the study posed the following research questions of collaborative forms in Tanzania's HIV/AIDS NGO sector.

> RQ1: Which collaborative forms are present in the discourse of macroactors (i.e., leaders/spokespersons) for local HIV/AIDS NGOs in Tanzania?
>
> RQ2: What texts (i.e., identities) of the collaborative forms in Tanzania's HIV/AIDS NGO sector are being made present in the discourse of macroactors?

3. Method

3.1 Context

Tanzania is a nation of 51 million that has 1.5 million people living with HIV/AIDS ("Central Intelligence Agency," 2015; "United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS," 2015).

3.2 Procedures

The first author initiated this field study in Tanzania.[2] Similar to previous research (e.g., Bastien, 2009), the study received authorization from Tanzania's Commission for Science and Technology and the Institutional Review Board of the authors' university.

The first author recruited macroactors for HIV/AIDS NGOs in Dar es Salaam, a city of 5 million that is the most populated in Tanzania ("Central Intelligence Agency," 2015). It has an adult HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of 7% (31% for female commercial sex workers, 22% for men who have sex with men, and 16% for intravenous drug users) ("Results from the 2011-12 Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey: HIV Fact Sheet by Region," 2015). Recruiting took place through site visits to NGOs, phone calls, SMS text messages, e-mails, and snowball sampling. Interested participants scheduled interviews to take place in NGO offices. The first author began the interviews with participants completing informed consent forms and a demographics questionnaire[3]. The first author conducted semi-structured interviews in English[4] while audio-recording and taking notes. Upon completion, the first author compensated each participant $15 in TZ shillings for their time[5] and asked for their contacts of macroactors for Tanzanian HIV/AIDS NGOs. The first author collected NGO documents when available in English.

The first author completed 17 interviews in Tanzania over three months. While there, the first author was enrolled in a short course in Swahili and visited places such as Arusha, Bagamoyo, and Kigoma. To reach saturation, the first author later conducted 19 additional audio-recorded interviews through Skype from the US. The 36 total interviews averaged 52.69 minutes (ranging from 26.75 to 77.52). To enhance credibility, a professional transcriptionist of east African descent who comfortably understood participants' accents was employed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Through several iterations, the transcripts were also improved for accuracy by a team of graduate students, resulting in approximately 500 single-spaced pages.

3.3 Participants

All 36 participants were native Tanzanians who represented 34 NGOs. Except for two participants who were interviewed from one NGO and another two from a different NGO, each participant represented one NGO. They held titles such as "Chief Executive Officer" and "Head of HIV Department." Fifteen were female and 21 were male. They averaged 40.47 years of age (ranging from 23 to 62). Eleven had Bachelor's degrees, 10 had the equivalent of a high school education, seven had Master's degrees, seven indicated "other," and one did not indicate an educational level. They averaged 7.83 years with their current NGO (ranging from 1 to 23).

HIV/AIDS NGOs. Participants' NGOs differed in several ways. On average, they had been in existence for 10.34 years (ranging from 1 to 25). Fourteen indicated their NGOs were community-based and 22 indicated their NGOs were national. The NGOs averaged 15.68 full-time employees (ranging from 0 to 200) and 38.09 volunteers (ranging from 0 to 275).

3.4 Data Analysis

The study drew on a collaborative constant comparative method (CCCM), which harnesses the collaborative and independent efforts of a group of coders to generate themes[6]. The study's credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was

[2]The authors' university had pre-existing linkages with people and organizations in Tanzania (e.g., study abroad opportunities for undergraduate students).

[3]The demographics questionnaire contained variables such as age, education, and gender.

[4]Sample questions included: "Please share with me a profile of your NGO," "Please describe the HIV/AIDS work of your NGO," "How do you define interorganizational collaboration," "Please share your NGO's experiences collaborating with organizations in Tanzania."

[5]The study recruited NGO leaders, most of whom maintain quite busy schedules. Because interviews were conducted during work hours, participants were offered payment to compensate them for their time. Furthermore, because participants were well-qualified, knowledgeable professionals and the $15 compensation can be considered moderate, this amount is unlikely to affect the reliability of the data

[6]This study is based on communicational and co-constructive meta-theoretical perspectives. The communicational perspective is grounded on the notion that human and non-human agents can speak from distances. Trans-local texts such as organizational entities or social collectives can communicate and present themselves in situated contexts of discourse and social interaction through their hybrid associations with macroactors who have the authority to speak on behalf of organizations and social collectives. The co-constructive perspective draws on the idea that the presentification of a text is partly based on the subjectivity of those to whom the text is presenting itself. Since these

further enhanced because one of the coders who was fluent in Swahili interpreted participants' uses of Swahili phrases. The CCCM involved identifying units, open coding, and axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2015)[7]. Units are the most basic pieces of data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). The study relied on units of meaning or semantic relationships (Spradley, 1979) because they can be specified in direct relevance to research questions, they are not limited to a standard size, and they encourage analysts to probe latent content (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For RQ1, based on X as an explicit or implicit unit, the team searched the first five transcripts for "participant understands IOC as X" and "participant's experience reflects an understanding of IOC as X."

The CCCM also consists of open coding. This involves labeling units and constant comparison among units (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). After open coding the first five interviews, the team developed a preliminary coding scheme (PCS) designed to assist the independent coding of team members by facilitating the recording of (a) coding decisions among an array of emergent themes and (b) coding decisions that did not fit with emergent themes.

The team collaboratively used the PCS to code five more interview transcripts. After coding decisions were collaboratively made, they were recorded on the PCS. The team observed the practice of coding a unit into different themes when deemed appropriate (Glaser, 1978).

After collaboratively coding ten interview transcripts, the team transitioned to independent coding where the remaining transcripts were divided among three coders. The PCS was stored as a shared electronic worksheet that allowed the three coders to asynchronously record their coding decisions. Coders agreed on conceptual saturation for RQ1 at the 26^{th} transcript (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). To enhance confirmability of emergent themes, coders searched the remaining transcripts for further support of these themes before transitioning to axial coding.

Axial coding identifies broader relationships among themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The coders discussed different possible relationships among themes and labels for emergent categories. This process continued until a structure (of categories and sub-categories) emerged. Although two categories emerged, the study presents only the "HIV/AIDS NGO networks" category because it makes a stronger contribution to knowledge.

After axial coding for RQ1, the team turned to RQ2. Data to address RQ2 were constituent units of the "HIV/AIDS NGO networks" category from RQ1 and six interviews with macroactors for networks of PLWHA organizations[8]. Beginning with units of "X as an identity marker of networks of PLWHA organizations," the team performed the CCCM on leader discourse on networks of PLWHA organizations.

4. Findings

4.1 HIV/AIDS NGO Networks

For RQ1, the study found the collaborative form of HIV/AIDS NGO networks. The following sections distinguish between HIV/AIDS service networks and PLWHA networks and further distinguish local PLWHA networks (within Tanzania) from regional (spanning neighboring countries) and global PLWHA networks.

Local NGO Networks. Local networks spanned geographical areas of Tanzania. Although macroactors for local networks mainly represented networks of PLWHA organizations, in some instances they represented and/or spoke of HIV/AIDS service networks.

Unlike networks of PLWHA organizations, HIV/AIDS service networks were not primarily composed of PLWHA. Instead they consisted of organizations that provided various HIV/AIDS-related services. Yet both types of networks were similar in their advocacy-related function. The following participant offered an example.

> We formed a network of organizations that were working with HIV/AIDS. We called it Tanzania HIV Collaborative[9]. We were the pioneers, we developed the concept, we facilitated the first meetings, we did constitution, we registered, and we were the first chair, first secretariat, hosting them here. We put pressure on the government on what we wanted

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audiences are drawing on subjective experience and knowledge to identify, read, and understand texts, they are, in a sense, active participants in constructing the text. Texts can thus be considered co-constructions among analysts, audiences, and authors (Cooren et al., 2008; J. R. Taylor, 1999; J. R. Taylor & Cooren, 1997).

[7]By excluding the last step of grounded theory (selective coding; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), the steps of the CCCM can be informed by, or draw guidance from, a pre-existing theory and/or a set of sensitizing concepts.

[8]Although the sample contained six macroactors for networks of PLWHA organizations, approximately 18 of the study's participants spoke about HIV/AIDS NGO networks, consisting of either PLWHA organizations or HIV/AIDS service organizations.

[9]This is a pseudonym for the network.

to be done with HIV/AIDS (male executive director).

This participant described the formation of a network of organizations (i.e., initial meetings, constitution, registration) that was never identified as a PLWHA network. This network, initially led by his NGO, sought to pressure the government of Tanzania with its HIV/AIDS-related demands.

In addition to HIV/AIDS service networks, participants spoke mostly of networks of PLWHA organizations. In most cases, the network's name disclosed the HIV-positive status of its members. Macroactors saw these networks as beneficial for greater involvement of PLWHA in decision-making forums, for mitigating HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination in Tanzania, and for obtaining funds for HIV/AIDS programs. The following macroactor spoke of these networks as mechanisms for involving PLWHA in decision- and policy-making forums:

> For greater involvement of PLWHA, you must have a mechanism that can link with the decision makers at the national level. Without that, you can't sit together. So, it helps us communicate, advocate, and to sit together with the decision makers and policy makers (male executive chairperson).

In addition to networks in Tanzania, macroactors also spoke of regional and global PLWHA networks.

Regional and Global PLWHA Networks. The following macroactor spoke of his NGO as one of the founding members of a regional east-African network of PLWHA organizations.

> I was the one who collaborated with Kenya, Uganda in the early 1990s to have a big network implemented in the HIV/AIDS area. We started as three countries: Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. After six years, I was a board member representing PLWHA organizations in that network. East African AIDS Network. After that, we expanded to 13 countries including Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan. We expanded and now we are a big network in the region (male executive director).

This regional network, initially consisting of PLWHA organizations in the east-African countries of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, later expanded to include 13 countries in east Africa. Another macroactor for a national network of PLWHA organizations went beyond the east-African network to identifying other regional networks of PLWHA[10]:

> I: Ok. Thank you. Now is it easier to collaborate globally by being a national network?
>
> P: No, you can't collaborate globally like that. That's why we have a regional network that's based in Kenya that comprises national networks of 15 countries of the eastern Africa region. Yes. Different countries, 18 countries of the eastern Africa region.
>
> I: Ok.
>
> P: From that, also there is a regional network in South African countries. And there is the regional network for Indian Ocean countries (male executive chairperson).

In this macroactor's discourse, he identified the regional-level PLWHA networks of east Africa, south Africa, and Indian-ocean countries. In addition to regional networks, he also spoke of global PLWHA networks, "So from there, from the African continent we are linking to the global network of people living with HIV/AIDS based in Netherlands" (male executive chairperson). Similarly, another macroactor for a national network broached the global network, "We also collaborate with other international organizations that are outside the country. For instance, now, the global network of PLWHA. They are based in the Netherlands but they have their regional office in South Africa" (male chief executive officer). Although macroactors spoke of collaboration among the PLWHA networks within and across scales, there was no evidence to suggest these networks were organized in parent-subsidiary relationships. Rather, macroactors mostly spoke of the networks as independent of each other. For RQ1, participants spoke about HIV/AIDS NGO networks. They reported on both HIV/AIDS service networks and PLWHA networks. Further, they described the PLWHA networks as local, regional, or global in scale.

4.2 The Identities of Networks of PLWHA Organizations

RQ2, which queried the identities of PLWHA networks, resulted in three findings: networks as single entities that unify PLWHA organizations in/across administrative divisions of Tanzania, networks as structures for reaching grassroots PLWHA and facilitating their participation in decision making at various scales (e.g., national), and networks as vehicles for various social impacts.

4.2.1 Single Entities that Unify PLWHA Organizations In/Across Administrative Divisions

The networks presented themselves as single identities that were similar to and different from networks of PLWHA organizations. They were similar as single entities constituted by numerous PLWHA organizations and as unifying

[10] "I" is a transcript notation that refers to "interviewer." "P" refers to "participant."

mechanisms for these organizations. For example, a male chief executive officer spoke of his network as being constituted by PLWHA, "They are people living with HIV/AIDS. But since they are PLWHA, they are part of the network." The following interview with a male executive chairperson further revealed his network's constitution by PLWHA organizations:

I: Ok. I see. So, your organization is really composed of many different organizations.

P: Yes. Many different organizations, non-governmental organizations.

I: Are these HIV/AIDS non-governmental organizations?

P: These are organizations of people living with HIV/AIDS.

The networks were also similar as entities that unify PLWHA organizations. An example came from a male general secretary who said, "We come together, our voices become one and we develop strategies. Because when you work as a team or as a network, you find that most of the problems facing people with HIV/AIDS are the same." Several macroactors also pointed to the nature of the network organization's registration, which recognized it as a single entity. An example came from a male project coordinator who described a network as follows, "But it's like a network of organizations in the region. Within that network, there are several organizations working together. It is registered as an organization, a network of organizations."

In addition to similarities, the networks also presented themselves as single entities that differ from one another in their members' identities (e.g., age, gender) and in their geographical spread. For example, a male executive chairperson gave the following examples of the identity composition of PLWHA networks, "youth networks, people with disability living with HIV/AIDS, HIV/AIDS widows networks." A female executive chairperson described the identity of her network members as follows, "we have got women groups and other district organizations of women living with HIV."

The networks also differed in their geographical jurisdiction. Some operated within a district (or community). Dar es Salaam, for example, is divided into districts such as Ilala, Kinondoni, and Temeke. A male general secretary described his network as "Based on a district. The number of members from this organization are around 50 organizations." In contrast, others operated across districts. For example, the following macroactor represented such a network, "We are a network of [PLWHA]. It is a coalition of three district networks. One is for Kinondoni district, the other one is Temeke and one is Ilala" (male program coordinator). In contrast to district-based networks, macroactors, such as the following one, spoke on behalf of national-level networks, "This is a national network of people living with HIV. By saying national I mean our coverage and scope covers the whole country" (male chief executive officer). Macroactors presented networks as single entities that were similar and different. They were similar in their constitution by several PLWHA organizations and as unifying mechanisms and they differed in their members' identities and in their geographical jurisdiction.

4.2.2 Structures for Reaching and Involving Grassroots PLWHA

In addition to presenting an identity as single entities that had similarities and differences, the networks also presented an identity as structures for reaching the grassroots and facilitating the participation of PLWHA. On one hand, macroactors presented their networks as embedding several *grassroots networks*. For example, a male executive chairperson of a national network said, "our organization is a national network with 76 district networks around the country. We have 76 networks at the district level." By characterizing the networks as "district networks," the macroactor is emphasizing the national network's roots in local communities. On the other hand, macroactors presented networks as embedding several *grassroots organizations*. Macroactors repeatedly used terms such as "small" or "community" to characterize the grassroots orientation of constituent organizations. For example, the male program coordinator for a three-district network presented one network as follows, "Kinondoni alone has 42 small NGOs which are members of this network." The macroactor went on describe his three-district network, "In total, members of the three networks will be about 60 -80 community-based organizations."

In addition to reaching the grassroots, macroactors presented the networks as enhancing the participation of PLWHA at the grassroots and at scales beyond the grassroots. A male program coordinator for a three-district network spoke of how his network improved the involvement of PLWHA in a community, "with any intervention being done in the municipal [or district], we are consulted and we give our consent or we participate. So, in everything relating to HIV done by any council or government, we participate. In the past, that was a dream." A male executive chairperson for a national network also spoke of enhancing PLWHA participation, "When you see the other side of greater involvement of people living with HIV/AIDS, you must have a mechanism that can link with the decision maker at the national level." This macroactor then went on to indicate the various scales at which his national network enhanced the participation of PLWHA, "At all levels from the district level up to the national."

4.2.3 Vehicles for Social Impacts

In addition to the network identity as structures for reaching the grassroots and facilitating the involvement of PLWHA, macroactors presented a network identity as pursuing several objectives. They spoke of networks as vehicles for advocacy for PLWHA, as vehicles for the care and treatment of PLWHA, and as vehicles for educating community members. Several spoke of their advocacy mission. For example, a male coordinator of research said, “Networks can join together so they can raise up their voices so that they can become strong and maybe to be heard, their voices to be heard with those people in power.” A male chief executive officer spoke of the historical conditions out of which his network emerged, “There was no strong coordinating body that could bring them [PLWHA] together, or to create a forum for PLWHA to voice their rights, to voice their needs, and to influence policies, programs, and services.” He then described his network’s mission, “[This network] was formed to be a national forum that can create a space and raise a voice of PLWHA.” Macroactors also gave examples of their advocacy work. For example, a male general secretary for a district network spoke of intervening at a school where HIV-positive children were being identified with red ribbons:

> We went to that school and talked to the teachers. We told them that this is not fair and this was a form of discrimination. This is a stigma in our country and we don’t want this. This is illegal. So, we managed to solve that from there and they stopped it.

Similarly, a male chief executive officer also described his national network’s intervention against the discrimination of HIV-positive children in schools. His description, though, pointed to his network’s focus on changing discriminatory policies through collective action.

> In the past, we actually wanted to influence some policies especially the policy that was discriminating school children who were living with HIV/AIDS. Because they were being labeled. We intervened and had some supporters from other organizations. The government also offered advice on those issues. If we were just alone, we would not have gone very far.

In another example, a male executive chairperson of a national network spoke of his network’s confrontation with a pharmaceutical corporation based in Kenya, “We have been advocating in Kenya to reduce the price of the drugs. In the end, we find that we win that and the cost of the drug was dropped and now people are issuing the drugs in our country.”

In addition to advocacy, macroactors presented networks as vehicles for the care and treatment of PLWHA. For example, a male executive chairperson of a national network said, “We are caring for people who are bed-ridden. That means home-based care. And in treatment, we are providing training for treatment adherence and treatment preparedness.” Several described missions focused on vulnerable populations affected by HIV/AIDS. For example, an executive director of a national network spoke of a focus on rural populations, “We are using our organization to help people who are living in villages outside of Dar es Salaam. We call remote areas.” This macroactor later described his network’s operations to link organizations based outside Tanzania with rural PLWHA, “They collaborate with us to know more about HIV positive people living in the village. We take them to the communities to look at them and where the people live.”

In addition to care and treatment of PLWHA, macroactors also described the network objective of educating community members. A male executive director of a national network described some of his network’s activities as follows, “visiting of home patients to educate the patients with the family. There is education for community, sensitization of the community to know what HIV/AIDS is.” Similarly, a male general secretary contributed, “We used to talk with the colleges, teachers, just to share experiences. We just educate them and share our knowledge.” For RQ2, the study found PLWHA networks as single entities that unify PLWHA organizations within and across administrative divisions of Tanzania, as structures for reaching grassroots PLWHA and enhancing their participation at various scales, and as vehicles for a variety of social impacts (e.g., advocacy for PLWHA).

5. Discussion

For RQ1, the study finds macroactors speaking for and about HIV/AIDS NGO networks. Although they spoke for HIV/AIDS service networks, they dominantly spoke for networks of PLWHA organizations. Moreover, they characterized these PLWHA networks as operating at local, regional, and global scales. For RQ2, the study finds PLWHA networks presenting several identities (i.e., as single entities that unify PLWHA organizations; as structures for reaching grassroots PLWHA and facilitating their participation at various scales; and as vehicles for the advocacy and care/treatment of PLWHA and the education of community members).

Some of the study’s findings are consistent with those of previous research. First, the study finds HIV/AIDS NGOs participating in networks. Diop (2000), in his treatise on Senegal’s and Uganda’s successful confrontations with the HIV/AIDS epidemic, identified the presence of networks of organizations. Whereas Diop offered little in the way of detail about these networks, this study's findings begin to help us understand the constitution, functions, types, and variations of these networks. Second, this study's participants spoke of HIV/AIDS service networks. Previous research in the global North has also focused on these networks (e.g., Khosla et al., 2016; Kwait et al., 2001). Yet, this study's participants introduced an advocacy function for such networks that is not usually emphasized in the literature. Third, the study finds an identity of PLWHA networks grounded in facilitating the participation of grassroots PLWHA in decision-making forums at various scales. Desouza and Dutta (2008), in their examination of messages exchanged in the e-forum of an Indian HIV/AIDS NGO, also found messages (a) encouraging members of a PLWHA organization to participate in decision making on HIV/AIDS programs and policies and (b) inviting NGOs to participate in the development of UNAIDS HIV programs. Whereas the ties between organizations in the e-forum were "loose," this study finds the NGO members of PLWHA networks involved in "close ties," reflected in their registrations as single entities. Fourth, the study finds an identity of the PLWHA networks as vehicles for the advocacy of PLWHA. Previous research has also recognized the advocacy mission for PLWHA by NGOs (e.g., DeJong & Mortagy, 2013; Maguire & Hardy, 2005). Yet, this study departs from previous ones in that advocacy for PLWHA is largely carried out through networks of organizations.

The study makes several contributions to the health communication and collaboration literatures. First, the finding of networks of PLWHA organizations contributes to the literature. Although Garcia and Parker (2011) also found nation-wide Afro-Brazilian religious networks that combatted HIV/AIDS by simultaneously being involved in local grassroots initiatives and national-level policy-making processes, the study's finding of networks composed exclusively of PLWHA organizations is novel[11]. This finding can be distinguished from Hardy and colleagues' studies of the Canadian Treatment Advocacy Council (CTAC) (e.g., Hardy et al., 2006) in that CTAC was a multi-sectoral collaboration. This study finds PLWHA networks composed exclusively of NGOs. Second, the study contributes a NPO sectoral-level view of PLWHA networks (Koschmann, 2012). Through such a view, we gain several insights into these networks such as their variation in scale from local to global, differences in their members' identities, and differences in their geographical jurisdiction and spread. Third, the study contributes a Montreal School CCO perspective that highlights network texts (i.e., identities) which, through hybrid associations between human and non-humans, were made present in the discourse of macroactors. Fourth, the finding of regional-level PLWHA networks also contributes to the literature. Several macroactors spoke of regional networks of PLWHA. Although a regional focus is emphasized by the NCF (Airhihenbuwa et al., 2000), few studies have focused on HIV/AIDS-related regional networks (Cooper & Shumate, 2012; Murray et al., 2011).

The study's findings also contribute to the NCF's ecological context of government and policy. This context is based on the assumption that the effective response to epidemics in the global South involves governments setting the stage for HIV organizations to operate and collaborate (Airhihenbuwa et al., 2000). In a sense, this assumption, a top-down one, represents one way of responding. The finding of PLWHA networks that enhance participation in decision-making forums, suggests another viable response is based neither on a top-down nor bottom-up model, but on an inclusive or democratic one. Such an inclusive approach can go beyond the NGOs to multi-sectoral networks that integrate governmental, global North, and/or pharmaceutical actors. To the degree that actors can collaborate as equals, this may be a more effective and comprehensive approach to collaboratively responding to epidemics in the global South.

5.1 Limitations and Future Research

Although the study provides some insight into PLWHA networks in Tanzania, we can further our knowledge of regional-level and global-level PLWHA networks, particularly from a Montreal School CCO perspective (Cooren et al., 2008). For example, although the study focused on network identity as a trans-local text of PLWHA networks in Tanzania, future research can focus on the trans-local network identities of regional and/or global PLWHA networks. Furthermore, based on the notion that network formations are constituted in a dialectic of text and conversation, future research can examine how conversations between and among PLWHA network members co-construct, sustain, and

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[11]Several researchers have recognized the different theories of HIV/AIDS prevention (Airhihenbuwa & Obregon, 2000; Parkhurst & Lush, 2004). Parkhurst and Lush (2004), for example, described these theories as focusing either on individual factors (e.g., Health Belief Model), social factors, or structural and environmental factors (p. 1914). The study's findings of the identities of PLWHA networks suggest the networks attended primarily to social factors and structural and environmental factors. On one hand, the finding of networks as entities that unify PLWHA organizations in/across administrative divisions of Tanzania and as embedding structures for reaching grassroots PLWHA and enhancing their participation in decision-making forums at various scales point to a structural approach to HIV/AIDS, one that emphasizes concerns such as democratic governance, policies/laws, and access to/availability of resources. On the other hand, the PLWHA networks' identities as vehicles for social impacts points to a social approach to HIV prevention, one that priorities a community-level and caring response to HIV.

transform network texts. In such an investigation, one may explore the various tensions that network members experience and manage as they construct and (re)construct network identities.

Future research of PLWHA networks can also draw guidance from the culture-centered approach to health communication (Dutta, 2008). This perspective focuses partly on how marginalized actors in post-colonial contexts exercise health-related agency and engage in participatory processes amid particular cultural and structural configurations (e.g., Olufowote, 2017). Future research may, for example, focus on how regional and global PLWHA networks engage in processes of dialogue and participatory decision making both with network members and more powerful decision makers and the different forms of agency, activism, and resistance they exercise.

5.2 Conclusion

The study drew on the Montreal School perspective, a discursive perspective on NPOs and the NPO sector, to develop the discursive foundations of HIV/AIDS NGO collaborations in sub-Saharan Africa. For RQ1, the study finds the collaborative form of HIV/AIDS NGO networks (i.e., HIV/AIDS service networks and networks of PLWHA organizations). Participants described the networks of PLWHA organizations as operating at local, regional, or global scales. For RQ2, the study finds the PLWHA networks presenting several network identities in the discourse of their macroactors: single entities that unify PLWHA organizations within and across administrative divisions of Tanzania, structures that reach grassroots-level PLWHA and facilitate their involvement in decision-making forums at various scales, and vehicles for a variety of social impacts (e.g., advocacy for PLWHA).

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Gone to Stamford Bridge? Influence of Foreign Football and Its Digital Coverage on Youths in Abeokuta, Nigeria

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Abstract

This study investigates the influence of foreign football and its digital coverage among youths in Abeokuta. It examines the values portrayed by internet/satellite technology, the extent to which these values affect Nigerian youths, and the extent to which Nigerian youths' exposure to foreign football through the internet/satellite technology affects their commitment to Nigerian football.

The study employed qualitative method of Focus Group Discussion (FGD), using discussion guide to source data from youth in Abeokuta South and Abeokuta North Local Government Areas.

Among others, the study discovered that major values promoted by internet technology such as technical companionship, global citizenship and technological determinism enhances western values and interests, and have undermined to a very large extent the citizenship values of Nigerian youths. Nigerian youths have practically abandoned their citizenship values such as love and loyalty to the country, patriotism and commitment to national ideas, and have embraced the values promoted by the internet with their passion for foreign football.

The main findings recognises Nigerian youths interest in European football was motivated by good organization, adequate and quality facilities and good football on the field of play; hence Nigerian youths abandoned Nigerian football due to poor management, inadequate and poor facilities and insecurity at match venues, among other factors.

Based on the findings of this study, it is recommended that Nigerian football should be overhauled. There is need for proper funding to fix facilities like quality stadia, provision of security at match venues and ensure proper administration of the games. Youth football should be revived in Nigeria and grassroots football should be re-introduced at primary and secondary school levels to discover raw talents. Adequate arrangement should be made for marketing and sponsorship programmes, including live coverage of football events on the Nigeria television network.

Keywords: media, citizenship and football

1. Introduction

Marshall McLuhan (1962) predicted the coming of the global village, perhaps few scholars ever thought of the realization of the prediction and the extent of its impact on the world. The Canadian communication scholar had said that major changes in human society would occur with the emergence of Information Communication Technology (Obe, 2005).

Several years after the prediction, the world had never been the same. Ayankojo (2001) explains that Information Technology has brought great and world-wide impacts in areas of business, trade, politics, economy, culture, media and other aspects of life. Another significant impact of Information Technology is the emergence of globalization.

Tiamiyu (2003:35) In Salawu (2006:19) suggests Information and Communication Technologies "are the electronic technologies for creating, acquiring, storing, processing, communicating and using information". The scholar explains that ICTs can be classified along two dimensions: Content-Conduit dimension and Service-Product dimension. Content-Oriented ICTs entails the digital creation and publishing of information content such as database products, electronic books and websites.

Conduit oriented ICTs provide the channels or media for storing, conveying and transmitting information content (e.g the telephone network). Product-oriented ICTs are physical objects for information processing or transmission equipment such as computers, cellular phones and TV transmitters while service-oriented ICT implies the provision of information services like bulletin boards services, radio broadcast services and online search, through the information infrastructure or systems.

Obe (2005:57) argues, ICTs have become a way of life. ICTs affect how and where man does everything – live, work, play, socialize, entertain, serve, study, rest, heal and protect. These technologies include communication satellite, fax machine, the worldwide web and the internet. Baran (2002:68) in Salawu (2006:20) says the most popular and overwhelming of the ICTs is the internet which is a global network of interconnected computers that communicate freely and share and exchange information. Uimonen (2000:62) in Ayankojo (2001:2009) note the potentials of internet:

> *If there was a medium that fulfilled our right to express ourselves absolutely, it would have to be the internet. No other medium allows information to flow so freely…. No other medium requires so few resources to reach out to so many.*

Of recent, information and communication technology championed by the internet has changed the face of human existence. The emergence of globalization has altered the course of human society. Izuogu (2006) says globalization and Information Communication Technology are two sides of the same coin. Each of the two concepts cannot be discussed in isolation of the other. Information Communication Technologies are the foundation of the new global information based economy (Erughe and Eehu, 2004).

Until recent time, one aspect of Nigeria's national life that had generated great expression of citizenship and patriotism towards the country, especially by the youth was the game of football.

Nigerians sense of citizenship and commitement to national interest were usually demonstrated by the passion and excitement with which the youths and the young at heart followed the game of soccer played by Nigerian football clubs in the domestic league and other competitions in the country.

Veteran Nigeria Journalist, Fan Nduboke, confirmed the significance of football to Nigeria by saying that:

> *No other sport has in the history and by history touched the heart and inner soul of Nigeria as football (Nduboke, 1995:8)*

In essence, football, the most popular game across the world, was a rallying point for Nigerians and a common ground for demonstrating the 'Nigerianess' in the people. That was between the 1970s, and the end of 1990s when Nigerian domestic league and challenge cup competitions generated great interest and commitment to national ideals. During this period, Nigerian football clubs such as Rangers international, Bendel Insurance, Mighty Jet, Raccah Rovers, Leventis United, Abiola Babes and others enjoyed great patronage and followership. Indeed, these clubs, through football enabled Nigerian youths to express their passion for all that are Nigerian in local football competitions.

However, by the turn of 1990s and the popularity of internet and emergence of globalisation, the interests of Nigerian youths in local football began to wane. The sattelite and cable television- through the internet technology and digitalisation- brought football from other lands to Nigerian homes. Foreign leagues and other competitions such as Italian Seria A, Spanish La Liga, the English Premiership and FA Cup became regular features on television.

To worsen the situation for Nigerian domestic football, lack of proper administrative and marketing arrangements ensured that football competitions among Nigerian clubs are not regularly relayed on television.

Consequently, foreign clubs and players and their exploits attracted the interests of Nigerian youths. Infact, Nigerian youths virtually forgot everything about domestic football while foreign football and players took the centre state in their hearts. Thus, football competitions among Nigerian clubs were no longer appealing to the youths.

It is observed that Nigerian football, the hitherto builder of national pride had almost gone into extinction in the hearts Nigerian youths due to their exposure to foreign football and the overwhelming presence and visibility of the English Premiership, the German Bundesliga, the Italian Seria A, the Spanish La Liga and other football competitions in other parts of the world.

It is in this respect that this study examines the influence of internet on development of citizenship- in relation to Nigerian football- among Nigerian youths in Abeokuta, Ogun State. Several communication scholars and development planners and thinkers are engaged in debates and arguments on the implications of Information Technologies and globalization on various peoples of the world.

Therefore, can we assume that Nigerain youths' exposure to foreign football has undermined their commitment and national spirit as citizens to Nigerian football?

Hence the following research questions:

1. What are the values being projected by foreign football?
2. Do these values enhance patriotism of Nigerian youths?

1.1 Role of Football in National Integration

The game of football, described by Ndubuoke(1995:6) as ‘‘man's greatest social invention'' ‘‘has had a distinguished presence in the history of Nigeria'' (Toro, 1995:4). Gbesan (1995) says from a game of relative obscurity, football has developed into a big time sport of big names, big money, big prizes and big fame in Nigeria.

Former Secretary General of Nigerian Football Association, Sanni Ahmed Toro emphasized the significance of football in Nigeria's march to progress by saying that:

If (football) stood proudly tall in the post-colonial era. In times of war and peace, football has been a faithful consort. Therefore, there is so much substance in Nigeria football (Toro, 1995:4)

A sport so magical, so mythical and so euphoric; a common language spoken and understood by every humankind, football remained an avenue for Nigeria ‘‘to express its sovereignty and dignity'' (Ifeduba, 2011:331). In other words, from the pre-to-post-independence era, ‘‘football in Nigeria flaunts rich history of eminent contributions to the development of competitive spirit among youths'' (Ndubuoke, 1995:9).

Therefore, as a sport that has contributed to the growth of the country, as a game that has remained as Gbesan(1995:12) puts it, ‘‘the youths' pastime, adults recreational outlet, the poor's leisure and the therapy for the rich'', it is only appropriate to identify perhaps for today and tomorrow, some of the great achievements of football in the life of Nigeria and its people, perhaps until the advent of the internet that eventually altered the course of the game in Nigeria.

1.2 Nigerian Football, the Internet and the Dominance of Foreign Leagues

In Nigeria's history of catching them young and moulding the youths to become whole, football occupies a cherished place. Nigerian football-thirsty youths(through soccer) learn to embrace the spirit of sportmanship : to win honestly and to lose honourably.

From the pre-to post independent era, through the 1970s and the 1980s, football in Nigeria was a great unifying force. The young and old had a meeting point in football. Pre and post match discussions were not based on age, ethnic group or social class of discussants. Either of commendation or condemnation was not given based on the tribal or ethnic background of players. Mostly, it was the Nigerian spirit at work connecting everybody together, with torrents of passions and emotionsdisplayed truly as citizens of Nigeria.

Between 1906 and the 1930s when competitive youth football started at the rudimentary stage, till the end of the 1990s, the game of soccer in Nigeria have had a chequered history. For instance, in Lagos, ‘‘which was the heart of the sport then'', football loving people formed various clubs and organised friendly matches. The early football clubs included the Chamber Club, Erelu Brothers, the Jollickers, Oluwole Rovers and Muslim Rovers. Through these clubs, ‘‘new child prodigies were born in the art of dribbling and making feints''. ‘‘Young, graceful and talented body swayers were keeping opponents mesmerised and spectators tantalised''.

The late 1930s saw the emergence of clubs like L.T.C, Railways, Police and Marine and Carter Corinthians. Outside Lagos, Calabar also served as another centre of footballing actions. Competitive football started in Calabar, when the Berverly Cup competition for Calabar-based teams was launched in 1906. In Warri, Jos and Kano, football competitions among local clubs were also noticeable in the 1930s.

The introduction of the Challenge Cup in 1945 provided for all the clubs in different parts of Nigeria with a national competition and a meeting point. Gbesan(1995:18) says with the challenge cup, football maestros with recognisable individual skill in the game, making superlative contributions to the overall club performance started emerging gradually on the national football scene. In other words, the 1940s and 1950s were the era of clubs such as Lagos Pan Bank, Lagos Dynamos, the Railway and Kano XI. Prominent players of that period included ‘‘Thunder'', Teslim Balogun, Dan Anyiam and Baba Shittu. The late 1950s and the 1960s belonged to the clubs like the Railway of Lagos, the Mighty Jets of Jos while the post-civil war era of the 1970s saw the introduction of the National League and emergence of Rangers International of Enugu, the IICC Shooting Stars of Ibadan, Raccah Rovers of Kano.

The mid 1970s till the early 1990s was perhaps the most eventful period of Nigerian football. On the local scene, football competitions such as the Challenge Cup and the National League provided Nigeria and Nigerians with much entertainment and packful excitement and passion.

In this period, football served as a major platform of homogenity for Nigerians, and for Nigeria. It was an elixir, the drug to administer on the country to revatilise her moment and period of great national challenges.

Football clubs like Rangers International of Enugu, IICC of Ibadan, the BCC Lions of Gboko, El-Kanemi Warriors of Maiduguri, Kano Pillars, Stationary Stores of Lagos, Abiola Babes of Abeokuta and Leventis United of Ibadan, created the thrills and excitements that hold Nigerians together and help douse tempers and assuage outburst.

At the international level, Nigeria rose to international prominence, reckoning and prestige with the Green Eagles winning 1980 African Nations Cup, the exploits of the U-17 team, the ‘‘Golden Eaglets’’ that won the FIFA U-17 World Cup, the 1994 African Nations Cup and Nigeria’s debut in the world cup in 1994. Indeed, these international exploits repositioned Nigeria on the world football map. Nigeria’s achievements on the local and international scenes at this period drew a new wave of interest on its football. Youth football ascended to a greater height. The love for country, devotion to national course, commitment to fatherland, anxiety and excitement laced with patriotism are some of the catchy phrases that could best describe the unifying elements which football generated. Indeed, it was the golden age of Nigerian football.

Since the commencement of the game of soccer in the country till the 1990s, the relationship between Nigeria and football was a story of a nation with a friend indeed. Football remained a true friend and constant ally to Nigeria. Even in the midst of a battle and the rumbles of war, football extended its benevolent hands to the country. Across all seasons, football has demonstrated the capacity to promote peace, love, friendship, togetherness, brotherhood and fellowship among the vast people of Nigeria.

By the end of the 1990s and the turn of 21st century, the fortunes of Nigeria football began to change for the worse. The advent of internet technology and the rise of cable television brought foreign football to the doorstep of Nigerian youths. Foreign leagues and other competitions became a major source of entertainment and fulfilment due to proper organisation and quality play. No doubt, foreign football that could now be watched on multi-channel cable television served as a great challenge to football played in Nigeria.

According to Bosah Chinedu of Education Right Campaign(ERC), the situation for Nigeria football has been worsened by poor organisation and decaying infrastructure. Inadequate funding compounded the crisis with Nigerian football. Bosah Chinedu explains further that ‘‘there is lack of security at match venues. Even if you want to be bold watching the matches on the television, the first eyesore is the pitch that is not only galoping but also look like where cattle grass’’.

Today, Nigerian youths have taken their attention to foreign football. The quality of football watched on the lurch-green stadia, through cable television have created an army of fanatical followership in the Nigerian youths for English Premiership and other major foreign leagues in Europe.

2. Empirical Review

There are several empirical works that are related to this study. Two of such empirical works are reviewed.

(a) **The political economy of internet: An assessment of the internet’s impact on Nigeria and its development.**

The study was published in 2009 by Diri Tuotamuno. It examines the application of the new media technologies to development process. The paper observed that information revolution offers Nigeria a dramatic opportunity to break out from decades of stagnation and decline. In this respect, the paper suggests that Nigeria should explore the internet technology to enhance its anti-corruption efforts, promote participatory governance, improve public administration, stimulate local economies and improve journalism.

In other words, Nigeria and other African countries should seize the opportunities of internet to further their progress.

The paper concluded that despite these prospects, developing countries such as Nigeria are likely to be even more marginalised and economically stagnant in future because they consume the technologies, rather than create them.

(b) **European football club newspapers in Nigeria: Gratifications or Media imperialism?** This study traces the emergence of European football club newspapers in Nigeria and examines the uses and gratifications of their contents by football lovers, especially the youths in the country. It was authored by Emmanuel Ifeduba and published in 2011.

The study identified some of the European Clubs’ newspapers established in Nigeria and their editorial focus. The newspapers are presented below:

S/N	Newspaper name	Editorial Focus
1.	Manchester United for Life	For those who love good football
2.	Barca Newsreel	The official Camp-Nou Voice

		in Nigeria for the true Barca fans
3.	The Real Madrid Echo	The only Nigerian voice for the Madridista
4.	Barcelona Focus	The Nigeria Weekly Voice for the Blaugrana
5.	Midweek Arsenal Focus	Field of Truth
6.	The Blues	The Round Leather game Weekly
7.	Weekend Arsenal Focus	Field of Truth
8.	Gunners Weekly	For the True Gunners in Nigeria
9.	True Blues	Nigeria's number 1 official Chelsea FC Weekly Tabloid.

With the aid of content analysis, the study examined the contents of the nine titles. It was discovered that the birth of these newspapers indicates an increasing number of Nigerian football fans shifting their support to foreign football clubs.

The study also reported that the new media owners are simply responding to the forces of demand and supply with the central objective of meeting an unmet local need for good, professionally organised football. The implication as the study observed is that news of foreign leagues is published by Nigerian citizens to draw away readers from local league, a development which is bound to affect negatively the nation's sporting culture.

The paper recommends that the fans will continue to patronise these newspapers so long as their needs for good football is not satisfied by any of the local newspapers and the country itself.

3. Methodology

This study was designed to investigate the influence of football and its digital coverage on youths in Abeokuta. In order to achieve this objective, qualitative focus group discussion (FGD) was used. According to Awoniyi et al (2011), qualitative research entails collecting, analysing and interpreting data by observing what people do and say.

4. Study Population

The study setting is Abeokuta, Ogun State. Youths that are residents of the town (ages between 18-30 years old) constitute the respondents for this study. The rationale for their consideration is because the youths constitute a major percentage of internet users who are likely to be highly exposed to the internet values. In the same vein, the youths constitute the greatest followership of football both at home and international levels.

5. Sampling Procedure and Size

In order to choose a sample that will be representative of youths in Abeokuta, stratified sampling technique was used. Stratified sampling is the approach used to get adequate representation of a sub-sample by segmenting them based on exclusive characteristics. To select subjects for this study therefore, youths in Abeokuta were delineated on the basis of the two local government areas of Abeokuta Township: Abeokuta South and North.

Using purposeful and accidental sampling, 10 youths were picked to represent Abeokuta South local government area, covering Onikolobo – Ibara axis of the town. This area is highly populated by youths who are in Higher education, with access to internet and digital television. Also, the Ibara area is the centre of digital and internet business, including internet cafes and football viewing centres mostly visited by the youths in Abeokuta.

From the Abeokuta North local government area, 10 youths were picked from Oke-Sokori/Totoro/Lafenwa axis. This areas are also populated by youths who are also active internet surfers and followers of football.

6. Focus group Discussion

The discussion guide was relied on for the study's primary data. The disucussion guide was divided into three sections. The first section comprises of twelve(12) questions for discussion on Nigerian football in order to elicit information from the respondents on what their knowledge of Nigerian football is; their level of interest in Nigerian football in relation to the Nigerian Premier League and other competitions and their impression of and suggestions of the state of nigerian football.

The second section also has twelve(12) questions and focuses on the respondents' use of internet technology and their exposure to foreign football via the cable television. Issues discussed include their knowledge of foreign football, especially european leagues such as English Premier League, and other major Leagues and their star players, level of interest in those foreign leagues, and other competitions and their impression of the state of foreign football especially European football.

The third section with six(6) questions focuses on comparison between Nigreian football and European football. Discussants were encouraged to discuss the state of Nigerian football as compared with European football. Suggestions were encouraged on how to improve the state of Nigerian football.

Eventually, the discussion guide was administered on each of the two groups that constituted respondents for the study. The 10 youths from Onikolobo/Ibara axis from Abeokuta South Local Government, and another 10 youths from Oke-Sokori/Totoro/Lafenwa axis that made up sample of youths from Abeokuta North. All the members of the two groups participated actively in the discussions.

7. Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Here the data collected through the discussion guide are presented, analysed and discussed. Findings are discussed in relation to raised research questions.

This section is divided into two. The first presents the data obtained through the discussion guide in relation to its three major areas: discussion on Nigerian football, discussion on internet/satellite television facilitated exposure to foreign football and discussion on comparison between the state of Nigerian and Foreign football. The second section focuses on discussion of findings with the aim of answering the research questions of the study.

(A) Discussion on Nigerian football

This discussion centres on knowledge of Nigerian football, level of interest in Nigerian football, and impression of the state of Nigerian football.

7.1 Respondents Knowledge of Nigerian Football

Most of the respondents from the two groups showed near-total lack of knowledge of Nigerian football. From the dscussions, it was obvious that they were not aware of developments in Nigerian football, especially the football league.

For instance, 19 of the 20 youths could not mention the coach of the Gateway Football Club, Abeokuta neither could they mention the club's star players. In the same vein, 18 of the 20 youths claimed not to have a favourite club or player in the Nigerian League.

Findings show that they did not seek to know about developments in Nigerian football. The little they know was obtained when once in a while they listened to information from Nigeria media. Very few of them have a bit of information about Nigerian football competitions because their relations plays for one of the clubs in Nigeria League or because the clubs are from their states of origin.

For instance, only two of the 20 youths claimed to have favourite club and player in the Nigerian League. One of them said his brother plays for 3SC of Ibadan, hence the club and his brother are his favourite, while the other person claimed to be from Kwara State, hence the club is his favourite.

7.2 Level of Interest in Nigerian Football

From the discussion, it was discovered that:

i. All 20 respondents said they are not interested in the Nigerian football.
ii. For example, none could identify the first three teams on the top of the Nigerian Premier League.
iii. None could mention the coaches of any of the clubs in Nigeria.
iv. Nore of the respondents could recollect that it was Eyimba Fottball Club that won the 2014 FA Cup in Nigeria.
v. None could recollect that it was Kano Pillars that won the 2014 Nigerian Premier League title.

7.3 Respondents Impression on the State of Nigerian Football

The discussions show that:

i. All the respondents have bad impression of Nigerian football
ii. They expressed their dissappointment with the management of Nigerian Premier League.
iii. They mentioned corruption, poor facilities, improper funding, insecurity as some of the problems with Nigerian football.

iv. They complained that Nigerian football over the years has not been giving them what they want-quality football, good management and quality infrastructure.

7.4 Discussion on the Use of Internet/Satellite Television and Exposure to European Football

This section centres on the respondents use of the internet and values of the technology, knowledge of the European football, level of interest in foreign football leagues, and impression of the state of foreign football.

7.5 Respondents Use of Internet and Value of the Technology

The discussions with the group shows that:

1. All the 20 youths are internet surfers.
2. They surf internet everyday, everytime.
3. They surf the internet for information and to relate with friends.
4. They claimed internet is like a companion and their best friend.
5. Ability to connect with various people in all parts of the world exposes them to various ideologies and cultures.
6. They are more of global citizens operating from Nigeria.
7. The internet is their major information and entertainment source, and social relations and interaction platform.
8. Through the sattelite technology, they have access to cable TV to watch football on multi-channel platforms.

7.6 Respondents Knowledge on Foreign/European Football

Findings from the discussion shows that:

1. Virtually all of them are quite knowledgeable of European football, especially the current sensation-English Premiership.
2. Their knowledge of European football, especially the English Premiership ranges from performances of the various clubs, their positions on Premiership table, star players and their worths, the capacities of the coaches and the player that is likely to be bought or sold by different clubs.
3. For instance, they expressed their knowledge of European football by saying that the 2014/2015 English Premier was won by Chelsea FC and that the three teams that topped the League are Chelsea FC, Manchester City and Arsenal FC.
4. Similarly, 16 out of the 20 youths said immediately that currently the most expensive player in European football is Gareth Bale of Real Madrid, bought for 89 million pounds from Tottenham Hotspurs. They also expressed their deep knowledge of European football by saying that the most expensive player in the English Premiership is Raheem Sterlin of Manchester City who was bought for 49 million pounds from :Liverpool FC.

7.7 Respondents Interest in Foreign/European Football

The discussions indicated that:

1. Most of the respondents are highly interested in foreign football, especially English Premiership..
2. The interests cover different football clubs in the English Premiership and Spanish football.
3. Each of the respondents has his favourite club and players.
4. Their interests in these clubs have attained fanatical level with emotions, passion and excitement always exhibited in favour of the team(s) .
5. The interest were predicated on the fact that European football gives them what they want- quality football and well managed games.
6. As a fan of any of the team, every respondent is ready to defend his team to high heavens.
7. For instance, everyone of them have his favourite European team . their favourite teams include FC Barcelona, Chelsea FC, Manchester United FC, Manchester City FC, Arsenal FC, FC Real Madrid, Liverpool FC, Bayern Munich FC.
8. Also, every of the youths claimed to have atleast a star player in the European Leagues. Some of their star players are: Lionel Messi of Barcelona, Eden Hazard and Ivanovic of Chelsea FC, Wayne Rooney and Robin Van Persie of Manchester United, Yaya Toure, Edin Dzeko and Sergio Aguero of Manchester City.

9. Respondents interest in European football is also predicated on the roles of betting programmes for football contests. There are football betting programmes such as Naija bet, Merry bet and 1960 bet. Football fans can stake their money for any clubs in the world. Winners are given to those that won the bet.
10. Nigeria football league is not usually considered for the betting game.
11. To further demonstrate their interest, they know virtually the stadia of the major clubs in Europe such as:
    i. Emirate stadium – Arsenal FC
    ii. Stamford Bridge – Chelsea FC
    iii. Anfield – Liverpool FC
    iv. Etihad Stadium – Manchester City
    v. Real Madrid – Santiago Bennerbeu
    vi. Old Trafford – Manchester United FC

7.8 Impression on the State of European Football

All respondents have positive impression of the European Football;

1. They believed in the effective management of European football.
2. They are satisfied with the quality of offerings from European football.
3. They will continue to passionately support European Clubs due to the entertainment, satisfaction and quality football they derive from the clubs' matches.

7.9 Comparism between Nigerian and European Football

From the discussions, respondents are of the opinion that:

1. European football cannot be compared with Nigerian football in all forms.
2. European football is far ahead in terms of organisation, funding, quality of facilities, players' welfare, marketing programmes of football played and management of the game.
3. An European Footballer may not be naturally skillful than his Nigerian counterpart but his mastery of the game is enhanced by welfare package and stimulating 'playing' enviroment.
4. Nigeria football can still reach level of European football if the trend is reversed. That is if Nigeria football is overhauled and managed in the right direction.
5. Their total commitment still stays with European football until Nigerian football is improved.

7.10 Section Two

The discussion of this section aims at providing answers to research questions raised in this study.

7.11 Research Question One

What are the values being projected by foreign football

This question intends to identify the values that are derivable from the potentials of exposure to foreign football through satellite television/internet streaming.

The Focus Group discussions, with the two youth groups sampled from Abeokuta would be relied on. Findings from the discussions indicate the following internet values as identifid by the youths:

1. The Value of Companionship: The internet is a major companion for the youths. They surf the net regularly. Thus, it stands as their ally and friend.
2. Global Citizenship: Another value of the internet is that of global citizenship. As regular internet users and satellite television viewers, people operate on a global platform which internet represents. It appears their interactions with people from other parts of the world takes them away from their immediate enviroment to the world stage.
3. Unipolar World: Another internet value is unipolarism. Through the internet, the world is being defined as a single entity where everything western is being structured as the ideal.
4. The Value of Technological Determinism: The internet portrays technology as the determinants of most human activities conducted by the youths.
5. Immediate and quick solution to human problems

6. High level mobility

7.12 Research Question Two

Do these values enhance patriotism of Nigerian youths?

This question intends to establish the extent to which values being projected by foreign/European football are enhancing or undermining patriotism of Nigerian youths.

The Focus Group discussions with the youths indicates that Nigeria citizenship values are being undermined in the Nigerian youths.

Nigerian citizenship ideals such as: love for the country, interest in national affairs, sense of loyalty and patriotism and others are being challenged and almost overwhelmed by internet values of global citizenship and unipolarism which promote western ideals.

Obviously, the youths reactions to questions in sections one, two and three of the Discussion Guide indicate that their citizenship values have been undermined by their passion for European football and their distate for Nigerian football.

The fact is that the internet promotes western orientation in the youth to negate all that are standards of Nigerian citizenship. The Nigerian youths, with their exposure through the internet to western values, coupled with the fact that the internet serves as a good companion, are shifting attention from national ideals to western ideals. This means Nigerian citizenship values are gradually being dominated by the internet promoted western ideals. Therefore, one can conclude to a very large extent, internet values and exposure to European football have undermined the citizenship values of Nigerian youths.

This study further intend to establish the extent to which Nigerian youths' commitment to Nigerian football has been affected by their exposure to European football facilitated by the internet.

Findings from the discussions with the youths established firmly that attention has almost totally shifted from Nigerian football to European football. Infact, it was confirmed through their responses to questions in Sections 2 of the Discussion Guide that the major attractions of the European football include good organisation, quality display of football artistry, easy access to the matches through cable television and attractive and well laid football pitches as portrayed on screen.

A Nigerian Communication scholar confirmed this position by saying that:

The coming of DSTV, Eurosport and other sports channels through cable and satellite technology began gradually in the 1990s to shift fans' interest from local league to European leagues. (Ifeduba, 2011:332)

The Nigerian youths followership and commitment to European football has been very massive to the extent that viewing centres have emergd to take care of those that cannot pay for cable television in their homes to watch the matches.

The growing fanatism for European football has been quite intense to the extent that after the UEFA Champions' League match between Chelsea FC and Manchester United on May 21, 2008, seven youths lost their lives while several others were badly wounded due to clashes and celebration.

Findings also indicated that once they are at the various Viewing Centres, Nigerian youths would have emotionally left their physical enviroment for the stadia where matches are played. In other words, their presence in Nigeria was only physical, emotionally, they are part of the spectators at the Emirate, Old Trafford, Allianz Arena, Stamford Bridge or any other stadia where matches are played.

However, it was not only good organisation of European football that took their attention away from Nigerian football. Nigeria football is crisis ridden, corruption, poor infrastructure, bad management and absence of good marketing programmes that could bring the matches to our television screen are some of the factors undermining Nigerian football.

Bosah Chinedu of the Education Rights Campaign also capsures this position by saying that:

> *Pathetically, organisation and facilities are now missing and that is why we have one of the worst leagues in the world.*

Remarkably, Nigerians' passion and interest in European football is not limited to the youths. One recalls that few years back, the then Govenor of Lagos State, Raji Fashola invited the Captain of Manchester United, Rio Ferdinand to Lagos State, perhaps to express he was part of the craze for European football.

Recently, media reports indicated that Aliko Dangote, a Nigerian businessman and one of the richest Africa desires to buy and take over Arsenal FC on English Premiership. It appears Nigerian football will remain in the doldrum for a long time if members of the ruling elites, those that suppose to revive it, are joining the craze for European football.

In short, as it stands, Nigeria football has lost the vibrancy, passion and attention of its youths to European football. Great and comprehensive efforts would be required by all to stakeholders to reverse the trend.

Therefore, to a very large extent, Nigerian youths' exposure to European football had adversely affected their commitment and patriotic zeal for Nigerian football.

8. Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, Nigerian youths have abandoned local football in the country in favour of European football. Their passion, dedication and commitment are for foreign football clubs.

Again, Nigerian youths are regular internet surfers and have embraced the values of the technology like technology companionship, technology determinism, and global citizenship. European football enjoys great followership among Nigerian youths, and this is linked to strategic football management and high level funding the game enjoys in Europe. These are identified as source of European football attraction to Nigerian youths. Unlike, leadership deficit; Poor management; corruption, and poor facilities presently available to Nigerian youths.

This study has been able to establish that European football obtained the interest of Nigerian youths majorly because Nigerian football is in disarray. It has also been able to establish that impressive managment of European football and quality football on quality pitches are part of the attractions that got the interest of Nigerian youths. Furthermore, the study has been able to identify internet values that are undermining Nigerian citizenship values in our male youths. Similarly, poor management of Nigerian football drew the youths to find solace in European football.

Therefore, further studies can be conducted to locate the place of marketing and sponsorship in the revival of Nigerian football. Studies can also be conducted on the role of football in the revival of citizen.

The study recommends, Nigerian football needs to be overhauled in order to attract more funding which would lead to provision of modern facilities like quality stadia, provision of security at match venues and ensure proper administration of the game in the country.

Youth football should be revived in Nigeria. Grassroots football should be re-introduced at primary and secondary school levels to discover raw talents for future greatness, while adequate arrangement should be made for marketing and sponsorship programmes, facilitating league matches being relayed on television to cultivate the interest of the youths and all Nigerians.

The government should create policies to moderate youths' exposure to internet materials. If left to the mercy of the internet, Nigerian youths would be overwhelmed by those values that would continously undermine nigerian citizenship values. The government should discharge its obligations to cultivate demonstration of citizenship values from Nigerians, while private organisation and individuals should be encouraged to establish football clubs as business.

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Televised Entrepreneurial Discourse: Conversational Structure and Compliance Gaining Strategies

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Abstract

Discourse analysis has focused extensively on argumentative and manipulative discourse. In particular, this present paper considers the different information-processing constraints at play in comprehending elicitations and responses and their role in the persuasive success of arguments. I use both a quantitative and qualitative method to examine in detail the pragma-discursive strategies employed by a panel of English and Spanish business experts in negotiating a business proposal with an entrepreneur in a media driven event. My data suggest that both British and Spanish panels of experts exploit a specific number of social influence tactics, mainly based on the use of elicit: agree, that makes it possible to identify why the interaction is successful. It is further suggested that the study of the basic unit of conversational organisation may throw light on the effectiveness of positioning oneself and others in discourse and show how British and Spanish business experts attempt to exert social influence.

Keywords: persuasion, televised business discourse, contrastive studies, compliance gaining strategies, turn-taking

1. Introduction

Even though public argumentation cannot be said to be a new phenomenon, televised versions of business discourse where two parties are negotiating a contract are novel as this talk has been mainly reserved for the private sphere (Barton, 2009; Anderson & Warren, 2011). The present study offers a conversation analytic perspective of the persuasive discourse that occupies this public arena (Fahnestock (2011). In doing so, I focus on a specific aspect of televised business discourse: the intricate relationships between the institutional processes of reality television and the interactional process and the play of power of persuasive discourse (Coughter, 2012).

In the context of reality television, I first purport to identify the distinctive persuasive resources available to and employed by a panel of English and Spanish business experts to negotiate a business contract and reach an agreement with their interlocutors. Second, I attempt to explore the relationships between the social influence techniques employed and the institutional features of reality television programmes, as a social setting in which arguments and confrontation usually take place (García-Gómez, 2012). In the belief that the sequential orientation of conversation analysis can be used to throw light on power relations in discourse (Hutchby, 1996), I also intend to show how a three-part exchange – understood as the basic unit of conversational organisation – is at the root of the different social influence techniques found in this setting. In what follows, these preliminary considerations will be given careful thought.

2. Entrepreneurial Discourse, Performance and Context

This article focuses on the talk of a panel of British and Spanish business experts in public participation broadcasting on TV and the production of "authentic" talk within this mediated context. More specifically, I consider this specific kind of talk (i.e. televised business discourse) as a species of broadcast talk. Before I turn to the following section, it will be useful to make three preliminary points about this specific type of televised business discourse that will be relevant to fully understand the analysis:

The first point is simply that televised business discourse must be understood as institutional insofar as it is actually produced in an institutional setting (Slater, 2010). It is worth pointing out that this particular kind of talk shows some resemblance with the patterns of verbal interaction normally found in everyday conversation (Gregori-Signes, 2000). Secondly, one may think that the focus becomes on how an audience makes sense of this kind of talk; that is, the discourse is then understood as one of performance and represents an attempt to provide a 'naturalness' that can be viewed by an outside set of observers (Tolson, 2013). Although no one can deny this is produced for, and oriented toward, an "overhearing" audience which is not co-present, the literature acknowledges the entertainment function of these programmes, but also highlights there is far much more going on than intriguing and maintaining an audience as a public function. In this case in particular, I understand the discussion part of the programme as an example of "fresh talk" (Goffman, 1961) insofar as it offers the space for opinion giving, discussion and conflict (García-Gómez, 2012).

Thirdly and although the turn-taking patterns of institutional discourse has been thoroughly discussed and the main differences from ordinary conversation pointed out (Drew & Heritage 1992; among many others), the interaction between business experts and entrepreneurs is predetermined insofar as these experts are the ones who ask questions, whereas entrepreneurs usually answer then (Klaff, 2011). However, this pre-allocation of turns is not necessarily dependent on the context itself as these interactants are likely to keep these roles even if this negotiation took place privately in an office without the presence of an "overhearing audience". What is at stake here is the fact that the particular asymmetrical discourse is not necessarily the result of the institutional setting in which the talk takes place, but the asymmetry of power resulting from the entrepreneurs' need to get the business experts' money (O'Connor, 2004).

In addition to this, while the interaction is taking place, there is no host who may intervene, but experts and entrepreneurs are free to engage in the conversation. In fact, the absence of a host makes it possible to suggest that the format itself offers a context in which both parties can self-select. In the light of this, I argue that the nature of the programme makes this kind of talk one that is not, as such, performed, or at least, as Gregori-Signes suggests (2000), this particular televised business discourse can be said to have a quasi-conversational nature (e.g. false starts, interruptions, mistakes, informal language structures are common). As Tolson himself points out (2001: 30), this talk can be analysed 'as a form of play with the pragmatic expectations of conversational practice'.

Even though the programme may have been edited, the transactional nature that characterises this type of talk authenticates both experts' and entrepreneurs' roles as participants in relatively spontaneous and unscripted mediated events. In spite of the entertainment through talk that characterises reality television in general, the discursive strategies are not substantially different from everyday conversation (Haarman, 2001). In particular, I understand this particular type of interaction as institutional talk that can be explored from a conversation analysis point of view in order to identify systematic pragma-discursive features. The role of context, in accordance with Fairclough's (1995) cultural-generic approach, is then considered as the way to fully understand how meaning is constructed (Hill, 2017). In this context, I therefore contrast how British and Spanish business experts employ a distinctive set of social influence techniques that, apart from entertaining the audience, will help interactants reach a real business contract.

3. Method

3.1 Televised Entrepreneurial Discourse: Selection Process

As O'Leary explains (2008), an elevator pitch is a short, concise overview of a product, a particular service or a project that is aimed at persuading a potential investor in the time it takes to ride an elevator (Baron, 2008). The concept itself has to do with an accidental meeting with a potential investor in the elevator (Gallo, 2012). If that brief conversational exchange is effective, it may catch the interlocutor's interest and create the need to know more about that product. Owing to these time constraints, an elevator pitch must go straight to the point, stay at a high level and focus on what really matters: 'What is it? Who needs it? Who are the competitors? What is the competitive advantage over these competitors? How do you expect to make money?' In order to persuade potential investors why they should believe what the speaker is saying, an effective elevator pitch must also create the kind of emotional attraction that will make potential investors want to buy that idea.

In addition to a growing body of literature exploring the nature of an effective elevator pitch as well as popular press articles and information that aim to give tips for crafting an effective elevator pitch (cf. Sedniev, 2016), national and international competitions have gained popularity among professionals and university students. Given that the aim of the present paper was to explore the relationship between the presence of a specific structural interaction pattern and its influence on the effectiveness of a particular social influence, I decided to opt for Dragon's Den: one of the most popular television programmes both in the British and the Spanish television that based its success in the persuasive skills of entrepreneurs who try to sell a product to panel of investors (Slater, 2010; and Spalton, 2010).

More specifically, Dragon's Den was first launched in Japan and it is now an international brand with versions airing in UK and Spain ('Tu Oportunidad') among many other countries in the world. In both the British and the Spanish version of the programme, entrepreneurs' pitch must be persuasive enough so as to convince a panel of business experts that comprises three male and two female venture investors who are willing to invest their own money in exchange for equity (Slater, 2010). After introducing themselves entrepreneurs have no longer than three minutes to explain the ins and outs of their business, ask for a specific amount of money in exchange for a specific percentage of equity. Once the investor pitch is over, the Dragons ask questions to get all the necessary details to negotiate the business proposal and make a decision.

After having answered the questions posed, the Dragons can declare themselves 'out' if they are not interested. If this happens, they must remain silent and they will not re-enter negotiation on the deal. Those interested offer an amount of money, which can be negotiated so that the entrepreneur can secure the total amount he or she asked for at the beginning of the pitch. Even though each Dragon is an individual investor, the entrepreneur may seek investment from more than one Dragon and persuade them to invest a portion of the total amount of money needed. Finally, entrepreneurs are free to accept or refuse investment if they think the deal does not satisfy their financial needs.

3.2 Data Selection and Classification Process

As for the data selection, a content analysis of all programmes broadcast in the first two series was conducted. The selective representation was done in terms of two key variables: 1) Gender. Five female and five male entrepreneurs were selected from each group; and 2) Similar business proposal. Furthermore, entrepreneurs were asking for a similar amount of money in exchange for a similar percentage of the business. In the end, I selected a total number of 10 business pitches from both the British and the Spanish versions of the programme .

The second stage of the analysis focused on understanding the illocutionary force embedded within the Dragons' elicitations in the belief that the discourse analysis of these elicitations will cast light on the persuasive nature of the interaction. Therefore, elicitations were coded for their pragmatic meaning and classified into a consistent and manageable taxonomy of 4 principles of classification of main communication acts in the British and the Spanish data: inform (i.e. elicit the entrepreneur to provide new information), agree (i.e. elicit the entrepreneur to agree with the Dragon's requests), clarify (i.e. elicit the entrepreneur to clarify a particular aspect), and commit (i.e. invite the entrepreneur to show commitment of some kind). Table 1 below shows the principles of classification of elicitations found in the corpus and frequency of each pragmatic meaning.

Table 1. Principles of classification of initiating moves: elicitations in the corpus. Adapted from Tsui (1994)

		British	**Corpus**	**Spanish**	**Corpus**
Initiating move:		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Elicit:	Male business expert	439	26%	461	23.8%
agree	Female business expert	557	33%	676	34.9%
Elicit:	Male business expert	36	2.1%	29	1.4%
clarify	Female business expert	25	1.4%	30	1.5%
Elicit:	Male business expert	65	3.8%	47	2.4%
commit	Female business expert	41	2.4%	44	2.2%
Elicit:	Male business expert	236	13.9%	312	16.1%
inform	Female business expert	288	17%	335	17.3%
	Total	1,687		1,934	

The third stage consisted in gaining insights from the data by relating the illocutionary force of the Dragon's elicitations to the nature of the entrepreneurs' responses. That is to say, a quantitative analysis was carried out in order to identify whether or not there seemed to be a systematic correspondence between a particular type of elicitation and response (i.e. either a responding or a challenging act). In addition to this, I conducted a statistical analysis of the presence of a third-part or follow-up move in order to address any possible correlation between the type of elicitation and/or response and the presence of a follow-up move. Finally, the gender variable was also considered in order to identify whether male or female business experts were more prone to exploit a particular type of elicitation and produce a follow-up move in each culture.

Below, table 2 shows the structural pattern under analysis that comprises three different moves: (1) the initiating move consists in an elicitation that is produced by either a male or a female business expert; (2) the responding move is produced by a male or a female entrepreneur and may be realised by either a responding act or a challenging move; and (3) the presence or absence of a follow-up move produced by the very same interlocutor that produced the initiating move. For the sake of clarity, I will discuss these aspects in detail as well as I will offer the specific quantitative analysis as section 4 unfolds.

Table 2. Analysis of the basic unit of conversational organization in televised business negotiations

British and Spanish data Business expert Initiating move: Elicitations		Entrepreneur Responding Move		Business expert Presence of a follow-up move
Men		M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No
Women	Elicit: agree	M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No
Men		M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No
Women	Elicit: clarify	M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No
Men		M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No
Women	Elicit: commit	M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No
Men		M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No
Women	Elicit: inform	M	Responding act	
		W	Challenging act	Yes/No

4. Analysis

4.1 Uncovering the Basic Unit of Conversational Organisation in Televised Business Discourse

After having elicited information that could be missing in the monologue (i.e. elicit: inform) and having asked for clarification whenever needed (i.e. elicit: clarify), inspection of the data shows that both British and Spanish Dragons tend to exploit a significant higher number of elicit: agree during their interaction (see tables 3 & 4 above). Furthermore, the negotiation unfolds as a consistent sequence of three-part exchanges that shows a consistent set of characteristics. The following tables give the number of three-part exchanges initiated by elicit: agree in the data. In order to give a full account of any consistent structural pattern in the turn-taking system, the quantitative analysis reflects whether or not these elicitations were followed by responding or challenging acts. It also shows the presence or absence of the follow-up move. It is important to note that the gender variable was considered when quantifying the three moves the exchange consists of.

Table 3. Basic unit of conversational organisation in the British data: Three-part exchange

Business expert Initiating move:			Entrepreneur Responding move:				Business expert Follow up move:	
Elicit: Agree	Male	439	Response	Male	87	19.8%	54	62%
				Female	79	17.9%	57	72.1%
			Challenge	Male	134	30.5%	132	98.5%
				Female	139	31.6%	135	97.1%
	Female	557	Response	Male	113	20.2%	82	72.5%
				Female	125	22.4%	109	87.2%
			Challenge	Male	161	28.9%	159	98.7%
				Female	158	28.3%	153	96.8%

Table 4. Basic unit of conversational organisation in the Spanish data: Three-part exchange

Business expert Initiating move:			Entrepreneur Responding move:				Business expert Follow up move:	
Elicit: Agree	Male	461	Response	Male	155	33.6%	55	35.4%
				Female	127	27.5%	91	71.6%
			Challenge	Male	102	22.1%	93	91.1%
				Female	77	29%	72	93.5%
	Female	676	Response	Male	134	19.8%	79	58.9%
				Female	248	36.6%	195	78.6%
			Challenge	Male	131	19.3%	127	96.9%
				Female	163	24.1%	151	92.6%

The consistent pattern tables 3 and 4 reveal can be explained as follows:

1. **Initiating move**. Elicit: agree. Both British and Spanish Dragons produce a particular first part in the form of an

elicitation, which sets up the expectation of a particular second pair part in the form of a response. What is of interest here is the fact that the specific norms that give structure to the interaction seem to be based on a 'disconfirmation bias in argument evaluation' (Hogg and Vaughan, 2008: 207); that is to say, in the light of their evaluative beliefs (i.e. their judgement or appraisal about the product), the Dragons tend to exploit these elicitations in order to invite the entrepreneur to supply a piece of information and to scrutinise those arguments that seem to be incompatible with their own prior beliefs.

Furthermore, I suggest that the use of elicit: agree seems to have a persuasive effect as they aim to enhance the positivity of the Dragons' self-concept by performing a biased search of knowledge to support a favourable self-concept (i.e. showing interest in the entrepreneur's product) and contribute to a positive sense of in-group membership ('You and I as potential business partners'). Finally, it is worth highlighting the fact that female Dragons tend to elicit: agree more can explain why four out of the five Spanish female Dragons eventually made an offer and the only three British Dragons who reached an agreement were female. All in all, the analysis suggests that elicit: agree work at an interpersonal level since these elicitations aim to build rapport and gain compliance from entrepreneurs.

(1) Tu Oportunidad

A: **¿Te parece bien si te ofrezco 30.000 euros for un 20%?** ((What do you think if I give 30.000 euros in exchange for 205))

B: Con eso tendría suficiente para arrancar ((That'd be good enough to start))

A: Eres mío **¿Hacemos trato entonces?** ((You're mine. Deal?))

B: Sí, sí, trato hecho. ((Yes, yes, deal!))

A: Hoy es tu día de suerte ((Today is your lucky day))

A/B: ((Smile and shake hands)

(2) Tu Oportunidad

A: **Me parece bastante interesante todo lo que nos has contado y por ello te doy todo el dinero que pides por la mitad del negocio. ¿Te hace? ¿hacemos trato entonces?** ((I think what you've told us is fairly intesting and that's why I give you all the money you asked for in exchange for 50% of the business. Do you agree? Deal?))

B: Eso es demasiado ((That's too much))

A: **Piensatelo bien. Todo el dinero que necesitas y la mitad del negocio yo lo aceptaría si fuera tú. ¿Trato hecho?** ((Think it about it. I offer you all the money you need and half of your business. I'd accept it if I were you. Deal?))

B: No es justo ((This is not a fair offer))

A: Estoy fuera ((I'm out))

(3) Dragon's Den

A: **How about if we keep the 5% in the business then because we have also registered in the UK then the 20% that you want you can have that in the UK market to give you the drive to be the… dunno.**

B: So you would offer a higher than 5% in the UK company. It would be a subsidiary of the Australian company. That'd be a good deal

A: Good. **Agree?**

B: I'm very happy

A: Glad to hear it. We'll do great things together

B: Sure

A/B: ((they shake hands)

(4) Dragon's Den

A: **I am going to offer you all the 40,000 pounds. But I would like 20% of your business. And the reason why I have asked for 20% is that I do crack fro you the main retailers then it could be big and if it is big then I will have helped you create that**

B: Ok thank you

A: Umm **are you accepting?**

B: I don't know

A: **I am not making any other offer this one is a fair offer. Deal?**

B: I don't think so.

A: going one going…

B: I can't

A: You don't know what you're talking about. I'm out.

2. **Responding move.** These elicitations can either be followed by:

(i) **a responding act** (i.e. the entrepreneur fulfils the illocutionary force with which the elicitation was produced; that is, the piece of information provided is in accordance with the Dragon's evaluative beliefs).

(5) Tu Oportunidad

A: ¿Aceptas si te ofrezco ahora mismo la mitad de lo que has pedido por un 35% de tu negocio? ((Do you accept if I give you right now half of what you have asked in exchange for 35% of your business?))

B: Claro, es una buena oferta ((Sure, this is a good offer))

A: Me alegro por ti ((Good for you))

A/B: ((they shake hands))

(6) Dragon's Den

A: You know I believe in your idea. I offer you 35,000 but I'd like 35% of your business. What do you say?

B: What can say? Yes with my eyes closed ((Laughing))

A: Deal

A/B: ((they shake hands))

(ii) **a challenging act** (i.e. the entrepreneur does not fulfil the illocutionary force of the elicitation and, therefore, challenges the Dragon's evaluative beliefs).

(7) Tu Oportunidad

A: Te ofrezco un cuarto del dinero y un 20% del negocio y si en el futuro veo que la cosa progresa podríamos renegociarlo ¿Te parece? ((I offer you a fourth of the money you need and I'd like 20% of the business. If later on I can see things are going well, we could renegotiate it. What do you think?))

B: No, no, un cuarto es poco ((No, no, a fourth is not enough))

A: No sabes lo que dices. Un cuarto por 20% es lo mejor que vas a poder conseguir. ¿Aceptas? ((You don't know what you're saying. A fourth of the business in exchange for 20% is the best offer you can get. Do you accept it?))

A: No me temo que ((No, I'm afraid I))

B: Estoy fuera ((I'm out))

(8) Dragon's Den

A: There is a number of things we still have to discuss but I offer you 25,000 but I'd like 30% of your business. Interested?

B: I'd like to give as much as I take

A: You need me more than I need you. 30,000 in exchange for 35%. Does this offer suit your plans?

B: Not really

A: I'm out

B: The thing is…

A: I'm out

Although there does not seem to be a statistically significant gender-based preference for the production of responses or challenges, it is possible to draw a line between British and Spanish entrepreneurs. It is important to note that, in the data, British entrepreneurs do tend to challenge the Dragons' elicitations (59.4%) more than the Spanish ones (41%). This tendency is also in line with a lesser business proposal acceptance rate in the British data.

3. **Follow-up move.** Without any doubt, the high percentage of follow-up moves in the exchange are revealing for my research purposes. Given that the follow-up move is present in more than 60% of the exchanges, it can be claimed that the persuasive nature of the interaction makes the exchange to be seen as incomplete and a further contribution is required on the part of the Dragon. More specifically, the quantitative analysis shows that the follow-up move is not only much more frequent after a challenging move as it is present in more than 90% of the exchanges, but also female Dragons tend to produce this move slightly more than the male ones – even if the entrepreneurs responded their elicitations. With regard to the function of this follow-up move, the follow-up move is used to evaluate the product positively if the entrepreneur responds or, on the contrary, this third move shows how the entrepreneur has not produced an acceptable response. In doing so, the Dragons attempt to recover the intention of the first move by complaining, insisting on the former idea, and/or evaluating the product/the entrepreneur's attitude negatively.

(9) Tu Oportunidad

A: ¿Te parece bien si te ofrezco 30.000 euros for un 20%? ((What do you think if I give 30.000 euros in exchange for 205))

B: Con eso tendría suficiente para arrancar ((That'd be good enough to start))

A: **Eres mío** ¿Hacemos trato entonces? ((You're mine. Deal?))

B: Sí, sí, trato hecho. ((Yes, yes, deal!))

A: **Hoy es tu día de suerte** ((Today is your lucky day))

A/B: ((Smile and shake hands)

(10) Tu Oportunidad

A: Te ofrezco un cuarto del dinero y un 20% del negocio y si en el futuro veo que la cosa progresa podríamos renegociarlo ¿Te parece? ((I offer you a fourth of the money you need and I'd like 20% of the business. If later on I can see things are going well, we could renegotiate it. What do you think?))

B: No, no, un cuarto es poco ((No, no, a fourth is not enough))

A: **No sabes lo que dices.** Un cuarto por 20% es lo mejor que vas a poder conseguir. ¿Aceptas? ((**You don't know what you're saying**. A fourth of the business in exchange for 20% is the best offer you can get. Do you accept it?))

A: No me temo que ((No, I'm afraid I))

B: Estoy fuera ((I'm out))

(11) Dragon's Den

A: There is a number of things we still have to discuss but I offer you 25,000 but I'd like 30% of your business. Interested?

B: I'd like to give as much as I take

A: **You need me more than I need you**. 30,000 in exchange for 35%. Does this offer suit your plans?

B: Not really

A: I'm out

B: The thing is…

A: I'm out

(12) Dragon's Den

A: I am going to offer you all the 40,000 pounds. But I would like 20% of your business. And the reason why I have asked for 20% is that I do crack fro you the main retailers then it could be big and if it is big then I will have helped you create that

B: Ok thank you

A: Umm are you accepting?

B: I don't know

A: I am not making any other offer this one is a fair offer. Deal?

B: I don't think so.

A: going one going…

B: I can't

A: You don't know what you're talking about. I'm out.

Finally, the fact of identifying the basic unit of conversational organisation in the data makes it possible to argue that the way the turn-taking system is distributed determines the way British and Spanish Dragons relate to the entrepreneurs. Given that cooperation plays an important role in the process of persuasion, the use of elicit: agree not only helps the Dragons treat entrepreneurs as in-group members, but also the fact that entrepreneurs are required to agree subtly enlist social pressure to accept the Dragons' requests. These requests do not usually correspond with the entrepreneur's initial proposal.

In what follows, I will concern myself with a pragma-discursive analysis of these three-part exchanges in an attempt to gain insights into the persuasive nature of the interaction.

4.2 Performing Strategies for Gaining Compliance in Televised Business Discourse

If the use of elicit: agree works as a persuasive strategy, some important questions remain answered: (1) Given that the success of each business pitch varies from one entrepreneur to another, would the study of the sequences of elicit: agree make it possible to throw light on the way(s) British and Spanish Dragons relate to the entrepreneurs (i.e. by scrutinising their business proposals)? And in doing so, would the pragma-discursive analysis of elicit: agree make it possible to uncover the complex persuasive strategies being used by these business experts in order to gain compliance?; (2) The quantitative analysis reveals that, independently from the culture and the gender variable, elicit: agree are sometimes followed by a responding or a challenging act. Thus, one may pose the questions: Would it be possible to gain insight into the pragmatic motivations that provoke the presence of each responding move? Besides, what are the pragmatic motivations of a follow-up move after both types of responding move?

As the analysis will show, the interactional dynamics of the business experts and entrepreneurs' interaction can be considered as an example of 'live-event' broadcasting insofar as this reality television programme that involves, as argued above, features of spontaneous talk. In accordance with Hutchy (2001), I understand that the persuasive nature of the interaction and the potential confrontations is not a pre-existing element that shapes their interventions during the negotiation of the contract.

Inspection of the data gives evidence that the use of elicit: agree responds to three basic persuasive tactics: (1) Foot-in-the-door tactic; (2) Door-in-the-face tactic; and (3) Low-ball tactic (Freedman and Fraser, 1966). These three persuasive tactics not only help British and Spanish Dragons to scrutinise entrepreneurs' business proposal, but also they subtly enlist social pressure and urge entrepreneurs to agree with the Dragon and, consequently, accept their request. Let us discuss each tactic in turn.

4.2.1 Tu Oportunidad: Persuading Others and the Foot-in-the-door Tactic

In the case of the Spanish data, the five male and female Dragons use the foot-in-the-door tactic as an attempt to establish common ground between them and the entrepreneurs (Tsui, 1994: 87), promote social 'mutuality' (Brazil, 1984: 34) and be able to reach an agreement that benefits them. The following examplee illustrate how the Dragon first elicits some further information (i.e. elicit: inform) he requires to make a decision and then exploits a succession of elicit: agree which responds to this persuasive tactic.

Extract 1

Male business expert (A): No sé si te he entendido bien ¿Cuántos años lleváis con este proyecto? ((*I don't know whether I got you right. How long have you been working on this project?*))

Male Entrepreneur (B): Llevamos en ello casi cuatro años y tenemos ganancias casi desde el primer día ((*Almost four years and we've made profit almost from day one.*))

A: Eso está muy bien. ¿Qué te parece entonces si me uno a vuestro plan y me cedes un 20% por 38.000 euros? *((This is great. What do you think if I join you and you give me 20% in exchange for 38,000 euros?))*

B: Sí, sí, claro, me parece bien. *((Yes, of cours, that'd be great))*

A: Lo sabía. ¿Qué te parece entonces si te doblo la oferta por la mitad de tu negocio? *((I knew it. What do you think then I double the offer in exchange for half of the business?))*

B: No era lo que había pensado. *((This is not what I'd planned))*

A: Sabes que me quieres dentro ¿Lideramos al proyecto a medias y te cubro mucho más de lo que pediste? *((You know* *you want me in. Do we head the project as a team and I give you much more than you asked for?))*

B: Sí, creo que no puedo decir que no. Realmente no puedo decir que no *((Yes, I think I cannot refuse your offer. I can't really say no to your offer))*

A: No, no puedes. ¿Hacemos trato? *((No, you can't. Deal?))*

B: Trato echo *((Deal))*

A: ((Sonrie, se levanta y le da la mano)) *((He smiles, stands up and they shake hands))*

As can be seen this extract, the effectiveness of this tactic (Dolinski, 2000) lies on the fact that if the Dragon gets the entrepreneur to agree to a small request (e.g. "What do you think if I join you and you give me 20% in exchange for 38,000 euros?"), they will later be more willing to comply with a large request (e.g. "What do you think then I double the offer in exchange for half of the business?"). Inspection of the data shows that business experts first elicit some further information that was missing in the entrepreneurs' previous monologue (e.g. "I don't know whether I got you right. How long have you been working on this project?"). After having all the necessary details, Dragons show their interest in the business proposal and invite the entrepreneurs to agree with a small request (i.e. having a higher percentage and offering half of the money initially proposed).

With regard to the structural pattern of the interaction, it can be noticed, as extract 1 illustrates, that Dragons tend to produce an endorsing follow-up move (Tsui, 1994: 200) in order to upgrade the agreement (Pomerantz, 1984: 68), even though both elicitations are followed by a responding act (e.g. "This is great"; "You know you want me in")

As mentioned above, only three business proposals in the Spanish data did not succeed. In spite of the fact that the Dragons exploit the very same persuasive tactic, the difference lies in the fact that the entrepreneurs challenged the initiating move. In doing so, entrepreneurs question the Dragons' authority and/or knowledge of the market and they usually provoke their anger and they end up declaring themselves out. Even though the interaction unfolds as a succession of three-part exchanges, the follow-up move fulfils a different discursive function as it encodes the Dragon's attitudinal meaning: a negative appraisal of the entrepreneur's decision and/or product on one hand and their anger and/or disappointment on the other. Let us consider the following extract:

Extract 2

Male business expert (A): ¿y desde cuándo estáis con el negocio? *((when did you start your business?))*

Female entrepreneur (B): arrancamos el año pasado *((We started last year))*

A: estoy dispuesto a participar en la idea, sin duda, ¿estarías dispuesta a dejarte asesorar para ver cómo atendemos el mercado internacional? *((I'm willing to be part of the project, without any doubt, would you accept my advise to see how we understand the international market?))*

B: sí, claro. Eso sería extraordinario *((Yes, of course. That'd be extraordinary))*

A: ¿qué te parece entonces si cubro la cantidad que solicitas pero a cambio cedes el 50% de la empresa? *((What do you think if I give you the money you asked for in exchange of 50%))*

B: ((se queda callada)) Esa no era mi idea original *(([She remains silent] That was not my original idea))*

A: Lo sé ¿aceptarías mi propuesta si pongo en tus manos mi equipo de asesores? ¿hacemos trato? *((I know. Would you accept my offer if I let you talk to my advisors? Deal?))*

B: No, no lo considero necesario, prefiero esperar e intentarlo de otra forma. *((No, I don't think that's necessary. I prefer waiting and trying to do it some other way))*

A: Estoy fuera entonces *((I'm out then))*

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the foot-in-the-door technique works on the principle of consistency (Petrova et al., 2007). The Spanish data reveal that this persuasive tactic does not work in these particular three cases insofar as the second elicit: agree is not consistent with or similar in nature to the original small request embedded within the first elicit: agree. Extract 2 illustrates this point and shows how this Dragon goes from offering some technical expertise to lending the money required in exchange for 50% of the company shares instead of 15%.

4.2.2 Dragon's Den: Persuading Others and the Door-in-the-face and Low-ball Tactics

Inspection of the 10 British pitches gives evidence that elicit: agree also work as a persuasive tactic. However, these British male and female Dragons mainly rely on the door-in-the-face tactic. Interestingly enough, they tend to exploit this persuasive tactic when they are interested in the business proposal, but they are mainly concerned with negotiating the economic offer and, thus, getting only part of the business for a cheaper price. In spite of the Dragons' persuasive efforts, the tactic seems to fail insofar as none of the Dragons who used this tactic succeeded in persuading the entrepreneur to accept their economic offer. Consider the following extract:

Extract 3

Male business expert (A): What other ideas do you have to get money from this site? I mean if you have any

Female entrepreneur (B): So far we haven't explored any other possibilities, but we are open new ideas.

A: Sure I've got lots of ideas. I'm positive your project can have a great impact on the international market, but there are some important issues we should discuss first

B: yeah, yeah of course

A: Great. 49% and 60.000?

B: Just to clarify. Are you saying that you want 49% for 60.000?

A: That's exactly it. Do you agree on that?

B: No, I'm sorry. I mean unfortunately there is no way I can go from 30% to 49%

A: You need me a lot more than I need you by miles. Deal?

B: I know but I can't

A: Very well then. 30% in exchange fro 30.000?

B: No, I'm sorry. That's still too much

A: I bet you don't have that money in your back pocket. Deal?

B: I certainly not, but I can't

A: Big mistake! I'm out

As extract 3 shows, the Dragon precedes the presentation of focal piece of information they want entrepreneurs to agree with by a larger request that is bound to be refused (e.g. "49% and 60.000?"). As expected, the entrepreneur challenges the illocutionary force of the elicitation (e.g. "No, I'm sorry. I mean unfortunately there is no way I can go from 30% to 49%"). After the entrepreneur has refused the offer, the Dragon introduces the real offer (e.g. "30% in exchange fro 30.000?"); however, the entrepreneur does not agree with that offer. The structural analysis of the interaction shows how the Dragon always produces a follow-up move to consolidate the exchange and, pragmatically speaking, this move encapsulates a negative assessment of the entrepreneur's challenging acts (e.g. "You need me a lot more than I need you by miles"; "Big mistake!").

The discourse analysis of the British data gives evidence that all of the challenges take place whenever these Dragons exploit the door-in-the face tactic. As a result, no agreement is reached. Interestingly enough, the only three female Dragons who persuaded the entrepreneurs used the low-ball tactic. These three Dragons induced the entrepreneurs to agree to a request before revealing certain hidden costs. Consider the following extract:

Extract 4

Female business expert (A): I don't see anything here that I couldn't do very simply very quickly myself. I can't see where it's going to generate me income. How is it gonna make money. What's the innovation?

Male entrepreneur (B): If say a group of three students are looking for a property and they find a property that's got five rooms with one click they can create a notice that appears in the housemate section in the notice board.

A: That actually diminishes your revenue actually if you think about it, doesn't it?

B: No, I don't think so

A: It does. I'm going to offer you 75,000 pounds for 15% of the business.

B: No ((nodding his head))

A: what you explained dimishes your revenue because it takes the property off the site quicker and therefore reduces. Right?

B: I don't think so.

A: You're wrong. But if you're so sure, let me make you an offer, 150,000 pounds for 15%

B: That'd be great

A: Sure! But if you're right you'll give me 20% after a year

B: Erm ((he thinks for a few seconds)) All right

A: What you're doing is right! ((they shake hands))

As extract 4 shows, the Dragon wants to make it clear that the business proposal is not so good as suggested. The effectiveness of this tactic relies on the principle once people are committed to an action, they are more likely to accept a slight increase in the cost of the action (Hogg & Vaughan, 2008: 215). Furthermore, the thrill of the strategy lies in the implicit social sanction that elicitations encapsulate, for it undermines the entrepreneurs' product, and also regulates the disclosure of information that will make them admit its limitations and weaknesses (Billig, 1996). As suggested above, the exchanges are perceived as incomplete and the Dragon produces a negative evaluation to recover the illocutionary intent of the first initiating move and to support what she believes it is right. As a result, the Dragon's first offer is declined.

Aware of the fact that the negotiation is blocked, the Dragon seems to change the rule halfway and manages to get away with it. In particular, she offers the amount of money the entrepreneur requested. The success of the technique works on the principle of commitment (Cialdini et al., 1978). Given that the entrepreneur has agreed to the initial request, commitment has been given. When the request changes (i.e. getting a higher percentage of the business after a year), the entrepreneur finds it difficult to say "no" because of having originally committed himself. All in all, expert and informational power may be regarded as the regulatory force which determines the whole persuasive effect of the strategy and guarantees that the three Dragons in the British data achieve to reach an agreement and invest their money.

5. Conclusion

The study has thoroughly analysed the turn-taking norms that apply to this particular context and identified the basic unit of conversational organisation in televised business discourse. In identifying the three-part exchange, the study has made it possible to identify key structural patterns in exerting interpersonal influence. More specifically, the qualitative analysis has pointed out the fact that British and Spanish Dragons employ four types of elicitations that aim to clarify possible misunderstandings (i.e. elicit: clarify), invite commitment of some kind (i.e. elicit: commit); gain compliance by eliciting the entrepreneur to agree (i.e. elicit: agree); and gain information that will help them assess the business proposal (i.e. elicit: inform). Interestingly enough, the statistical analysis has revealed that most of the interactions between the Dragons and the entrepreneurs revolve around the use of elicit: inform and, more importantly, of elicit: agree.

Furthermore, the study has given evidence that the interaction unfolds as a consistent sequence of three-part exchanges that also show a consistent set of characteristics. Exploration of the exchange suggests that elicit: agree not only help British and Spanish Dragons relate to entrepreneurs by treating them as in-group members, but also enlist social pressure and, eventually, persuade them to accept their requests. However, a thorough pragma-discursive analysis was required to gain insights into the persuasive nature of the interaction.

In doing so, the study has been able to relate the presence of a responding or a challenging move to a specific persuasive tactic. On the one hand, Spanish Dragons' use of elicit: agree is connected to the employment of the foot-in-the-door tactic. By getting the entrepreneur to agree to a small request, they are later be more willing to comply with a large request and, eventually, reach an agreement. Owing to the success of this strategy, the entrepreneurs tend to produce responses rather than challenges and the exchange is completed with endorsing follow up moves. On the other hand, British Dragons' use of elicit: agree is either connected to the employment of the door-in-the-face tactic or the low-ball tactic. The analysis has shown how the former results in blocking the negotiations and elicit: agree are usually followed by challenging moves, whereas the latter results in reaching an agreement between both parties and elicit: agree are usually followed by responding moves. Of interest here is the fact that in both cases the exchange is perceived to be incomplete and British Dragons produce a follow up move in order to complain or insist on their previous idea (door-in-the-face tactic) or to appraise the entrepreneurs decision positively (low-ball tactic). All in all, the present study has brought together the understanding of the efficiency of influence techniques and the basic unit of conversational organisation.

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Improvement of Family Relationships as a Social Duty

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Abstract

The present research is aimed to study the improvement of family relationships as a social duty. To achieve this goal, the descriptive-analytical method was used. Family relationship is one of the most important factors whose negative effects on society can be investigated and studied. Family is one of the most fundamental institutions of any society about which many experts and specialists have thought and speculated. These experts have searched for the origin of all abnormalities and misbehaviors in the family. In fact, no society can claim health unless it enjoys a healthy family. The present research is a theoretical research based on library studies. It attempts to study the status of family relationships in Iran, the factors affecting the formation and evolution of family relationships, the effect of progress and modernization on family relationships, and the causes of family relationships looseness.

Keywords: family relationships, progress, modernization

1. Problem Presentation

Religion and family are among those social institutions which are considered as holy or sacred and, thus, have transcendental status and position for individuals and society (Seif, 1368). Family is, indeed, a part of social system which is not only influenced by other social institutions but it also provides the ground for changes in these institutions (Bills & Parsons, 1998: 109). Generally, all the divine religions emphasize on the sacredness and sanctity and respectability of the family institution and include some rules and regulations for adjusting the family relationships. Bertalanffy, in his systems theory, considers family as a whole comprised of constituents. Goldenberg (2000) believes that family is an environment in which the couple and the children have close interaction with each other. Besides, creating strong and effective emotional relationship, in the family environment, with the main partner of life and spouse can meet a large part of the mental and emotional needs. Improving the family relationships can have determinative effects on the increase of quality in all parts of life and can also be regarded as an effective factor in achieving more successes and accomplishments.

Furthermore, since family is one of the most fundamental positions for human beings' presence in life, it is considered as one of the most important centers of human training and breeding. In order to normalize the relationships in such center, its first member (wife and husband) must have necessary skills for creating healthy relationships and keeping and protecting the family against any problem which can expose it to risk. Islam, with its specific legislation discipline and system, tries to keep the family and strengthen its pillars and foundations based on ethical principles and values, because matrimonial connection and marriage is an instinctive issue which, in the first step, doesn't need any specific training and stimulant or incentive, but continuity of this connection and having proper and sustainable relationships, which can lead to stability and durance of family, requires training and education (Motahhari, 1386: 229). On this basis, regarding the fact that the family relationships and especially the relationships between spouses are among the most important and determinative parts of human relationships which can affect all the parts and areas of our lives, the present research is aimed to investigate and study the improvement of family relationships as an important social duty.

1.1 Research Background (Review of Literature)

Azizollah Aghababaei and Mahboubeh Bagheri performed a research titled internet and family relationships. Their results showed that the amount of using internet affects the variables such as reduction of daily activities, parents' distrust in children, reduction of face to face connections, social isolation, and reduction of social activities in $p<0.05$ level.

Also Seyyed Ahmad Ahmadi and Parvin Shamaeizadeh performed a study on the effect of disciplined training of parents on the family relationships and academic achievement of female high school students in Falavarjan city. Their findings demonstrated that disciplined training of the parents, in 0.05 level, positively affects the mutual relationships and micro-scales of family relationships, family correlation and adaptability, and academic achievement of the children.

Zargham Ghanbarpour et al, too, have performed a research titled studying and comparison of family relationships in academically successful and unsuccessful students. The research findings showed that the family relationships which affect the students' academic success and failure are intertwined factors. Results showed that the family members' relationships, the parents' responsible behavior toward children, and relationships and interaction of parents with each other can affect the students' academic failure and success.

1.2 Research Method

The information gathering method in the present research is of library type so that the researcher has obtained the required information from review of books, journals, magazines, and so on. The information gathered through note-taking (fiche-making) will be analyzed.

1.3 Family Relationships

Family is the center of a society and a focal point for keeping and maintaining traditions, rituals, customs, habits, and also a center for formation of feelings and emotions. On this basis, family is one of the most important social institutions in human societies and, in terms of social behaviors, it has vast effects. Formation of a family is originated from marriage (Sadeghi Ardestani, Bita: 18). Formation of family in Islam is a vital issue and a transcendental and excelled plan which, despite being realized based on Quranic, religious, and traditional rules and regulations, its motifs are institutionalized in human beings in form of instinct, affection, emotion, and mutual eagerness of spouses toward the God's divine wills and determinations. Creation of serenity and cordiality as a consequence of marriage is one of the signs of God's grace and favor (kindness). In addition to the materialistic and natural aspect of marriage, which is a reasonable and ordinary social issue, what gives greatness and sanctity to marriage is the divine reward and humane aspect, which is formed after formation of family because such connection and joining results in divine grace and blessing (Al-Horr-Al-Ameli, vol.15, 1412: 267). After marriage the family environment is developed and finds numerous functions. Attempting to strengthen the family's fundaments is the most principal constituent of the society and its constructive and effective role in society is regarded as one of the long-term solutions introduced by thinkers and programmers (policy makers) of the society (Sadeghi Ardestani, Bita: 18).

1.4 Family Relationships in Iran

The main form of family in ancient Iran has been an extensive and vast one where the family members lived in one place and under protectorate and guardianship of the head of the family (Bartlameh, 1344: 17). Family gradually changed from an extensive form to a core one. In that era, marriage of the princesses and the governing class was done with aims such as marrying individual from the same class and same level, increasing wealth, absorbing tribal supports, and basically achieving stability and sustainability of the government and other political objectives (Hejazi, 1370). The Iranians regarded matrimony (marriage) as one of their religious duties and to the extent they emphasized on matrimony, the severely disagreed adultery (Alavi, 1378: 53-54). Besides regarding the marriage as a sacred issue, Iranians (Zoroastrianism followers) didn't admire divorce and according to Zoroastrianism a man shouldn't cut his matrimonial relationship with his wife (Ravandi, 1383: 640). By collapse of Sassanid kingdom in 651 BC (31 Lunar Hijri) and Islam's entering to Iran, great changes occur in the Iranian family structure under the effect of Islamic instructions. Since Islam has fundaments and principles for any aspect of human life, it enacted some rules, regulations, and principles for the Muslims' lives. Some of these regulated principles are: necessity of being Muslim for both spouses, impermissibility of polygamy, husband's incumbency to pay wife's Nafaqe (life's expenditures), wife's obligation to be obedient to her the husband, acknowledging the wife's economic independence through acknowledging her heredity and ownership, and so on. Following and observing these principles caused that the Muslim Iranians' lives be formed based on the Islamic rules and also led to some outstanding changes in the Iranian families' conditions and status (Asefi, 1352).

In Qajar society there was a short interval between the girls' childhood and marriage. Girls often married at the age of 13 or 15 and practically entered the family life as an independent fundament. In reality, factors such as economic problems, common social beliefs, etc, had notably influenced the increase of early marriages (Delrish, 1375: 23). After the Islamic revolution, the family relationships and sex-related roles in the society underwent remarkable changes. The Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1375 was a turning point in the history of the Iranian women's participation in the public scene of the society, particularly in the political scene (Bahramitash & Hooglund, 2011: 2). After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini introduced the religion as the axis and center of the politics and society, and his revolutionary interpretation of Islam played a key role in formation of the main rules and principal governmental policies (Sadeghi, 2008). In fact, the Islamic Revolution introduced the issue of women as an important problem not only for the oppositions of the new government but also for the advocates of the Revolution and the men and women present in the government body (Najmabadi, 1998). In introducing an ideal example of woman in the post-Revolution society, the life and personality of Fatimah Zahra, Khadijah, and Zeinab (Peace Be Upon Them) have been always considered important in the new cultural policy. With regard to such examples, women's active presence both in family and society was elaborated as a value in the new system although the main emphasis was on their maternal role inside the family. Many of the traditional and religious families, due to the non-Islamic approach of the former government, avoided allowing the girls to enter high schools and universities; however, after the revolution, with regard to the trust and belief in Imam Khomeini's statements and doctrine, families encouraged the girls and women to take presence and participate in the social scene of the society for education and working. Another change in the family relationships in the post-Revolution society was presence and participation of Muslim women in the public media specifically in radio and television. In the early post-Revolution days, Imam Khomeini introduced radio and television as a public university and emphasized that "we are not opponent to radio, we are opponent to reprobation. We are not opponent to television, we are opponent to whatever helping the aliens to prevent our youths' progress and whatever causes we lose our human forces." (Sahifeh Noor, Vol.6, p15; 1382). Thereby, women, specifically the Muslim revolutionary women, found the opportunity to take presence and participate in radio and television and gradually enter this forbidden zone.

1.5 Effective Factors in the Formation and Evolution of Family Relationships

The most important factors which strengthen the family foundation, set up family, and keep the connection between the family members are as follows:

2. Nature

Humans are naturally collective beings and thus always escape from isolation and loneliness. Before building a family, a man has vigorous dependence on the family where he has been born but in the first suitable opportunity he forms a family and remains faithful and loyal to it. Moreover, sense of belonging to the people and environment, that a man has been accustomed to them, naturally makes him loyal and committed. Despite seeming an acquired thing, this is an attraction from the inside or in other words an inner attraction (Seif, 1386: 21).

3. Ethic

Ethic includes "habit, humanity, temper, and religion". Ghazali, too, believes that "ethic is indeed correction and adornment of the triple forces of thinking, lust, and wrath." He believes that ethic is a configuration penetrated in the soul which make the man to behave easily, simply, and without thinking and speculating. This state paves the ground for issuance of desirable and good acts and avoidance from undesirable and bad acts. Based on these two and other definitions of ethic, it is clear that the relationship between ethic and family is an essential and direct relationship because, anywhere other than the safe and secure and constructive environment of a family, no human being will be able to achieve and acquire awareness and perfection and resolve and remove the deficiencies and defects of his souls and behavior (Taghavi, 1374: 192).

4. Sharia (Religion)

The role of different religions in organizing and guiding the human life, specifically in social relationships, has been a fundamental, credible, and sustainable role. Determining behavioral regulations and criteria, divine religions, in addition to correcting the human relationships, have taught human beings the appropriate family and social manners and etiquettes. Without any exception, all the divine religions have accurate rules and regulations for adjusting the family relationships. These rules, in their principal form and without any distortion and falsification, can guarantee peace and serenity in the families because they are based on the human's divine nature; this is why the families of faithful people are more stable and sustainable and have less divorce rate compared to families with less faithfulness and religious beliefs (Ghaemi, 1378: 320).

5. Meeting Emotional and Sexual Needs

Free and unrestrained catering of this instinct is absolutely forbidden and prohibited in Islam. The ways to cater and satisfy this instinct are limited to those ways which are based on the human's divine nature and the individual and social interests and expediencies of all human beings; therefore, as the first fundamental step to keep family, the sexual instinct must be satisfied as a natural need through sexual enjoyment from an individual of the opposite sex and homosexuality is prohibited (in Islamic religion terms it is called **haraam**). Moreover, enjoying sexual pleasure of the opposite sex, too, must be limited to the legal and religious frameworks and regulations (Mesbah Yazdi, 1389: 209).

6. Vision and Awareness

Basically, health and stability of a family requires that the family members have social vision, insight, and awareness and also have necessary knowledge for family construction and preventing conflictions and disagreements.

Undoubtedly an unbridle family is a product of its members' unawareness of the importance of family and its role in their future and destiny. Such unawareness causes that the spouses don't make sufficient effort to keep and maintain their joint life; as a result, factors such as false pride, inopportune and improper expectations, poverty, selfishness, suspicions, and disregarding the spouse's situation and conditions would soon shake the family foundations and make them unstable because the required motivation for keeping life is absent in such families. In such cases, the only solution would be divorce, while many of the family problems are rooted in unawareness of the duties and lack of knowledge about the solutions for making relationships and problem-solving.

7. Consultation

One of the features of a stable and balanced family is trying to use consultation in order to achieve agreements in the family. According to the Islamic instructions and teachings, exploiting others' opinions and ideas for problem-solving is the best and the most appropriate method for decision-making. There is no doubt that one of the most important issues in any family is to use consultation for handling the family and solving the problems (Mesbah Yazdi, 1380: 54).

8. Regarding the Family Members' Rights

It is evident that all the family members have some rights and duties toward each other. Imam Sajjad (the fourth Imam of Shia Muslims), in his "the rights" treatise, expresses the parents rights on the children as: "the mother's right on you is that you should know that she has born you in such a way that nobody bears anyone else, she has fed you from her soul's extract in such a way that nobody feed anyone else, she has kept and protected you with her ears, eyes, hands, feet, skin, and all her organs and is pleased and satisfied by this protection, she has tolerated many worries, pains, agonies, and troubles to protect you against troubles and disasters, thus you must be thankful to her as much as all her efforts and you must be aware that you can't be thankful to her except by help of the God. But your father's right is that you must know that he is your origin and root, you are like a twig for him and if he wasn't then you wouldn't exist now, so whenever you see something good inside yourself you should know that it is rooted in your father, thus you must thank god as much as that goodness and be thankful to him and know that everything is governed by God." (Harrani, 1387: 461).

As for the duties of each parent toward the whole family, in Quran the God states: "O, you believers, save yourselves and your families from the hellfire whose fuel is men and stones, over it are angels stern and strong, they do not disobey Allah in what He command them, and do as they are commanded." The order of "enjoining good and forbidding wrong" (promotion of virtue & prevention of vice) is a public order of Islam to all the Muslims, but some other narrations and traditions about the children's right can be interpreted from this verse. The verse indicates that a human has a more important and heavier duty and responsibility toward his wife and children and must attempt, as much as possible, to instruct and train them, prevent them from vices and sins, invite and guide them toward goodness, and should know that meeting only the physical needs in not sufficient (Makarem Shirazi, 1362: 293).

9. Good Strategy in Economic Affairs and Contentment

Contentment means being pleased by what you have and by your share of life. In general, one of the main features which can create sense of satisfaction in the family is contentment. Contentment has got vast dimensions one of which is financial and economic contentment. Financial contentment can not only lead to a mental and psychological serenity but it also can have direct effect on adjustment of life expenses and creation of an economic balance. Contentment can make the humans to be pleased by their assets and try to be thankful to God for them (Farjad, 1389: 23).

9.1 Effect of Progress and Modernization on Family Relationships

Industrialization and civilization are two processes that have led to new changes in the social and individual life. Some of these changes have had positive effects while some others have negatively affected the families' capital level. The main changes are as follows:

1- Reduction of emotional relationships in family: in the Islamic system of values, creating affectionate relationship among the Muslims has been always emphasized. These recommendations have been more emphasized in families and toward relatives in order to create strengthen the family infrastructure in addition to strengthening the affectionate connection between the spouses (Kafi, Vol.5: 569). Entrance of the western thought and culture shrouded under the mask of modernization and being up-to-date has loosen the family foundations and infrastructures and propagation of materialistic and utilitarian values. It has weakened the humane and spiritual aspects of the relationships more than ever and has changed the relationships to strict and machine-like connections; the consequence of such kind of relationships is increase of depression and crimes in addition to the sense of psychological insecurity among the children in their childhood and adolescence.

2- Increase of divorce: in Iran, according to the statistics, the growth of divorce rate is evident. One of the most important reasons for such growth is the effect of modernity on culture, which results in the crisis of cultural and religious values. In fact, this effect has faded the religious values and, consequently, resulted in the crisis of divorce growth. According to the experts, in such conditions, the values of the society are founded on hedonism, instant enjoyment, individual pragmatism, utilitarianism, materialism, and instrumentalism; therefore, the individuals think merely about enjoyment and regard only their own advantages and see everything from a materialistic perspective. In such conditions, the humans' relationships have no spiritual aspect and become extremely fragile and vulnerable; the matrimonial relationships are not excepted and thus the divorce rate is increasingly growing.

3- Increase of using media and entrance of virtual networks into families: another change in today families is the increase of using media and entrance of virtual spaces such as internet and satellite into the families which, in addition to reducing the emotional relationships, plays an important and principal role in forming or strengthening the thoughts, opinions, and attitudes of the society and engages the individuals with themselves and prevent them from interaction with others.

4- Increase of marriage age and its effect on reduction of reproduction: in recent years, the average age of marriage has increased in most of the countries so that people marry in higher ages and, evidently, will have children in older ages. Increase of the marriage age is another consequence of modernity because when welfare-seeking, which is one of the fundamental principles and doctrines of modernism, penetrates into the society, then all the criteria of choosing spouse will be founded and indexed based on providing perfect welfare and wealth at the starting point of marriage and providing all the necessary and unnecessary facilities. On this basis, focusing on having an independent house, having notable wealth, etc, become the main requisites of marriage for girls and families; therefore, since only few young boys ca provide such facilities at the beginning of life, the age of marriage increases more and more and goes up.

5- Change in the method of spouse-choosing and marriage customs and traditions: the customs and traditions of choosing spouse and marriage are among the main targets of modernity attacks. The effective role of elders and parents in choosing a spouse for their children, holding marriage ceremonies, observing and regarding the traditions and regulations of this area, and other relatives' participation in this tradition, was very outstanding in past years, but today the effect of individualism is very notable and observable in decisions related to marriage and spouse choosing. Due to industrialization, civilization, and modernization, the children have gained acquired more independence and control on choosing spouse and deciding the marriage time and their marriages have got new faces and new forms. Spouse choosing, which was previously done through suggestion of parents and elders or intermediation of other people, is today done through acquaintance of girls and boys in workplaces, universities, or even on internet and virtual spaces and chat rooms, and sometimes even the opinion of parents is disregarded (Chris, 1383: 54).

9.2 Reasons for Loosening of Family Relationships

Some reasons and factors which cause undesirable problems in families are:

1- Lack of recognition and awareness of matrimonial life principles

In some families, lack of spouses' recognition of each other's characteristics, unawareness of marriage objectives, injustices, prejudgments, deceptions, lack of responsibility, and disregarding ethical principles loosen the family foundations. The most important factor which hurts the families is the lack of recognition of marriage objectives and divergence or deviation from these objectives. Which direction or path will be followed by a couple who have forgotten or haven't yet recognized the goals and objectives of marriage and family construction? Which method or instrument will be chosen by them for achieving which objective? In order to solve this problem, you should improve and upgrade your skills and knowledge of spouse-treatment principles, because through these skills you can protect and maintain the balance and health of your family.

2- Loosening of religious beliefs

Perhaps the most important factor which threatens the family foundation is loosening and enervation of religious beliefs and ethical principles and lack of spirituality. Whenever spouses ignore the God in their relationships and behave each other as if God is not present, they indeed enervate their family's foundation and lead it toward destruction. Thus, under such circumstances, the relationships will be very fragile and unstable and will be broken and ruptured as soon as a particular situation such as poverty, disease, or aging happens.

3- Dishonesty and deception

The essence of a healthy relationship between spouses is honesty and truthfulness. Honesty founds trust and confidence. A man or woman who is not honest and tries to continue the life with false promises enervates the close and intimate relationships among the family members. Will a man or woman who is far from realities and lives in illusions have a successful matrimonial life? Sometimes concealing the truths (secretiveness) and deception and seduction (deceitfulness) can enervate and loosen the family foundations and hurt the spouses' relationships.

4- Disregarding the needs of the spouse and children

Successful couples are those ones who attempt to satisfy and meet their spouses' needs thus anybody has a duty to recognize the spouse's mental and physical needs and try to meet them. Meeting the needs through appropriate methods will result in comprehensive mental and psychological security of the couples and, consequently, the health of the family. For example, any human being needs security, affection, attention, and respect; therefore, if these needs are not met, then the individual will feel a sense of insecurity and thus the family's psychological health will be disordered.

It is evident that considering the spouse's needs is not limited to the matrimonial needs. So respect and acceptance, having kind and affectionate view toward each other, being with each other, participating in joint activities, and doing some other similar activities are signs of regarding and paying attention to the spouse's needs (Ghazanfari, 1389: 43).

5- Inopportune intervention of relatives

Intervention of other people such as relatives or spouses' parents can intensify the spouses' disagreements and problems and eventually result in their divorce. The wife or husband, especially at the beginning of the matrimonial life, are clumsily misguided and sometimes stimulated by other people; this, in long term, can threaten the family's health and manifest its effect as divorce. Divorce is considered as one of the most sensitive, complicated, and confidential occurrences in anybody's life and thus must be studies as a multi-factor phenomenon.

6- Revenging and carping

Revenging, carping, and reproaching are among the most important factors which can hurt the family and the couples' relationships. Continuous repetition of offenses, resentments, weak points, and failures can threaten and destroy the structure of matrimonial relationships. Thus, in case of disagreements, you should try to forgive your spouse and see his/her positive and strong points; besides, you must try to ignore some of his/her behaviors and sayings. In other words, you shouldn't make a mountain out of molehills.

7- Luxuriousness

Materialism is one of the manifestations of mammonism and luxuriousness is the most outstanding sign of materialism. When materialism reaches its peak and changes into mammonism, it can result in various lapses and faults and prevent the humans from achieving perfection. Luxuriousness causes that an individual's consumption exceeds his production; therefore, in a more extensive perspective, a society that is straying and going toward the wrong way of luxuriousness will be a consumerist society. This means that by consuming most of the resources and assets, the society will no longer have sufficient power for production and investment (Chris, 1383: 65).

10. Conclusion

There are numerous and various factors which influence the social security and serenity. Some of these factors are social while some others are individual. Family relationships are among the most important factors whose negative effects on the society's serenity and security can be investigated and studied. Family is one of most fundamental institutions in any society that many experts have speculated about it and have searched for the origins and roots of all the abnormalities and deviations in the families. In fact, no society can claim being healthy except that it has got healthy families. Since one of the most fundamental positions for humans' presence is the family, which is considered the most important center for training and breeding the human beings, thus the spouses must have the required skills for creating healthy relationships and protecting the family's foundation against any threat and danger. Having a specific regulating system and discipline, Islam religion has always attempted to keep the family and strengthen its foundations based on the ethical principles and values, because the matrimonial connection and marriage is basically instinctive and thus, in the first step, it doesn't need special stimulants and trainings but continuity of this connection and having sustainable and appropriate relationships which can lead to the family's stability require training and instructions (Motahhari, 1386: 229). On this basis, since family relationships, specifically between the spouses, are of the most determinative and important human relationships which can influence all the aspects of life, thus the present research (as a theoretical research which is based on library studies) is aimed to study the improvement of family relationships as a social duty. To achieve this, we have investigated and studied the status of family relationships in Iran, the factors which affect the formation and perfection (evolution) of the family relationships, the effects of progress and modernization on the family relationships, and the reasons of loosening and enervation of the family relationships.

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