journals.sagepub.com/home/jci
ISSN 0196-8599

journal of communication inquiry

volume 42 number 4 October 2018

Special Issue: Mediating Global Migration

Volume 42 Number 4 October 2018

Journal of Communication Inquiry

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Editor's Introduction

Journal of Communication Inquiry
2018, Vol. 42(4) 315–317

DOI: 10.1177/0196859918796957
journals.sagepub.com/home/jci

The October edition of the *Journal of Communication Inquiry* explores the intersection of media and migration in a global context. As globalization has encouraged the exchange of people, goods and ideas leading to porous national boundaries in the past several decades, numerous efforts across the world have sought to contain this mobility. In the United States, President Donald Trump, citing threats of terrorism and unemployment, has openly attempted to curtail immigration. The United Kingdom, too, tightened its immigration policy following its 2016 decision to exit the European Union. In Asia, India and Burma are trying to regulate migration from neighboring Bangladesh by installing hundreds of miles of razor wire along their national borders. Articles in this special edition adopt critical-cultural approaches to examine media's complex role in negotiating the migration process and experience. The papers also reflect on the relationship between media and migration in wide range of geographical, cultural and political contexts.

In the first article, Ivana Cvetkovic and Mirjana Pantic adopt "critical multimodal discourse analysis" to study the framing of the European Union borders in live-blogs produced for European news outlets. Over a million refugees and migrants fleeing from war zones and poor economic conditions reached Europe in 2015. Traditional news media's adoption of live-blogs was crucial in the coverage of refugees and borders. Cvetkovic and Pantic discovered three main frames in the live-blogs—border management, borders as lived spaces, and borders as politically constructed spaces—and discussed their implications for the construction of discourse on migration. Addressing meaning-making through multiple semiotic modes allowed the authors to contribute to scholarly conversation on news framing because "the inclusion of both verbal and nonverbal modes is still understudied in the field of journalism studies as well as in the analysis of discourse on space and migration."

Next, Haneen S. Ghabra and Marouf A. Hasian in their essay evaluate the theoretical and pragmatic aspects of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movements. As members of different generations living in the Palestinian diaspora, Ghabra and Hasian analyze the rhetoric of Palestinian nationalist movements to demonstrate that some of these movements undermine chances for two-state solutions. More generally, the authors show that diasporic

critiques are able to "trace the fissures, the ossifications, and the ruptures that take place in the Middle East as various acts of territoriality, deterritoriality, and reterritorialization take place simultaneously."

In "Immigration Builds a Nation: The hybrid impact of European Immigration on the Development of an Advertising Industry," Osnat Roth-Cohen traces the development of the advertising industry in British Mandatory Palestine and how it was transformed by German Jewish immigrants who arrived between 1933 and 1939. To analyze the contributions of the immigrants, Roth-Cohen proposes a conceptual model, which consists several analytical dimensions namely mass communication, economy, technology, society, and international transfer. Using this model, Roth-Cohen shows that German immigration exerted a "hybrid set of influences" that played a pivotal role in the maturation of the local advertising industry in the Land of Israel. The essay provides an opportunity to rethink media history and center the unique contributions of immigrants to the advertising industry.

How do mainstream Haitian newspapers report about Haitian migrants in relation to Western media? This is the question of interest to Shearon Roberts in her article "La Apatrida and TPS: Counterhegemonic News and Reclaiming Dignity in Haitian National Newspapers." Roberts analyzed two international news events involving Haitian migrants in two national newspapers: *Le Nouvelliste* and *Le Nacional*. Unlike international media, Haitian news narratives reinforced basic human rights and the dignity of Haitians abroad. The article offers a unique perspective into Haitian journalism because scholars typically study foreign coverage of Haiti at the expense of indigenous narratives.

Next, in "Searching for Ontological Security Via Homeland Media Use: The Case of Korean Temporary Visa-Status Migrants in the United States," Claire Shinhea Lee uses a quasi-ethnographic approach to argue that homeland media, both television and the Internet, sustain "ontological security" of migrants throughout the radical transitions in the US. Lee's study is an intervention in media and migration studies as she interrogates and problematizes the "easing lumped category" of mobile elites and cosmopolitans.

Valentina Baú's article titled "Breaking the Conflict Cycle, Building Peaceful Communities: Participatory Photography and Storytelling with African Diasporas in Sydney" explores participatory photography as an alternative form of diasporic medium. Specifically, she discusses the experience of a participatory photography project that brought together young people from the Congolese, Rwandan, Burundian, and Ugandan communities living in Australia, whose lives are still marked by the legacy of the conflicts that have been ravaging the African Great Lakes region. Baú concludes with the suggestion that scholars should further investigate the role that young diaspora can play in breaking the conflict cycle that has been impacting their communities for generations in the host-land.

In the book review section, Mehdi Semati reviewed *Moments of Silence: Authenticity in the Cultural Expressions of the Iran–Iraq War, 1980*–1988, which is edited by Arta Khakpour, Mohammad Mehdi Khorrami, and Shouldeh Vatanabadi. Semati notes that the volume seeks to address the discourse of "the sacred defense," which is the name given to the discourse of the state on the Iran-Iraq war, propagated through various political venues and state-sponsored cultural productions.

Finally, in a review of *Becoming Digital: Toward a Post-Internet Society*, Lin Sun describes how Vincent Mosco examines the new digital landscape marked by the rise of Cloud Computing, Big Data Analytics, and the Internet of Things. Mosco criticizes the growing convergence of these three technologies as a catalyst for "the decline of a democratic, decentralized and open source Internet." Concurrently, Mosco refuses to accept the "trend as inevitable and advocates for an alternative public utility model with the guiding principles of universality, equality, and open communication."

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Article

Journal of Communication Inquiry
0(0) 1–22

DOI: 10.1177/0196859918786273
journals.sagepub.com/home/jci
SAGE

Multimodal Discursivity: Framing European Union Borders in Live-Blogs

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Abstract

More than one million refugees fleeing war-torn areas reached Europe in 2015, making migrant (im)mobility and border dynamics breaking news in media reports. In this context, traditional news media's adoption of live-blogs was particularly significant in the coverage. This new online news format offered frequently updated coverage and reader interactivity as events unfolded and through multiple modalities of communication, including text, photos, videos, social media posts, maps, graphics, hyperlinks, computer-generated visualizations, and readers' comments. This study employs critical multimodal discourse analysis to examine the framing of the European Union borders in live-blogs produced for four European news outlets online. It discusses the three main frames that emerged from analysis—border management, borders as lived spaces, and borders as politically constructed spaces—and their implications for the construction of discourse on migration.

Keywords

multimodality, live-blogs, framing, European Union, migration

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Over a million refugees and migrants fleeing from war-torn areas and poor economic conditions reached Europe in 2015. In the same year, Frontex, the European Union (EU) agency that coordinates border management and asylum in the 28 EU member states, detected the highest levels of "illegal border-crossings" since Frontex's establishment in 2004 ("FRAN Q4 2015 Frontex Risk Analysis," 2016). The movement of refugees and migrants arriving via the Eastern Mediterranean route affected not only EU member states but also countries outside of the EU. For instance, located on the Western Balkan route from Greece to Hungary and Croatia—the next entry points to the common European space—Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia experienced the impact of increased migration and global mobility. Over 760,000 migrants traveled through Macedonia and Serbia in 2015 to reach EU's zone of free movement at the Serbian–Hungarian border ("Migratory Routes Map," 2015).

These recent developments have made migrant (im)mobility and border dynamics prominent news in European media reports (Clayton & Holland, 2015). In the current multimedia environment, this kind of coverage follows a high demand for immediacy and interactivity and leads European traditional media outlets to embrace multiple technologies, platforms, and a variety of verbal and nonverbal semiotic resources to articulate the meanings of the *migrant crisis* through live-blogs. The live-blog format challenges the traditional inverted pyramid structure and offers frequently updated information by incorporating text, visuals, social media posts, hyperlinks, and readers' comments (Pantic, Whiteside, & Cvetkovic, 2017; Thurman & Walters, 2013). This new format enables traditional media's online outlets to engage readers with the format's interactive features, instantly report about events while they are unfolding, and articulate meaning through multimodal or multimedia elements using different semiotic modes, such as language, sound, photos, videos, maps, graphics, and other computer-generated visualizations.

This research acknowledges the importance of the interplay of multiple modes of communication (i.e., language, video, photography, audio, maps, and graphics) in producing and conveying meaning and aims to advance the understanding of the complexities of multimodal framing in online news production. A main goal of this study is to examine how European online news outlets construct notions of borders, space, mobility, and migration to promote particular institutionalized discourses for public consumption.

The study is situated in a specific context in which EU member states, facing unprecedented numbers of illegal border crossings and asylum seekers in 2015, did not develop a unilateral strategy to address immigrant arrivals but rather left it to individual states to revise existing border policies at the national level. In particular, this study focuses on news coverage between June and September of 2015, a period when two border policy management decisions were widely reported in the media. Hungary started building a barbed-wire fence on the

external border with Serbia ("Serbian PM 'Shocked,'" 2015), and Germany, followed by Austria, announced the reintroduction of border controls to suspend the existing Schengen Agreement on a eurozone without borders ("Austria Imposes Border Control," 2015; "Migrant Crisis: Germany Starts," 2015). Mindful of the contextual complexities of the countries addressed in this article—nation-states with different EU membership status, different proximity to EU borders, and different Schengen status—this research explores similarities and differences in multimodal framing of European borders in live-blogs from four different online news outlets.

With the aim to provide a nuanced analysis of multimodal frames of borders in online live-blogs from Britain's *The Guardian*, Germany's *Deutsche Welle*, Croatia's *Jutarnji list*, and Serbia's *Večernje novosti*, we provide a brief overview of news framing, including visual framing, multimodal framing, and framing of borders. Next, we address the critical multimodal method applied in this research, discuss the emerged frames, and consider implications of the findings and the study's limitations.

Incorporating Visuals in Frame Analysis

Framing issues and events in a particular way empowers media to shape public opinion in favor of or against specific political, economic, and societal trends (de Vreese, 2003). In this regard, the application of framing theory has been attractive to communication scholars despite its inconsistencies in the definition of framing (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016; Scheufele & Tewskbury, 2007). Differences in conceptualization are primarily rooted in two different approaches to framing—one coming from psychology and the other originating in sociology (Cacciatore et al., 2016; Scheufele & Tewskbury, 2007). The approach rooted in psychology does not address what is being communicated but rather how it is being communicated, whereas the sociological approach emphasizes the way people make sense of the world (Cacciatore et al., 2016).

The inconsistency in frame conceptualization has led to a variety of definitions ranging from framing as meaning attribution through interpretative packages (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989) to framing as wording that affects audiences' interpretation of an event or issue (Scheufele, 2000). De Vreese (2005) noted that scholarship around framing was focused either on media content or framing effects, whereas he argued that framing should be assessed as a process. However, D'Angelo (2002) supported the inconsistency in conceptualizing framing research as a positive trend because analyzing different aspects of the framing process through the lenses of cognitive, constructionist, and critical perspectives has enabled knowledge to grow and explicate the complexity of news framing.

Our standpoint on framing is informed by the sociology-rooted approach that defines framing as a process of making sense of the world. In this respect,

Entman's (1993) conceptualization of framing is the most comprehensive basis for further revision of this theory in digital media environment. Entman defined framing as a process of making selected aspects of an issue more salient by prominent placement, repetition, and frequent association with culturally accepted symbols. According to Entman, the power of framing lies in the process of selecting and emphasizing some features of an event or an issue while omitting other features. The two most important features of framing are the concepts of salience and selection. Frames, according to Entman, also define a problem, identify its cause, evaluate the problem by making moral judgements about issues, and suggest remedies. The ultimate goal of framing is to promote a particular problem, an issue, or an event in a way that reinforces a particular ideology.

However, framing is also a process of social interaction and is situated in cultural contexts (Van Gorp, 2007). As a communication process, framing is a bridging concept between cognition and culture (Van Gorp, 2007). Furthermore, Pan and Kosicki (1993) focused on news texts as a form of discourse, and therefore, framing analysis examines the news discourse and the diversity and fluidity in how issues are conceptualized. Meanings are constructed based on preexisting cognitive representations, and therefore, some of the elements of the media message resonate with underlying cognitive structures (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Context-bound processes of social interaction contribute to the understanding of framing as a process of meaning negotiation between sources, journalists, and audience members. Therefore, framing is a fluid process that, depending on a given context and the elements emphasized or omitted, provides a cognitive window to how an issue could be seen.

Visual Framing

In media research, language has historically been seen as central to the process of meaning-making (Kress, 2010). However, the development of new technologies in the digital age has challenged the domination of language, as some researchers claim that visuals are central to how people process news. Despite acknowledging the importance of multiple modes, researchers still tend to examine only one mode at the time (Kress, 2010). For instance, in existing framing research, visual images are often considered as subordinate to text and perceived as mechanisms used in frame construction alongside linguistic devices—metaphors, catchphrases, and lexical choices (Coleman, 2010; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Tankard, 2001).

Coleman (2010), on the other hand, argued that visuals are as important as words in communication studies and proposed that written and spoken elements sometimes work together with visuals in framing because they occur together in media and audiences process them at the same time. However, she posited that visual images may frame stories independently from verbal images. Thus, she

identified visuals as independent framing devices and suggested a visual framing approach that can help elucidate the visual content of the news.

According to Coleman (2010), Entman's definition of framing is also applicable to visual framing, as framing refers to the selection of one view, scene, or angle when composing, cropping, editing, or selecting an image. Framing begins with the choice of events to cover, followed by the selection of what photo to take, which angle to use, how to crop it, and which one to submit to the paper or website (Schwalbe, 2006). The process of framing continues in the newsroom, where editors decide which photos to publish, in which size, and where to position them on the page. When analyzing framing with visual elements, scholars examine not only what elements are present in a photo or a video but also the structural features of visuals, such as camera angles and distance. All those elements of spatial grammar are organized in relation to each other and represent specific premises for the modality of visuals (Geise & Baden, 2015).

Images are considered as more like reality and closer to the truth than verbal language and, thus, more believable (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). In addition, Messaris and Abraham claimed that visuals lack explicit relational propositions that explain causality or make generalizations. These visuals' features enable viewers to make sense of implicit meanings by reading different contextual cues, but they also mark visuals as a means of easier manipulation and visual framing as a prominent site of ideological construction within the news (Braester, 2010; Coleman, 2010; Messaris & Abraham, 2001). The power of visual images lies in their capability to convey emotions and frame subtle ideological messages. For instance, visual framing makes racial stereotypes less obvious than verbal framing, and therefore, racial, ethnic, gendered, or sexual messages occur more often through visual imagery without direct reference to race, ethnicity, gender, or sexuality.

More recently, scholars with interest in framing have suggested that in the age of modern technologies and new media, the conceptualization of framing should be reconsidered by focusing on the variation of modes of presentation and expanding framing research to nonverbal, visual cues (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2017). Along those lines, several studies have explored framing multimodal news content (Geise & Baden, 2015; Pentzold, Sommer, Meier, & Fraas, 2016; Powell, Boomgaarden, De Swert, & de Vreese, 2015). For example, Pentzold et al. (2016) explored news framing of a Holocaust-related war crime in a multimodal discourse by examining television broadcast reports, websites, blogs, YouTube videos, Facebook posts, online forums, and tweets that all contributed equally to the framing process. Powell et al. (2015) examined the ways frames emerged from only text, a mixture of text and photos, and only photos to generate different effects on opinions and behaviors of audience members. According to these authors, although each mode has a specific communicative potential and limitations, the process of interpretation relates to the

message as a whole. Therefore, meaning construction is based on a mix of individual modality properties that contribute to the overall meaning.

Research on EU Border Framing

Most of the existing research that has focused solely on linguistically framed borders in news has discussed them as a part of a broader frame of national security (Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullins, 2011; Lakoff & Ferguson, 2007; Van Gorp, 2005). In other studies, the analysis of discourse on European borders has suggested that this discourse is shaped by narratives of unity and borderlessness within the EU zone, EU enlargement, and intra-EU migration (Balabanova & Balch, 2010; Tonkin, 2015). In Van Gorp's (2005) work, the "intruders" frame emerged from the overarching national security discourse emphasizing the importance of protecting national identity and prosperity from external threats. In this frame, the external EU borders have a role of defense against unwanted intruders. Similarly, Cheng, Igartua, Placios, Acosta, and Palito (2010) found that an "illegal entry" frame in Spanish media was built around the discourse of joint EU management of border control. In such research, the Italian coastline of the Mediterranean Sea within the "arrival" frame becomes the southern frontier that Italians have to protect in order to secure their national and EU security (Bruno, 2015; Zidan, 2015).

Research on Visual Framing of EU Borders

In understanding space, images have advantage over language (Kress, 2010). Nevertheless, even within the immigration narrative, the visual framing of borders remains understudied when compared to text. Visuals were selected strategically to accompany text in Spanish news articles about immigration (Cheng et al., 2010). For instance, photos of minors were used mostly in framing the joint EU management of border control, child protection policies, and political debate on immigration, whereas visual images of immigrants at work or of female immigrants were used in the construction of economic contribution frame.

Photographs, captions, and headlines as framing devices in Italian print media were used to construct the humanist and the humanitarian frames, which were produced in what the author called portraits and stolen images (Pogliano, 2015). Stolen images framed nameless groups of people as deviant and illegal in Italy, whereas named portraits of people were used to represent stories of immigrants' successful assimilation into Italian society.

Live-Blogs as a Multimodal Format

The live-blog as an online news format that provides information on unfolding events emerged as a response to a rapid change in technologies that affected

people's engagement in meaning construction (Thurman & Walters, 2013). As a synthesis of traditional journalism and digital technologies, live-blogs maintain common standards of journalism, such as objectivity and source attribution, and at the same time meet audiences' expectations of immediacy and interactivity (Pantic et al., 2017; Thurman & Walters, 2013). The structure of the format allows journalists in the newsroom to update the story almost in real time by using a variety of sources (Phillips, 2015; Thurman & Walters, 2013). Updating, adding information, and including notifications about changes and corrections as the story progresses position live-blogs as a very suitable online format for covering breaking news, sports, and entertainment events.

In the online environment, live-blogs are multimodal formats constituted of texts, photographs, video clips, social media posts, readers' comments, hyperlinks to other websites, maps, graphics, and different computer-generated visualizations, such as computer-altered photos. A study from 2012 showed that 35% of live-blogs on *Guardian.co.uk* embedded Twitter widgets and included at least 10 hyperlinks each (Thurman & Walters, 2013), whereas live-blogs published by news organizations in the United Kingdom had 15 times more sources attributed than traditional online news reports (Thurman & Schapals, 2017). The production process of live-blogs heavily relies on clearly cited sources and social media posts that are predominately produced by other journalists and official sources like politicians, and thus, live-blogs are praised for their transparency. However, at the same time, they are critiqued for lowering the standards of verification (Thurman & Walters, 2013).

The live-blog, as a popular online multimodal format, was used in reporting breaking news stories (Thurman & Walters, 2013), including those reports about migrant mobility and border crossings in the European context. As a fairly new format, the live-blog and its multimodal elements are still understudied within the context of framing, especially within the issue of migration. The vastest body of scholarly research on framing borders has focused on visual elements only as supplemental devices to verbal text in the process of framing migration in news. Further, the focus on only one modality has generally failed to provide more complex and nuanced understandings of discourse production in the online environment. To fill the aforementioned gaps, this study analyzes frames in live-blogs with the aim to examine multimodal contributions to framing European borders' spatiality in breaking news stories.

The literature examined led to the following questions:

> RQ1: What frames about European borders are constructed in multimodal representations of live-blogs?

Moreover, the EU is conceptualized as a peaceful entity of shared interests, democratic values, equally accepted cultural traditions, and a collective identity (Fontaine, 2014). In opposition to Europe's definition as a peace-signifying

entity of cooperation, solidarity, and unity, Europe is also defined in regard to the *others* based on whether their—those who are positioned outside of the boundaries and the strict criteria for membership in the EU club (Wodak, 2007). Therefore, the project of Europe has always been simultaneously a project of both inclusion and exclusion.

With this conceptualization in mind, the second research question is:

RQ2: How do these frames relate to broader discourses on the EU as a politicized space of both inclusion and exclusion?

Method

Analysis Strategies

Focusing on news texts as discursive forms (Pan & Kosicki, 1993) or discursive sites (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010), this study employed framing analysis on the macrolevel to examine news discourses of live-blogs. We used a critical multimodal approach established by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) to systematically interrogate situated meanings of borders and identify the news frames built through multiple semiotic modes, such as texts, video clips, photography, maps, graphics, and social media posts. At the same time, this approach addressed the complexity of individual semiotic modes (and their functions), as well as their interplay and interrelationship in meaning construction. The arrangements and the interaction of the elements with one another are fluid and dynamic, as is their individual or simultaneous interplay with the context and social structures they are situated in (Djonov & Zhao, 2013; Kress, 2010; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). Multimodality is also relevant to this research project because not only it values discourse realized in a variety of modes, but it also pays attention to the contribution of design, production, and distribution to meaning-making processes.

In the examination of multiple modes in news discourses, we applied a multilayered analysis. The first phase of the analysis was the five-step model suggested by Jancsary, Hollerer, and Meyer (2015). In the first step, we addressed the genre of the text, the text producer, and the targeted audience. The second step addressed the language, stylistic strategies employed, and layout of the written article. In this step, we addressed linguistic strategies of naming, referential strategies, passive and active constructions, and rhetorical tropes, including metaphors, hyperboles, and narrative (Richardson, 2007; Van Dijk, 2015). In the case of visual modality, we analyzed basic elements and conventions, such as size and color, and compositional techniques, such as camera angles, close or wide shots, and the camera's point of view (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996).

The third step of the multimodal analysis focused on elements that were missing or were not clearly manifested in the texts. The fourth step discussed the ways elements from different modes related to each other, what kind of functions those elements had in the text, and what integrated messages were created through the particular composition. This fourth step also included the identification of dominant frames that emerged from these multiple modalities, as well as salience and selection. Lastly, the fifth step suggested broader social implications of the findings.

As a part of the identification of dominant frames, this study used an inductive approach to locate emerging frames and did not investigate frames that were defined and operationalized a priori. In addition, we employed a constructionist approach in framing analysis (D'Angelo, 2002) that recognizes the fluidity of frames and their possible malleability over time in light of social and political changes (Hardin & Whiteside, 2010).

Research Data

Every discourse is situated in context (Kress, 2010). The broader context of this analysis is the recent history of immigration control and policymaking in Europe. This research focused on news coverage of these issues in four different nation-states with different membership statuses and positions toward European unity. For example, at the moment of analysis, Germany and the United Kingdom were core states of the EU and, nevertheless, had different approaches toward the Union. Germany was one of the leaders in valuing European unity and cultures, whereas the pre-BREXIT U.K.'s interest in the EU was rapidly declining. On the other hand, Croatia was the newest member, joining the EU in 2013, and Serbia was a candidate country. Furthermore, all four countries had different status with respect to the Schengen Agreement, which guarantees a borderless Schengen zone and, therefore, free movement of people within the EU Zone ("The Schengen Area," 2009). At the same time, the Agreement was made with an idea of loosened internal but tighter external borders. Germany was one of the signers of the Schengen Agreement in 1985, whereas the United Kingdom decided to be an EU member outside the Schengen zone ("The Schengen Area," 2009). Croatia and Serbia, once in the same country—the former Yugoslavia—were still outside of the Schengen zone.

In addition, the countries are positioned differently in terms of geographic proximity to the external EU borders. Germany is positioned at the core of the EU, whereas the United Kingdom is the farthest away from the European southern maritime and southeast external borders, which are the most porous to migrants' arrivals. Croatia and Serbia are located on the periphery of the EU. Croatia is a member inside the external borders, and Serbia is positioned just outside the external EU frontier bordering with Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. The different status and positions of the countries allow for a

richer comparative analysis of multimodal framing as well as contextualization of discourse within national and regional politics.

In this regard, four media outlets with live-blogs were selected: *The Guardian*, UK edition; the international edition of *Deutsche Welle* in English; and the national editions of *Jutarnji list* and *Večernje novosti* (in Croatian and Serbian, respectively). Liberal leaning was manifested in *The Guardian* ("History of The Guardian," 2017); *Deutsche Welle* (Media Bias/Fact Check, 2016); and *Jutarnji list* (Euro Topics, 2015), whereas Serbia's *Večernje novosti* is more on the conservative side (Bešlin, 2016). Different editorial leanings provide context for ideological diversity in the discourse.

This analysis focused on live-blogs published in a period of time that is particularly relevant for the analysis of news frames of borders. More precisely, this study is interested in the period around two significant events between June and September of 2015: (1) Hungary's announcement of the erection of a barb-wired fence and (2) Germany and Austria's decision to reintroduce border controls in September. A total of nine live-blogs were selected from the four online media outlets, including four live-blogs from *The Guardian*, two from *Jutranji list*, two from *Večernje novosti*, and one from *Deutsche Welle*. As recent news formats embraced by traditional online media ("Beyond 800 Words," 2017), live-blogs are hosted on traditional media websites under news content and, in this case, used for reporting breaking news stories about migrants' mobility and intensified border crossings. The new format challenged the traditional role of journalists in the process of news production by transforming their role from content producers who are reporting about the event while in attendance to news curators who collect information from secondary sources and report as the event unfolds. *The Guardian* credited content curators/journalists in the bylines on all four live-blogs. *Jutarnji list* credited journalists and news agencies in one live-blog, but in the other credited only news agencies for the content. *Deutsche Welle* also listed news agencies in the byline, while *Večernje novosti* credited neither journalists nor news agencies for the live-blog content.

Acknowledging the importance of headlines as very powerful framing devices (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), the live-blogs were chosen based on whether their headlines contained the words *fence, wall, border, or Schengen agreement* in Serbian, Croatian, or English, the languages in which both researchers are fluent. The search for the aforementioned keywords on the four traditional media websites generated the nine live-blogs. The selected nine blogs contain 16 unique video clips, 132 unique photographs, four maps, five graphs and computer-generated visualizations, and 115 tweets that include either only text, both text and a photo, or both text and a video. Five video live feeds were not available at the time of analysis and, therefore, were excluded from the analysis.

The nine selected live-blogs generated rich multimodal data for a more nuanced and in-depth qualitative analysis of emerging frames. The selected data allowed the researchers to claim that the period of four months was long

enough for certain patterns of reporting about borders to emerge and for the frames to develop in the news reports. The goal of this research is not to generalize the findings to all European countries and media outlets but to be able to draw conclusions about the existing patterns and frames beyond the selected period.

Emerging Frames of EU Borders

The multimodal analysis of live-blogs selected for study revealed three dominant frames: border management, borders as lived spaces, and borders as politically constructed spaces.

Border Management

The "border management" frame is constructed through verbal and visual representations of the use of physical obstacles and tighter border controls, including representations of barbed-wire fences, erected walls, surveillance techniques, and uniforms. The "border management" frame conveys meaning to the partition between the domestic space and the *others*, as well as to the necessity to control, manage, and surveil entrance points to regulate mass migration. Furthermore, this frame reinforces the idea that there is a need to defend the national territory from migrant bodies and their mass mobility.

Both the establishment of a barbed-wire fence on the Hungary-Serbia border and the reintroduction of border controls within the Schengen space are justified through metaphors concerning the migrants' and refugees' arrival. In their live-blogs, all four online outlets employ metaphors like "the floods of arriving people," "waves of migrants," and "huge influx of migrants." The linguistic mode is amplified by referring to the circumstances as a "migrant crisis," "crisis culmination," "chaos," "the worst migrant crisis since WWII," or "exceptionally high migratory pressure." Moreover, numbers are used in texts, tweets, graphs, and maps to depict the intensity of the arrivals and, therefore, mark migrants as a threat that justifies the need for tighter border controls and protection of the national and European space. For example, *Večenje novosti*'s live-blog ran a subheading, "Around 1,500 refugees entered Croatia only within the two-hour time frame," while *The Guardian*'s live-blog incorporated a graph from the Hungarian police website that shows the monthly increase of migrants' arrivals to Hungary with the peak in August of 2015. The examples from the aforementioned modes construct a multimodal interplay that produces the discourse of migrants as an arriving threat.

The examined photos framed migrants as those who are stopped on the other side by the barbed-wire fence. This frame symbolizes the successful management of the border porosity and the way to keep unwanted others out. Moreover, the photos and video clips show many nameless able-bodied young Middle Eastern

men who arrive in large numbers and cause stampedes to break obstacles at the borders and continue their journey to their final destination of choice. Those photos, as in the case of *The Guardian*, are supplemented with words that migrants are "breaking a police cordon" and "migrants push policemen during a stampede to board buses in Tovarnik, Croatia." Not only are migrants clashing with police, but they are also aggressive and violent among themselves. *The Guardian* reported: "Fights and rows break out as thousands queue for tickets" at the local train station in Croatia. Linguistically, the active voice gives migrants agency in choosing to disrupt the existing order. Photos of migrants peeking through the barbed-wire fence or pushing their way to get across the border frame the borders as spaces that are vulnerable to migrants' tendency to breach and trespass into nationally owned space.

The borders are constructed as spaces where control and order have to be established and maintained through registering, fingerprinting, controlling, and directing migrants on when and where they are allowed to go and how they should behave. For instance, *The Guardian* reported Angela Merkel's statement, "We need [border] controls to assess who is entering the country." This statement emphasizes the importance of order and the reestablishment of rules that regulate the mass mobility of unwanted others.

The "border control" frame places border guards' bodies in juxtaposition to invading migrant bodies. *Deutsche Welle* updates that "hundreds of officers have been mobilized for border controls," while according to *The Guardian,* the Croatian president at the time, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, "asked the army to be ready to protect the border if necessary." Most of the photos and videos show the outnumbered police officers and border guards who try to control aggressive migrants. The images of migrants whose faces and bodies are visible near the barbed-wire fence on the external EU border are full of ethnic and racial cues. Their darker skin is juxtaposed to lighter skinned guards in uniforms with national markers to express mobility of racially different *others* as an invasion to the nation and evoke feelings that their mobility must be prevented.

However, there is a difference between the visual presentation of guards on the external EU borders in Hungary and Croatia and the similar portrayal on the internal borders in Austria and Germany. The uniformed staff at the external borders are presented in opposition to mass mobilized clashes over borders, whereas personnel at the internal borders are presented as dealing with migrants in less confrontational ways, like helping them and playing with children. Still, even when the visual modality shows police officers taking care of migrants, the photos and videos frequently show guards wearing protective masks and rubber gloves. Those details, visible only in the visual discourse, imply that guards not only need to protect and control national and EU borders, but they also need to protect their bodies and nations from possible diseases that outsiders might bring in.

In addition, *The Guardian*'s live-blog incorporated a video in which Laszlo Toroczkai, a mayor of the Hungarian town of Asotthalom at the border with Serbia, discouraged migrants from entering Hungary by saying, "Hungary is a bad choice." Ominous music in the video's background sets a dramatic tone along with underlying visuals of police officers and border guards who ride horses and drive cars and motorcycles while surveilling the borders. The multiple modes frame the borders as a space of migrants' illegal activity that should be interrupted at all costs.

Despite the symbolic justification of intensified border control, the contestation of narratives is also present within the frame of "border management." The need and justification for border control and security is contested by voices who raised questions about migrants' treatment, forgotten European values, increased xenophobia and anti-Muslim views, and Hungary's newly established razor-blade fence policy. Tweets embedded in live-blogs, videos, and computer-generated visualizations were tools that allowed journalists to include diverse voices and contested discourses. For example, *The Guardian* included a tweet posted by Tirana Hassan, a director of crisis response at Amnesty International, in which she criticizes Hungary's official politics toward migrants: "Army told us to leave #Roszke border and can't photograph police. Helicopter buzzing, dogs, riot police. Europe's response to ppl fleeing war?"

Borders as Lived Spaces

The "borders as lived spaces" frame is supported by two types of verbal and visual presentations: the daily lives of migrants in the border areas and the ways the tighter management and surveillance of borders affect the daily lives of insiders.

The presentations that show how borders became a space of lived experiences for migrants include personal stories in which they share reasons why they left their home countries and what kind of hardships they had to overcome to reach and cross one border after another on their way to a better and safer life. Very often, the frame portrays their persistence to reach a desired country in Europe, as many of them claim that "nothing will stop people fleeing from war" and that nothing scares them. In some live-blogs, migrants' names are disclosed, whereas in others, migrants share their stories anonymously. However, migrant stories are underrepresented in comparison to the space given to official statements coming from political leaders. Moreover, sometimes the chosen quotations from the political elite construct migrants as needy, picky, and persistent in choosing their own final destination and resisting to settle down in some of the less desired European countries.

Photographs used in this frame show passive migrants resting or waiting in the border areas, train stations, and temporary refugee camps. The combination of words and long shots, which according to Coleman (2010) carries negative

meaning, frames borders as a necessity for the more successful control of outsiders' mass arrival. At the same time, shots of migrants in groups while resting and waiting are mainly taken from a distance and their facial expressions are not visible. The long-distance shots in which migrants are presented as masses dehumanize them and create social distance between them, as outsiders, and those who consider themselves insiders. Photos of migrants who sleep on the ground or wait at the border crossings carry cues of desperation from people who are running away from the war zones but also people who are committed to reach a desired destination and feel trapped under tighter border management and surveillance.

Interestingly, many of the photographs in which migrant women are captured show those who are wearing long robes and have hair covered with scarfs. Those photos symbolize the choice of journalists to activate religious cues. The latent meanings of ethnic and religious cues evoke positions toward different cultures and foreign bodies that might present a threat to the existing public order. Religious references are also present in some tweets. For example, journalist Matthew Cassel posted in a tweet used by *The Guardian* the following in reference to the fence and police at the Hungarian border: "When asked why, a Hungarian border guard said 'Syria, Islam.'"

However, not all the visuals of migrants are wide shots. *Večernje novosti* published a series of photos of children and families, with a special focus on men with children. Those photos carry meanings of empathy and relationships based on the similarity of experience of parents across cultural differences. Many of those photos in *Večernje novosti* do not have captions or any additional information about the people in the photos or their personal stories.

The second representation of "borders as lived spaces" concerns how border management disrupts the lives of insiders. *Večernje novosti* ran photos of trucks lined up on the highway unable to cross the sealed border between Croatia and Serbia. Linguistically, this subtheme is also present in the narrative of local hunters who worry that the game would get hurt on the razor-wire fence.

Borders as Politically Constructed Spaces

Visuals taken at the borderlines, along with texts and images of politicians, produce and reproduce the political nature of space. Frequent updates in live-blogs and the incorporation of tweets from the scene feature both photos of politicians in their chambers, away from the physical borders, and politicians in the border zones who employ strategies of photo opportunities. Therefore, the selection and emphasis of political moves constructed frame of borders as politically relevant spaces. This frame also positioned politicians as those who define migrants' mobility as a problem and as those who offer possible solutions through tighter border management.

This frame is also constructed around political disputes over border management, both on the national and the EU levels. Eastern EU members, and candidate countries like Serbia, blamed each other for the border porosity. For instance, Croatian and Serbian live-blogs emphasized the success of their countries in dealing with the migrant situation, while at the same time blaming each other for poor border management and border porosity. *Večernje novosti* chose a subheading quoting Croatian Prime Minister "Milanović: Croatia smoothly fights the migration crisis, whereas Serbia does not control its border." Similarly, Croatia, Hungary, and Serbia accused each other for inefficient border management. *The Guardian* embedded a tweet: "Hungary is the problem says Serbian Minister Aleksandar Vulin." In another example, *Deutsche Welle* published "a map of the Balkan route used by most refugees." By making a clear distinction between EU states and Balkan countries and by not marking Croatia and Slovenia as EU member states, the map implies who is at fault for inefficient border management.

In addition, this frame makes salient the way western EU countries, known also as the core EU countries, place the guilt on former communist countries on the eastern EU periphery. The blame for the current crisis and the call for European solidarity, which became a prominent catchphrase across different live-blogs, are also contested discourses. *Deutsche Welle* reported, "European solidarity and fair distribution of refuges in the EU are necessary." *The Guardian* cited the then Germany Foreign Minister Steinmeier: "It just cannot be that Germany, Austria, Sweden, and Italy carry the burden alone. That's not how European solidarity works."

Though multiple modes, these live-blogs frame spatiality as a political and social construct. This frame is also bound in historical, political, and economic contexts and constructs borders discursively both as contested spaces on national and supranational levels.

Discussion

The frames that discursively construct the notion of borders are situated in specific contexts of Europe and, more specifically, advance particular understandings of what constitutes the space of the EU and who belongs to that space. As the discussion of three dominant frames suggested, geographical location, proximity to the external EU borders, EU status, and Schengen zone membership also contextualize the frames of border management, borders as lived spaces, and borders as politically constructed spaces.

Live-blog border discourses operate across multiple modes, including language, video clips, audio, photographs, Twitter posts, maps, graphs, and computer-generated visualizations. Those modes complement each other as single modes or are intertwined in a multimodal interplay of meanings. The different modes with their specific premises reinforce the meanings suggested

in each of the three frames of borders, while together, the modes contribute to the ominous representation of othered migrants and justify the intensified border protection. Visual modes, such as photographs and video clips, more often communicate racial, gendered, and religious messages because those appeals are not overtly present in a linguistic mode. Therefore, visuals enrich the contextual information that construct migrants as spatial and cultural outsiders and offer justification for fortification and securitization of European space.

The three frames analyzed were present in all four media outlets, even though the outlets and articles are situated in different historical, political, and cultural contexts of four nation-states. By emphasizing the number of migrants and the overwhelming crisis Europeans are facing, all four outlets framed borders as a necessity for protection of both the national and EU spaces. All outlets legitimized the need for tighter border management and the mobility control and surveillance of migrants. The mobilized frames of the partition between the national and the EU space and the *others* who are invading that space have a purpose of clear demarcation between the privileged Europeans who belong to the European space and the *others* who are excluded from that space. The "border management" frame constructs "fortress Europe" as space of exclusion where European identity is constituted and negotiated. At the same time, visual representations of the "borders as lived spaces" frame construct racial and religious identities of migrants that differentiate them from Europeans. Those visual representations especially contribute to the creation of fear, xenophobic attitudes, and moral panic. Therefore, the goal of these two frames is to promote migrants' mobility and the intensified border crossing as a problem for Europe and to reinforce the "us" versus "them" ideology. This act of material and discursive demarcation provides nuances of constructions of inclusion in and exclusion from the EU as benchmarks for current and future definitions of Europe and its values.

Contextual differences also contributed to the creation of different narratives within the three frames that resonate differently with different audiences. For instance, Serbia and Croatia are positioned on the outskirts of the EU space; Serbia outside and Croatia inside the external EU border. Therefore, both Serbia's and Croatia's live-blogs focused more on neighborly animosity over border management and porosity than the live-blog from Germany's *Deutsche Welle*. On the other hand, Britain's *The Guardian* and Germany's *Deutsche Welle* focused more on European solidarity and stressed the themes of sharing the burden and more efficient border management. The "borders as politically constructed space" frame creates meanings of Europe as a two-tier system of membership—the core countries and the new peripheral members who have to accept European values and behave in a certain way. This frame promotes a political dimension of space and inclusiveness in the EU club under specific conditions that the core EU countries suggest.

Live-blogs proved to be sites in which borders are framed through complex discursive strategies and processes of negotiation between contested values and attitudes, such as European openness and inclusion versus a nationalistic desire to protect the nation, its spaces, and its economic interests. Visuals and social media posts, individually and combined with verbal text, created contesting narratives that include diverse voices and critique of the fence erection and migrants' treatment. Those contesting narratives were mobilized in all frames but were more prominent in *The Guardian* and *Deutsche Welle*. In addition, *The Guardian* provided more space to migrants' voices compared to the other three outlets.

Design, Production, and Distribution

Multimodal discourses are only one of the domains in which meanings are constructed (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). The results of the analysis of live-blogs confirm that multimodal discourses construct meanings only with respect to other meaning-making domains—design, production, and distribution. For example, the design of live-blogs, made available by new technologies, challenges the traditional format of the inverted pyramid and instead offers frequently updated chronological information. New technologies affected the design and accessibility of live-blogs and, subsequently, affected multiple facets of meaning-making.

Moreover, at the level of design, multimodality in live-blogs addresses the shift in authority. Live-blogging journalists abandon the traditional role of content producers who report live from the field and embrace the role of content designers and curators who, while in the newsroom, collect and sort out information from various sources, including other traditional media and social media. While written news reports exclusively carry the authority of the author, live-blogs as a multimodal format have the potential to transfer authority of production to everybody who contributes to the content. The authority appears to shift from journalists to ordinary citizens who use social media and produce their own opinion and visual content; however, enabled by the new technologies, platforms, and formats, this is nevertheless illusory because live-blogging journalists rely heavily on a variety of official sources rather than ordinary citizens' tweets, photos, and video clips.

At the same time, the design process is both active and constrained by journalistic norms and routines. It is active because it includes frequent updates and timely decisions that include multimodal elements in the process of meaning construction. However, those choices are constrained by the journalistic norm of verification, and therefore, journalists mainly rely on known and verifiable sources. The results of this analysis reveal that the vast majority of secondary sources came from institutional sources. The significant difference is that those sources' inputs are less constrained by traditional rules of attribution and

quotation styles because sources' opinions and views of the events are expressed through social media posts, photos, and videos the sources created.

Lastly, technology controls meaning construction in the production process (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). Live-blogs as a new news format embrace the logic of the screen and employ Twitter widgets, photo slides, and visual arrangements that allow readers to choose whether they will engage in further reading of multimodal texts by clicking on videos and hyperlinks. Similarly, the domain of distribution of the content on the Internet allows new forms of interactions between journalists, readers, and traditional and less traditional content producers.

Conclusions

In recent years, human mobility across borders gained media attention and became a prominent topic of breaking news stories that frame national spaces, migrants, borders, and security. In the digital age, live-blogs as new formats are significant multimodal texts that can express meanings in every mode and at every level. This study of nine live-blogs published over four months allowed for a more nuanced analysis of the ways spatiality and borders are framed in breaking news and the ways those frames produce understandings of national identity and space. Moreover, addressing framing and meaning-making through the employment of multiple semiotic modes allowed us to contribute to scholarly conversation on the process of news framing because the inclusion of both verbal and nonverbal modes is still understudied in the field of journalism studies as well as in the analysis of discourse on space and migration. Hyperlinks and readers' comments were beyond the scope of this study and are a limitation that needs to be addressed in future research to strengthen multimodal framing analysis. Thus, it is important that scholars advance research on framing by focusing on different multimodal media formats and by attending equally to visual and audio modes that, alongside language, reveal a complexity of meaning production in online news and participate in meaning-making processes.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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Article

Journal of Communication Inquiry
0(0) 1–19

DOI: 10.1177/0196859918783459
journals.sagepub.com/home/jci
SAGE

Tough Love: A Diasporic Critique of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement

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Abstract

The authors use a diasporic critique of Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movements to argue that some of these movements undermine chances for two-state solutions. The authors, provide a nuanced way of evaluating both the theoretical and pragmatic dimensions of BDS. The argument is advanced that those in the diaspora have a nomadic positionality that allows them to uniquely critique venues such as (BDS), *The Electronic Intifada*, and *Mondoweiss* as they analyze the rhetoric of Palestinian nationalist movements. Diasporic critiques are able to trace the fissures, the ossifications, and the ruptures that take place in the Middle East as various acts of territoriality, deterritoriality, and reterritorialization take place simultaneously.

Keywords

boycotts, diaspora, event, nomadic, postcolonial, Palestine, reterritorialization, social movements

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Cooper (2015) once explained that scholars celebrate diasporic criticism as an "incubator" (p. 84) for the study of identity formation and the constraints that are placed on those who live in exiled places. We are two members of different generations who are living in the Palestinian diaspora, and our families were exiled in 1948 and 1963. We are also researchers who have watched as members of the National Communication Association and other academic organizations have tried to make sense out of the goals and tactics of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement (herein, BDS). While some argue that that the BDS was initiated by "Palestinian civil society" in 2005 to ensure that Israel complies with international law, a few Israeli detractors characterized this movement as a "continuation of an ongoing campaign promoting political subversion and economic warfare" against Israel (Diker, 2015, para. 4). Diker (2015) intoned that this activism was misunderstood by Westerners who see it as a "progressive, nonviolent campaign led by Palestinian grassroots organizations and propelled by Western human rights" groups (para. 6). This unique movement, like the intifadas in the region (struggles against the occupation), polarized many national and international communities.

While some communication scholars have invited many to join the BDS, we argue that a diasporic critique of this movement provides a more nuanced way of evaluating both the theoretical and pragmatic dimensions of the BDS. Instead of engaging in polarizing and binary argumentation—making listeners and readers choose between joining or outright rejecting—a diasporic analysis provides pragmatic road maps that help with the critical assessment of the movement. Using social media resources and other inventional materials, those in the Palestinian diaspora can point out the essentialist nature of some Palestinian nationalistic rhetoric while recognizing, with Deleuze, that Palestinian reterritorializing struggles have had to cope with global mediatization that has left them in a state of "minorization" (Gleyzon, 2016, p. 402).

While there are a number of heuristic devices that we might use to go beyond those polarizing and binary arguments, we extend the work of Deleuze and redeploy his work on events, territorialization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization as we critique the BDS's flight from two-state solutions. Few communication scholars may realize that during the early 1980s, during an interview with Palestinian author Sanbar, Deleuze talked about the serenity of finally seeing the Palestinians put together their own movements. Deleuze was convinced that he was seeing evidence of their new consciousness of their "*droit*" (legal rights) as they demanded that they be treated "equal to equal" (Skinner, 2014, para. 2). Deleuze argued that many activist Palestinians were no longer willing to be discursively configured merely as "refugees" but were demanding that others see them as "the Indians of Palestine." As we argue below, it is no coincidence that as Deleuze was theorizing with Guattari (1972/2000) about events, plateaus, rhizomes, desires, and reterritorialization, he was also recognizing the politicized nature of cartographic boundary work in Israel and

Palestine. Deleuze, in his critique of Zionist "apocalyptic history," explained during his conversation with Sanbar that it was important that those in the West understood that the occupation of Palestine did not involve your traditional ways of viewing colonization. Life in the occupied West Bank looked more like an "emptying" of a "territory of its people" rather than the orthodox forms of colonialism that involved the exploitation of people who stayed and worked for settlers (Skinner, 2014, para. 6–7). No wonder that Gleyzon (2016) noted years later that Deleuze's readings of Kafka and his sympathy with the "becoming" of "the missing people" (p. 1) of Palestine had particular affinities with the conceptualizations of struggle, deterritorialization, and so forth that would become a part of his philosophical grammatology.

Yet, in spite of "Deleuze's pro-Palestinian engagement," it is fair to argue, as Gleyzon (2016) does, that oftentimes in the theoretical work on rhizomes, ruptures, and philosophical reterritorialization, his position on Palestinian suffering sometimes appeared to be a "tangent" to "his work" (p. 402). One of the theoretical contributions that we make in this essay is to demonstrate how a protracted engagement with the Palestinian BDS movement—that places reterritorialization process front and center—redresses this situation and provides a more complex way of viewing what is happening in Gaza, the West Bank, and in the diaspora.

With this in mind, we provide a diasporic reading of how BDS is defended on websites such as *The Electronic Intifada* (EI) and *Mondoweiss*, and we compare these assessments of the movement with academic and journalistic reviews of their goals and tactics. We have chosen these particular outlets because purposive sampling illustrates how tens of thousands of Palestinians visit these websites and use them as outlets that are not controlled by Western capitalistic ventures or those interested in Israeli "hasbara" (political diplomacy). Moreover, as Peteet (2016) explains, these types of interventionist, critical media studies are needed because the dominant Western "linguistic repertoires and conceptual categories serve as the mediatizations that are discursive workhorses" (p. 25) that shape policies in this region.

She elaborates by noting that these categorizes—"along with a generalized politics of nonrecognition"—have "long cast Palestinians as irrational aggressors and blamed them for compelling the violence inflicted upon them"(Peteet, 2016, p. 25). By the end of the essay, scholars will have a greater appreciation of the merits of diasporic critique and should have a better understanding of why some of the BDS tactics hinder the circulation of more accurate representations of the Palestinians cause for liberation, justice, independence, and rights.

Although there are many potential perspectival approaches that could be used to perform diasporic critiques, we present deterritorializing readings of BDS debates. Deterritorializing methodological approaches have been around since at least the time when Deleuze and Guattari published their *Anti-Oedipus* (1972/2000), and yet, scholars are just beginning to go beyond their capitalistic

critiques as they use some of their conceptual tools in postcolonial contexts. Marzec's (2001) extension of the work of Deleuze and Guattari argues that commentary on deterritorialization and nomadology provides scholars with a critical methodological approach that analyzes the "concrete geo-political conditions of early twenty-century transnationalism" (para. 1). As both insiders (who understand Palestinian nationalistic desires) and outsiders (who lead nomadic existences as they live in places like Jordan, Kuwait, Egypt, and the United States), Palestinians in the diaspora are uniquely situated. They can extend the work of Deleuze and Guattari as they put on display the simultaneous deterritorialization and reterritorialization that is taking place as Israelis and Palestinians fight for territory and recognition as a "people" needing protection.

To carry out this deterritorializing act of interventionism—that refuses to render Israelis as indigenous communities who are simply recovering the Biblical lands of "Judea" and "Samaria"—this essay is divided into four major sections. We begin with a brief overview of the heuristic value of diasporic criticism for critical communication scholars and then supply readers with a descriptive overview of some of the ideological goals and tactics of the BDS. We then explain how a diasporic reading of these BDS movement controversies makes visible the presences and absences missed by more essentialist, binary readings. Finally, in the conclusion, we discuss the theoretical and critical implications of our analysis.

A Theoretical Discussion of the Heuristic Value of Diasporic Criticism and Deterritorialization

There is no question that with the rise of biopolitical powers, diasporic movements are facing communicative challenges. On the one hand, diasporic communities understand some of the traumas, the histories, the collective memories, and the rhetorical identities of those who wish to view themselves as "*Falastinieen*" (Arabic for Palestinian). Yet, on the other hand, those who live in the diaspora can see the utopian nature of the calls for the "right of return" for all Palestinians. As Sanbar (1996) so eloquently noted after his interviews with Deleuze, when Israeli leaders like Golda Meir can declare that there "is no such thing as Palestinian people," this creates a deterritorializing situation where Palestinians not only have no rights to land, but "do not exist" and no one "can make out that that they have existed or that they will exist" (Gleyzon, 2016, p. 402; Sanbar, 1996, p. 19). Deleuzian studies seek to put on display the way this stateless, or specific form of deterritorialization, happened discursively and materially.

Diasporic criticism is intended to keep in mind the affective and *realpolitik* nature of nationalistic contestation, and it tries to do so while keeping an eye on the suggestions made by frontline activists. In some ways, performing diasporic

criticism also invites those living in the diaspora to critique some of the essentialisms of both Israeli and Palestinian nationalist movements—something that Deleuze started to do in his commentaries on Arafat and Palestinian reterritorial efforts in Lebanon during the 1980s (see Skinner, 2014).

Diasporic criticism can therefore be viewed as a specific type of postcolonial scholarship that enables historicization of the cultural (Hegde, 2005, p. 60), in ways that also allows us to see the subject positions and constraints that are placed in the paths of groups like the BDS.

This is a reflexive type of critical engagement where those living overseas do not abandon the Palestinian struggle for national identity. Instead, they critique even the most appealing of utopian calls for land distribution or social justice that might appear in traditional and nontraditional media outlets. In these spaces, the critic can enact deterritorialization by interrogating dominant Orientalist histories through the analyses of the intersections of race, gender, and sexuality (Hegde, 2005, p. 60).

Diasporic critics, because of their liminal status, can no longer view geopolitics, cultural influences, and national identity formation as monolithic entities (Shome, 1996, p. 44). Rather than simply demanding that Israel *return all* former Arab lands in occupied Palestine to Palestinians, or call for the boycott of all conventions in Israel, a diasporic approach takes into consideration the power of nation-states and the willingness of outside powers to intervene in nationalist struggles (Drzewiecka & Halualani, 2002).

Deleuze and Guattari (1972/2000) suggest that critics attend to the relationships that exist between territoriality, deterritoriality, and reterritoriality. Territoriality uses texts and other materials to produce boundaries that exclude the "other" by naturalizing the spaces of the powerful. Deterritorialization destabilizes the apparent naturalness of territorialization. Eko (2015) explained that the terms *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* allow critics to highlight how time and space become a part of geographic, political, cultural, ethnic, and "symbolic" territories.

These types of critical methodological approaches, that are intended to apply some of Deleuze and Guattari's theories of "nomadology," are particularly relevant for diasporic critiques because they put on display the power of capitalism and the "movement of displacement" (Deleuze & Guattari,1972/2000, p. 231). For example, in BDS contexts, they allow critics to evaluate calls for one-state solutions, the right of return, settlement expansion, recognition of the "Nakba" (Palestinian word "catastrophe" referencing the removal of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians after the 1948 founding of Israel).

In other words, this is not a scientific approach seeking replicability, universality, reliability, or validity, but rather a humanistic, qualitative approach that uses purposive sampling to get at territorializing fields of rhetorical force. In this case, diasporic criticism involves the selection of a few key texts or visualities in need of deterritorialization. For our purposes, we select key representative

fragments that capture the textured sense of shifting rhetorical influences that are experienced by Palestinians living in the diaspora. This is why we have chosen to study mediated materials that appear on three influential websites, *The BDS*, *The EI*, and *Mondoweiss*. These eclectic, overtly pro-Palestinian blogosphere sites treat the BDS as a global, citizen-led movement geared toward accomplishing diverse goals, including the lifting of the Israeli blockade around Gaza, the ending of the occupation of Palestinian lands, and the granting of full rights to Palestinians living in Israel.

Palestinians living in the diaspora can see how some talk of Palestinian nationalism can privilege the positions of some who demand an *unqualified* right of arrival in Israel (Dirlik, 2004, p. 491). It is in these spaces that critical diasporic readings can pay attention to how this might resonate with living in Gaza or the West Bank, and they may help with solidarity. However, diasporic critics also note this might involve the selective usages of history, place, multiplicity, "routes over roots" experiences of displacement, and so forth (Dirlik, 2004, p. 494). Extensions of Deleuzian theorizing on reterritorializing efforts allow those in the diaspora to admit that we are "Falastinieen" while critiquing binary Palestinian and Israeli nationalistic structures.

Deterritorializing interventions can interrogate negotiated national identities, border rhetorics, and ideological alternatives. Calafell (2012) similarly observed how borders are mutable (p. 151), and elsewhere she noted how the "exile" was a figure who experienced many "layered losses" (Calafell, 2005, p. 44). Calafell (2005) thus encouraged critical scholars to attend to the ways that the "exile is estranged from so much all at once" and "longs for authenticity" (p. 44).

Diasporic critics, in this case, pay attention to how Palestinian reterritorializing efforts are taking place at the same time that other communities—in Israel and around the globe—may ignore or take to heart all of this talk of nomadism, dispossession, and territoriality.

As we explain below, although some BDS advocates write as if advocacy of Palestinian rights exists outside, and apart from, historical circumstances or politicized contexts Deleuzian studies remind us that stateless conditions and living "without a state" (Deleuze, 1998, p. 31) are ideological achievements.

Contextualizing the Formation of the Palestinian BDS Movement

To carry out our deterritorialization of the BDS, we follow the suggestions of those who have extended the work of Deleuze and Guattari (Gleyzon, 2016) so we can simultaneously critique their territorializing and reterritorialization efforts. For example, we noticed that some who support the BDS may be sympathetic bystanders who are tired of seeing the International Criminal Court hand out "advisory" opinions about the illegality of some Israeli activities.

By harnessing the power of the Internet and social media outlets, Palestinian BDS movement websites can be viewed as performative acts of solidarity that provides those living outside of Palestine with the chance to ally themselves with those suffering in places like Gaza or the West Bank.

The major promoters of the Palestinian BDS movement advocate a three-pronged approach to consciousness-raising that begins by mentioning the boycotting of select sports, products, companies, and academic institutions linked to Israeli violations of rights. While the second prong focuses on divesting from Israeli corporations, the academic component calls for a boycott of all key Israeli academic and cultural institutions. Many have argued that these calls may be inspired by the role played by South African activists to end apartheid, but the dominant messages of the BDS movement are localized as promotors target those who have "contributed directly to the Israeli occupation and to apartheid or at the very least have been complicit through their silence" ("Academic Boycott," n.d., para. 6).

Diasporic critics familiar with Palestinian figurations may recognize the symbolic arguments used to explain why sympathetic visitors need to boycott. For example, if you visit the BDS website, you will be struck by the appearance of the BDS logo that uses the figure of "Handala" to send a political, yet sentimental message of everyday oppression in Palestine. Handala is a famous political character, and the child-creation of the famous political cartoonist, Naji Al-Ali. Between 1975 and 1987, Al-Ali circulated cartoons that were meant to symbolize the daily struggles, and the steadfastness, of refugee children who refused to bow down to the might of Israel. Al-Ali was born in the village of Al-Shajara, one of the hundreds of villages that were destroyed during the Nakba (catastrophe), and Handala has become the metonymic marker for the 750,000 to 900,000 Palestinians who were expelled during what the Israelis call their War of Independence (Sadik, 2013). As Najjar (2007) explains, initially Al-Ali introduced Handala as a Palestinian child, but various global mediatizations helped make sure that this cartoon character "acquired a national [Arab] horizon" (p. 257) and then a more global and human interpretative horizon. The BDS reterritorializes Handala's imagery for BDS purposes.

Palestinian visitors and their allies who visit BDS websites could see how this conjures up images like those raised by reading about the 2015 hostage situation in Paris. Naji Al-Ali was shot to death, and Palestinians averred that his murderers were given direct orders by Tel Aviv to kill Naji (El Fassed, 2004, para. 20). Whether this rings true or not, the truth effects of this type of discourse put on display the power of Palestinian rhetorics that resonate with communities who understand that Handala is being used as a transgressive trickster figure who represents the collective will of those who remain steadfast. These figurations put on display the fate of the Palestinians living at the rock bottom of the matrix of the domination, the metaphoric *Homer Sacri* in Agamben's (2013a, 2013b) theoretical world.

In some of their deterritorializing commentaries, defenders of the BDS discuss the importance of defending the "right of return" for all of the dispossessed without explaining a clearer position on the existence of millions of Jews on the land particularly in the pre-1967 borders. Diasporic critics might wonder whether this essentialist messaging might serve as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it serves as a verbal cue for Palestinian nationalism, a vanguard against the hegemonic forces that support Israeli territorialization and thanatopolitical power over Palestinian deaths. Yet, on the other hand, there is the danger that some of these motifs circulate in ways that feed back into Western hegemonic structures. By Western hegemonic structures, we are referring to the systematic structures that reify Western views of Palestinians as terrorists or rabble-rousers who have no interest in accepting Western conceptualizations of the self. Isn't this unqualified "right of return" assuming that Israelis no longer "occupy" the Palestine of the West Bank, and is this signposting that one-state solutions are the best way forward? What does this say about Deleuzian notions of statelessness or nomadism? As Cooper (2015) noted, isn't this implying that Palestinians don't need their own sovereignty, or that Zionism is indeed a democratic project that does not need the critiques of critics such as the Boyarins or Butler?

Descriptive materials on the BDS website that appear below the BDS logo talk in general terms about the importance of Palestinian freedom, but much of this discourse is utopian in nature, and it raises as many questions as it answers. For example, left unsaid is how recognition of so many unqualified and essentialist Palestinian freedoms *will impact Israeli identity*, and which organizations are supposed to be targeted by the BDS. Some BDS defenders call for the cancellation of any activities, agreements, and events that promote "normalization of Israel in the global academy" or "whitewash of Israel's violations of International law" and Palestinian rights ("Academic Boycott," n.d., para.13). Recognizing some of these violations is key, but they need to take into account some of the selective interpretations of international laws that threaten to render invisible other reterritorialities.

Is this all a form of strategic ambiguity that is meant to provide diverse appeals to various potential Palestinian allies, or does this assume that we know what these bloggers mean when they talk about "normalized" rights? A diasporic critic might ask: "What are the constitutive and destructive elements of whitewashing?" Are these supporters of Palestine simply replacing Israeli extremism with Palestinian extremism, as some detractors claim? What type of "Palestine" is being conjured up here, and how does this help with future epistemic constructions that might be used in the dismantling of territorializing nationalistic constructions?

Whether they recognize it or not, by constantly trumpeting the importance of boycotts, sanctions, or divestment, and by defending "single-state" solutions that supposedly provide "freedom" for all Palestinians, BDS defenders play right into the hands of those who contend that these activists are arguing for

the destruction of a Zionist Israeli state. Instead of dismantling key essentialist rhetorics of territoriality, the discourses that circulate on some of the BDS websites create an exclusionary dichotomy that invites visitors to choose up nationality causes without demystifying the role that nationalism itself plays in this contestation.

Are purveyors of the BDS movement simply *reversing* ideological polarities? Note, for example, the homogenization of all Israelis that appears on some of these blogs, and the talk about the "civilized" and the "uncivilized." In some of these BDS commentaries, the valences change, and the Palestinians are portrayed as the aggrieved parties needing Western alliances, while Israelis are vilified as the "abnormal" who violate international humanitarian laws.

Make no mistake—we both worry about the land grabbing that is taking place in occupied Palestine and the way that dissent is securitized so that the Israel Defense Force can act as if "counterterrorism" is fighting off Palestinian unrealistic nationalistic aspirations. However, calling for what appears to be the total delegitimation of Israel "proper" (the pre-1967 boundaries) is something that we view as highly problematic. Despite the tragedy, called Al-Nakba, Palestinians need to avoid the adoption of constitutive visions on the Internet and elsewhere that are so nationalistic and so demanding that they render invisible the realities of settlements, war gains, nuclear arsenals, and transnational bystanding. Using emotive appeals that reference the symbolic keys to homes left in 1948 may help on Nakba Day, but they run the risk of falling into the trap of reverse colonization or extreme reterritorialization.

Commentaries on the Nakba have been treated as acts of revisionism, and when some promoters of the BDS are calling for the boycotting of all academic conferences in Israeli venues, this unintentionally replicates the very silencing that has hurt so many Palestinian activists. Instead of attempting to form alliances with Israeli leftists, moderates, and others (see Cooper, 2015), or others who might need to see textual or photographic evidence of alleged Israeli war crimes, some leaders of the BDS movement seem to assume that this type of bridgework, along with "two-state" diplomacy, has failed. We are concerned that this ends up appropriating, rather than critiquing, the material forces and structural elements that lead to privilege and oppression, and it does not do enough to deterritorialize the nationalist forces, the cultural power, and the warmongering ideologies that placed Palestinians in precarious situations in the first place.

While some parts of the BDS websites highlight the potential power of worldwide boycotting or sanctions against Israel, other sections delve into the "cultural" boycotting aspect of its campaign. For example, the BDS website lists artists and iconic figures such as Judith Butler, Roger Waters, and Snoop Dogg who have joined the movement, and visitors to this part of the World Wide Web are provided with in-depth overview of the various iconic figures who have joined the movement ("Cultural Boycott," n.d., para. 3.20). However, this

portion of the website seems to rely on the aura of the celebrities, what some have called celebrity advocacy, with little call to action. Those in the diaspora might ask: How can artists and potential allies become more aware of the genealogies and politics behind Israeli-Palestinian conflicts? Who are some of the artists who may have refused to join the movement? By posing these questions, we mean to underscore the point that those who ally themselves with Palestinian activists do more than just add their names to lists of BDS supporters. They should also demonstrate some understanding of the status of refugees, the Nakba histories, and the problematic nature of some one-state solutions that allow for the retention of occupied land. Again, as Deleuze, Agamben, and others have reminded us, exclusion can masquerade as inclusion, and we need to see a stronger rhetorical call to action that focuses on specific geopolitical changes.

In analyzing some of the divestment rhetorics that circulate on these websites and in other literatures of the BDS, we find a call for the "withdrawal of stocks and funds from corporations complicit in the violation of international law and Palestinian rights and ensures that investment portfolios and public funds are not used to finance or purchase products and services" from these companies ("Divestment," n.d., para. 1). This is circulating at the very time when American courts are handing down decisions that have found the Palestinian Authority to be a party "financing terrorism." There is a not-so-veiled attempt to turn the tables on the Israelis who sue Arabs in United States and other courts, along with a repetitive trap asking us to refrain from investing without explaining why or where to withdraw these funds. Again, we understand the frustration of those who wish to halt support for the building of Israel walls and settlements in and around Jerusalem, but how does this end imperialism, settler colonialism, or structural oppression?

Some of the mediatizations that appear on BDS web commentaries try to link military, economic, and diplomatic issues, and as diasporic critics, we understand why the BDS states that sanctions against Israel are aimed at dislodging occupational and colonial logics that are linked to global, capitalistic institutions. Yet, how can the global community target these institutions if these very banking systems and capitalistic ventures are the children of Western hegemonic structures? Action entails mass awareness, mass affect, and a mass uncovering of *hegemonic nationalist rhetorics of all types, including essentialist Palestinian calls for unqualified rights of return*.

The EI is another popular venue where defenses of the BDS, and oftentimes, this venue provides informative coverage of Palestinian news, activism, media/journalism, and related articles. EI has mastered the art of affective display, and their pages provide an example of Enck-Wanzer's (2013) call for social movement intersectionality. The EI has certainly fostered a rhetorical *word*-oriented critique of Israeli practices through stories and powerful texts. However, tucked gently away in the margins of this site is a powerful affective image of a 5-year-

old from the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Issawiyeh, who recovers at a hospital after surgery on December 28. "The child was shot in the eye with a rubber bullet fired by Israeli Border Police after a school bus dropped him off" ("*The Electronic Intifada* staff," n.d., para. 1). His shivering body lies on a hospital bed, one eye barely visible from the bullet wound. A young child, robbed of his youth, left to endure the venomous imperialism of his oppressors.

Many scholars have commented on the suasory impact of using children's images in discussions of Palestinian causes, and how some cartoons and other images can be used for the "construction of Palestinian refugee identity" (Najjar, 2007), but the BDS images of Muhammad Abed are used for arguments calling for unqualified provision of Palestinian rights based on Zionist misbehavior. Visitors to the website learn about Abed's torn-out eye, and this becomes a symbolic marker that reminds those who might be leery about boycotting about the existential dangers that are faced by those living in the West Bank or in Gaza. Abed is not just any child—he becomes a symbolic marker representing all innocent Palestinians—and this is a reminder that this could happen to someone you know, in your country, in your family. This is an example of ingenious rhetorical affective strategies used by a BDS webmaster that become parts of the vernacular discourses that circulate in Palestinian contexts (Hasian & Flores, 1997, p. 100).

A few of the commentaries that appear on *The EI* seem to provide evidence that some members of the BDS movement are aware that they are involved in social media wars of positioning that might invite critique from those living in other parts of the world.

Palestinians living in the diaspora are not the only critics of some BDS efforts. Irving (2015), writing for *The EI*, noted that some European governments tried to blunt the persuasive power of the "boycott Israel" movements by labeling them as "anti-Jewish" activism that discriminates against Israel citizens. In the United Kingdom, in one section of a 2014 Department for Communities and Local Government text, the authors argued that the Palestinian advocacy of "selective boycotts" were "anti-Jewish in practice" (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2014, para. 213). Irving (2015) tried to set the record straight by contending that the actual Palestinian statement on academic boycotts did not *target individual Israeli academics but rather entire Israeli academic* institutions. She then quoted for *The EI* visitors passages from a 2012 letter signed by BDS advocates that argued that "the cynical and baseless use of the term anti-Semitism as a tool for stifling criticism of Israel or opposition to Israel" assumes that "simply because someone is Jewish, they support Zionism or the colonial and apartheid policies of the statement of Israel, a false generalization" (para. 8).

We commend the EI for trying to use an intersectional rhetorical approach and for deploying a connective-based approach that reaches out to other marginalized identities. However, we are worried that these affective attempts at

deterritorializing Zionist efforts move into utopian realms where Deleuzian reterritorializing is taken to extremes that are binary and exclusionary.

On a similar note, *Mondoweiss: The War of Ideas in the Middle East* is an informative website that is visited by many in the diaspora who want to learn about the harsh realities of Palestinian occupation life and the disempowerment of other Middle Eastern communities. For example, one of *Mondoweiss's* articles explains why Palestinian children have been arrested, including a 14-year-old girl who was placed in Israeli custody for a month ("Nabi Saleh March," 2015). *Mondoweiss* creates a collection of counternarratives to disrupt master narratives, examples of the personal narratives that can provide revelations of the truth through shame and vulnerability (Corey, 1998). By including names and using personalizing stories, *Mondoweiss* attempts to disrupt Israeli master narratives, but what about their own territorialization?

At times *Mondoweiss* invites visitors to their websites to link general discussions of Palestinian plights to specific calls to action: such as donating to refugee camps, confronting the Middle East's own hypocrisy, or linking semantic wars to the Charlie Hebdo case in Paris. The U.S. section, for example, brings ironic articles to the fore, such as a *The New York Times* article entitled, "Zero (0) Palestinians Quoted in '*NYT*' Piece on Rift Between US and Israel." Consider these other headlines: "Since When is the Southern Poverty Law Center a Pro-Israel Organization?"; "Netanyahu Speech Could Allow Obama to 'Take on The Jewish Lobby' as He Took on Cuba Lobby and Surprise"; and "'NYT' Publishes Straightforward Report on Israeli Human Rights Violations in Gaza." *Mondoweiss* attempts to explain why activists cannot depend on traditional venues for the policing of Israeli dispossession policies.

Mondoweiss also supports the BDS efforts by highlighting the common cause of aggrieved parties living outside the Middle East. For example, one "activist" section discusses the Steven Salaita case, where an indigenous academic scholar was dehired for speaking out in support of the Palestinians. Another article mentions a group, *The Dream Defenders* organization, that focuses on U.S. racism and played an integral role in commenting on Trayvon Martin's death by occupying the capitol of Tallahassee. These fragmentary rhetorical vehicles are then used as symbolic links to why readers around the world need to join BDS efforts. Visitors to Mondoweiss, for example, are told that *The Dream Defenders* have joined the BDS movement and have even visited Palestine along with other activist groups linking Latino; Black; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trangender, Queer; and Palestinian activism together (Kane, 2015, para. 1).

These various websites provide visitors with emotive appeals that are often lacking in aesthetics, and the scattered nature of *these fragmented appeals* serves to undermine some of the dominant, anti-Israeli messages that circulate in these venues. So far so good, but as noted above, this easily shades into defense of unqualified Palestinian rights and the delegitimation of many Israeli rights.

It is difficult to empirically gauge whether the BDS movement is losing or gaining steam in these attempts at forming alliances within and outside of Palestine/Israel, but there is no question that this controversial movement catalyzed the efforts of those who contend that it is trying to "delegitimize" Israel.

Our Diasporic Readings of the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Palestinian BDS Movement

Our own diasporic readings of the BDS are influenced by our contextual analyses of how those inside and outside Israel have reacted to this movement. Marks (2014), for example, characterized some of those who joined BDS as "uncritical and intemperate partisans" (para. 6). He worried that those who were supporting pro-BDS movements in academic circles were confused about who did, or did not, have scholarly expertise in Palestinian-Israeli relations. As Marks (2014) opined,

> Their concern, should be directed at the professors who have for decades worked to efface the distinction between scholarship and politics and who have more recently worked to persuade scholars who know nothing about the Israeli-Palestine conflict to use their scholarly credentials to advance their personal ideas about justice. (para. 7)

For those who believed that the Ivory Tower should be policed by apolitical guardians of neutral and objective epistemic knowledge, the Palestinian BDS movement allegedly confused those who may not have known about the dangers of partisanship. Diasporic critics might point that many of those supposed experts—like Marks—seem to be Westerners armed with Orientalist ways of viewing Palestinian statelessness.

Similarly, Georgetown's Moran Stern contends that if you look closely at the BDS activities, you would find that "zero energies" are being directed toward the production of pragmatic solutions to problems. "Behind the liberal message," argues Stern, one finds BDS campaigners "try to propagate" a "very thick layer of anti-Israel, modern anti-Semitism and ignorance" of the conflicts (quoted in Sabga, 2014, para. 10). Like many pro-Israeli commentaries, Stern joins those who consider harsh criticism of Israeli wartime policies a form of anti-Semitism. Will critics like Stern admit the existence of a Palestinian "people" who are deserved of rights or sovereignty?

These skeptical commentaries are meant to undercut and delegitimate the work of the BDS, which sadly, sometimes gets conflated with all Palestinian efforts. Oftentimes, American or Israeli commentators view this movement as a security threat to the continued health of the Israeli state. By exposing the neoliberal sentiments linking the Israeli economic system to U.S. influence

and economic power, the BDS sanctions can be viewed as contributing to world or regional instability. "The boycott of South African was eventually partly legislated and coordinated across the world," noted Ivo Welch of the UCLA's Anderson School of Management," and there was not "a chance that the U.S. or the EU will pass anti-Israeli laws . . . " (Sabga, 2014, para. 8). Defenders of the BDS might respond that that was not their goal.

While it may take some time for the Palestinian BDS movements to reach the scale of the South African apartheid movements, Shifrin's (2014) claim that the movement is "plugging away" and is getting somewhere has some merit (para. 26). In London and in Cape Town, tens of thousands of protestors joined the ranks of those complaining about the Israeli blockades of the Gaza. In one typical statement of solidarity, a coalition of feminists, that included Angela Davis, Judith Butler, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, had this to say regarding the BDS movement:

> As Palestinian, indigenous, women of color, anti-racist, and Jewish feminists involved in a range of social justice struggles, we strongly condemn the current massacre of the Palestinians of Gaza. . . .We condemn and are horrified by the current acts of Israeli brutality, while also recognizing the deeply rooted and ongoing violence that Palestinians are forced to endure on a daily basis- for example, living in ghetto-like conditions in Gaza, systematically having land confiscated, being deprived of their livelihoods, collective punishment, gender and racial violence, and ongoing expulsion and displacement from the Nakba until today. . . .The purpose of the BDS campaigns is to pressure Israeli state-sponsored institutions to adhere to international law, basic human rights, and democratic principles as a condition for just and equitable social relations. (*Mondoweiss* staff, 2014, para. 1)

These feminists joined those who were convinced that BDS campaigns could make a difference, but do they also support an unqualified right of return for all Palestinians?

As DeLuca (1999) and others have argued in their commentaries on rhetorical flows and nascent social movement using "public screens," efficacious struggle entails the creation of momentums that might involve circular, and not linear, motion. Deleuzians or postcolonial critics understand that some progressive social change may have no end and should transcend space and time. Yet, all of this theorizing needs to be connected to praxis so that all of this is done in pragmatic ways that help the long-term aspirations of Palestinians who must accept the ontological existence of Israel "proper" (the pre-1967 boundaries, for example).

The BDS call for unqualified Palestinian "rights of return" for those who lost their homes in Haifa or elsewhere after 1948 may be a metanarrative that aids that cause of those in favor of seemingly inclusive one-state solutions, but this type of reterritorialization has many downsides.

How can we provoke symbolic action that can help people move past the tensions created when we try to defend "our" Palestinian nationalism while trying to totally dislodge the nationalism of "the other?" Those in the diaspora, who are watching all of these competing attempts at deterritorialization and reterritorialization, would argue that academics need to acknowledge that the promotion of some essentializing nationalistic rhetorics may be counterproductive. Sadly, BDS mentions its victories and intimates that progress is being made, but we need to be aware of the artifice that is being used to calculate these supposed victories. Focusing on the social agency of a few boycotting individuals, and celebrating small Internet victories, will not get at the material and structural features of Israeli and Western hegemonic power.

Some BDS claims are indeed myopic and unnecessarily celebratory. Take, for example, one of the statements that appears on its webpage: "Tell the UN: don't reward Israel for Gaza massacre." This gestures toward the power of Israel during Operation Protective Edge (2014) with little critique of the greater neoliberal projects that help with the dispossessions of Palestinians. These structures are viewed as side accessories, ignoring the micro- and macrobiopolitics that manages bodies and populations. This is ironic, given the fact that the BDS seems to be using emasculated rhetorics when they allegedly speak for this minority group. We are invited to conveniently forget that not all nationalistic rhetorics are liberatory and that some simply reify and reproduce existing hegemonic structures (Hasian & Flores, 1997, p. 90).

All this diasporic critique of Palestinian BDS campaigns reminds us that these types of efforts will only be successful if vast numbers of private and public institutions are willing to contemplate divestitures and the imposition of stringent economic boycotts—without destroying a Zionist Israel. In other words, an increasing number of viewers must join writers like Dugard and Reynolds (2013) when they see the parallels that exist between the old apartheid laws of South Africa and the discriminatory Basic Laws of Israel (pp. 867–871, 899–903). The promoters of the BDS campaigns may put a dent in Israel's economic production, but the fact that Israelis can still maintain their blockade of Gaza speaks volumes about the relative power of these social actors. Mediatization on the web may help raise consciousness about the unfairness of these blockades, but so far all of this consciousness-raising has done little to help provide sovereignty to the people of Gaza.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the BDS may celebrate its inclusion of all Palestinians and their unqualified "right to return," but some of the goals and strategies of the movement are not only incoherent and contradictory but counterproductive. In place of vague goals regarding boycotting in general, and continued calls for the boycotting of academic conferencing in Israel, Palestinians in the diaspora

must work on creating bridges and alliances through the production of cosmopolitan narratives, defenses of concrete politics for the Palestinian Authority and Hamas, and the creation of more solid educational and epistemic frameworks. Granted, we still boycott, but audiences around the world need to see tangible lists of what we are boycotting and how those boycotted companies have engaged in activities that can be linked to settlement expansion or dispossession of Palestinian lands.

Some portions of BDS websites already have consumer boycott sections that list specific products that can be boycotted such as Volvo, HP, and so forth. The call that we decoded also explained how to get in touch with local organizations. This is, in our opinion, a much more feasible "call to action" than the academic component that seems to call for less, not more dialogue, with Israelis and other interested parties.[1]

Simply put, as diasporic critics, we worry that some components of the BDS have been based on older territorializing rhetorics of insecurity and fear—fear of losing out during argumentation sessions, worry that more academics may accept the legitimation of Greater Israel, and so forth. We are not that worried. As diasporic critics, we have complete confidence in the ability of the Palestinians to evolve and redefine their national project in more community-based, humanistic, and effective methods for ending Zionist hegemonic structures over Palestinian lives on the land and in the diaspora. We argue that as diasporic critics, our positionalities allow for the production of Deleuzian, nomadic arguments that go beyond the love and hate binaries that animate exclusionary nationalistic rhetorics. We are convinced that we can communicate the affective motivations behind Palestinian movements without feeling the need to agree with all the BDS's arguments or goals. In turn, because we have experienced the pain of diaspora, we believe that we must critique our own vernacular communities and movements in order to gain momentum and assist the Palestinian Movements in furthering their agenda.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Note

1. The purpose of this article is to help the BDS movement evaluate their strategies and tactics. For this reason, we are major proponents of the movement, excluding

academic boycotts because Palestinian critics should not be afraid of arguing, communicating with others at conferences in Israel.

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Article

Journal of Communication Inquiry
0(0) 1–22

DOI: 10.1177/0196859918792207
journals.sagepub.com/home/jci
SAGE

Immigration Builds a Nation: The Hybrid Impact of European Immigration on the Development of an Advertising Industry

Osnat Roth-Cohen[1]

Abstract

This research focuses on the nascent advertising industry in British Mandatory Palestine and how it was influenced and transformed by German Jewish immigrants, who arrived between 1933 and 1939, in a wave of immigration known as the Fifth Aliyah. At the time, local advertising was rather small and undeveloped until the mass wave of immigrants (over 200,000), many highly skilled and educated, came from Central Europe, mainly from Germany. These immigrants played a vital role in the local advertising industry. Their contributions were evaluated using a theoretical model consisting of primary analytical factors—mass communication, economy, technology, society, and international transfer. These factors influenced and continue to influence the form of Israeli advertising industry to this day. German immigration demonstrates a hybrid set of influences that played an instrumental role in the development of the local advertising industry in the Land of Israel. Functional-rational and creative aspects in the advertising industry were radically transformed by these new arrivals. Rethinking media history and centering the immigrant's unique contribution is an important scholarly objective. This is achieved by shifting the discussion from dominant institutions to the local advertising history and focusing on the functional practices and creative methods imported by immigrants.

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Keywords
advertising, immigration, advertising industry, advertising evolution, Fifth Aliyah

Introduction

Scholarly focus on local traditions and histories of advertising represents a robust research field. However, the evolution of the advertising industry in Israel has yet to receive adequate research attention. As of now, no comprehensive study exists that has recapped the development of Israel's advertising industry. Moreover, it should be noted that Israel is considered an immigrant society. As such, highlighting the contribution of immigrants to shaping the advertising industry is desirable.

This research aims to fill these gaps and evaluates the influence of German immigration on the advertising industry in Mandatory Palestine (or what can also be designated the Land of Israel). It employs a theoretical model assessing the impact of German immigrants (or *Yekkes*, a term referring to Jews of German origin) on Israel's advertising industry. It should also be noted that the influence of this group extended well beyond the boundaries of the advertising industry.

By deepening and extending academic insights into the Fifth Aliyah (or Jewish wave of immigration to Israel), this research contributes to examining processes, on the micro and macro levels, which influence the development of the advertising industry. In fact, the Fifth Aliyah is sometimes referred to as *the Admen's immigration*, emphasizing its significant role in shaping the industry.

Literature Review

Advertising History

The history of advertising is not a new domain of academic inquiry. Works such as Henry Sampson's *A History of Advertising From the Earliest Times* (1874) and Frank Presbrey's *The History and Development of Advertising* (1929) testify to a long-standing and vigorous historical interest in advertising even in its premodern incarnations (Roth-Cohen & Magen, 2017).

Predictably, American advertising history and its evolution have attracted extensive research attention (see Cruikshank & Schultz, 2010; Fox, 1984; Kumar & Gupta, 2016; Lears, 1995; McGovern, 2006; Miracle, 1977; Sivulka, 2011; Tungate, 2007). One of its defining characteristics is how American advertising is ingrained in American everyday life, not only as a thoroughly integrated tool of industrial capitalism but also as a widely accepted cultural influence (McGovern, 2006). These two aspects form the two dominant trends in

American advertising history research. For example, Merlo (2007) looked at American advertising history as a representation of the American Dream. Consumerism may be interpreted as representative of desire, and this desire parallels the abstract idea of the American Dream. As Merlo observed, "this multifaceted notion of the American Dream is demonstrated through advertising. . . .The progression and eventual regression of the populist versus elitist American dream throughout a lifetime is exemplified through advertising" (p. 205). Cohen (2003, 2004) defined the American mass consumer economy as a Consumer's Republic, emphasizing the growing centrality of mass consumption for the American economy, polity, culture, and social landscape from the 1920s through to the present. Ewen (2001) also pointed out the primary role of the machinery of capitalist production. He portrayed modern advertising as a direct response to the needs of industrial capitalism. Advertising can be perceived as an educator of the consumer. When buying a product, the consumer experiences a self-conscious perspective that was previously socially and psychologically denied. In this perspective, the consumer can ameliorate social and personal frustrations through access to the marketplace. Nevertheless, over time many different messaging strategies have been used to persuade the consumer. Marchand's (1985) historical research focused on message conveyance to the consumer. He saw advertising as a tool to understand social realities while focusing on elaborate advertising narratives. Advertisements do not simply reflect American myths—they create them. Marchand also noted that advertising themes and motifs have stayed consistent over the years.

Studies on advertising history in different countries and continents are increasingly common, including Australia (Crawford, 2008), Canada (Johnston, 2012), Ireland (Oram, 1986), Germany (Swett, Wiesen, & Zatlin, 2007), Africa, Asia, and South America (Alozie, 2011). These works show that a combination of shaping forces influence advertising as an industry. Only by appreciating all the different factors can one understand the entire picture.

As noted, although considerable literature on advertising history exists, research on the advertising industry in Israel has yet to be comprehensively undertaken. In this study, the history of media is reconceptualized through the immigrant's unique immersion in local society, focusing on the evolution of the advertising industry in the Land of Israel.

Advertising and Social Values

The various creative messaging strategies and execution tactics used in advertising are important research areas. Researchers have investigated different theories on how advertising works (see Eisend, 2010; Sasser & Koslow, 2008; Smith & Yang, 2004; Yoon & Kim, 2014), particularly those related to different modes

used by consumers to process and evaluate advertising (Hartnett, Kennedy, Sharp, & Greenacre, 2016).

One of the main approaches is advertising message appeal. This refers to the method chosen to convey the message to the consumer. It can be divided into two major categories: (1) the rational-functional appeal and (2) the emotional appeal (Lwin & Phau, 2012). The first is also known as the "hard sell" and is based on performance, features, logical facts, and claims (Cutler, Thomas, & Rao, 2000). It combines a large amount of textual and visual information describing the qualities of the product and its characteristics. As a result, an ad using this approach is also called an informative advertisement (Okazaki, Mueller, & Taylor, 2010).

Conversely, an emotional message appeal, also known as the "soft sell," is based on the premise that optimal arousal of consumer interest is by means of a message involving experiences, emotional satisfaction, and stimuli. Advertisements having an emotional message appeal will focus on creating an associative system linked with buying or using the product or brand aimed at fulfilling the psychological, social, or symbolic needs of the targeted audience (Loewenstein & Lerner, 2003). At the same time, it will minimize the amount of information about the advertised product (Kotler & Armstrong, 2008). Ads adopting this approach are known as emotional or transformational ads.

Advertisements produce values and norms that then influence various cultural patterns (First & Avraham, 2009; Hetsroni, 2012). To achieve effective communication, advertising is largely dependent on shared values and images as well as symbols and signs to convey meaning. The complex relations between advertising and society are illustrated by different approaches toward the role of advertising. Pollay and Gallagher (1990) referred to advertising as a "distorted mirror" because of its selective nature, reflecting only certain aspects of life, while Jhally (1987) argued that advertising does not create values and attitudes, but rather reflects the collective dreams of consumers in each society.

Language Choice in Advertising

One advertising tactic to achieve consumer attention is to vary the language based on target audience norms and habits. Including a foreign language in advertisements is a well-known tactic that helps to generate a multinational brand image (Bishop & Peterson, 2015). Advertisements that include two or more languages are referred to as code-switched advertisements (Lin & Wang, 2016). Use of an additional language may enhance brand and product appeal, thereby increasing perceived quality and social status. By doing so, the ad is perceived as incorporating the values of two cultures into a bicultural consumer identity. Studies have identified that several variables, including text-picture congruity, language attitude, and brand origin, moderate the effects of code-switching in advertising persuasion (Luna & Peracchio, 2001, 2005).

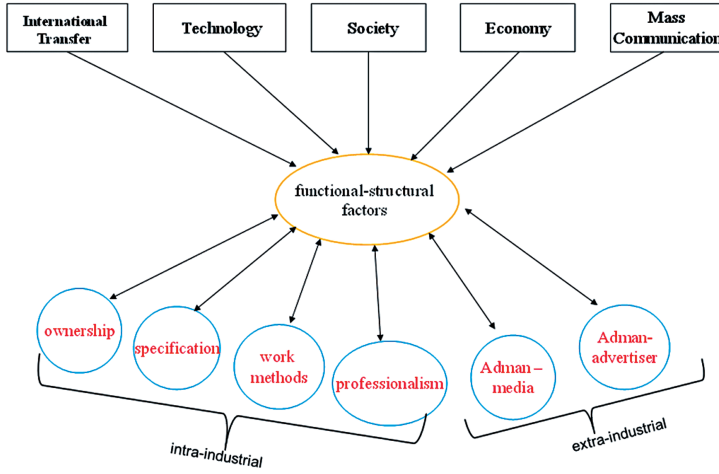
Although the Land of Israel during Mandatory Palestine was an emerging and developing economy, it had a significant multilingual population, immigrants from various linguistic regions, among them Central Europe.

Methodology

As noted, this research focuses of the Fifth Aliyah's (1933–1939) contribution to the evolution of the advertising industry in the land of Israel. The Fifth Aliyah's (*Aliyah* is the Hebrew term for mass wave of immigrants) contribution to Jewish society and culture has been the subject of several scholarly studies. Likewise, the content and impact of advertising in Israeli media has also received research attention. The unique contribution of this study, however, is in its integration of these two research domains. This is accomplished by using a theoretical model (Model 1) for analyzing the various factors and aspects of the Fifth Aliyah that form structural and functional influences on the advertising industry.

This theoretical model is based on Israeli advertising historiography, drawing on over approximately 150 years of history—from prestate Zionist community to modern State of Israel and through to the present. The integrative model identifies and characterizes factors and processes that played a fundamental role in shaping the Israeli advertising industry. Its timeline encompasses the industry's beginnings from the first newspaper ad in the Land of Israel in 1863 until the current age (Roth-Cohen & Limor, in press).

This analysis also overviews different mass communication, economic, social, technological, and international transfer factors and processes that represent universal influences on the development of advertising. Importantly, the



Model 1. Processes and factors influencing advertising industry evolution.

weight of each of these elements varies. For example, the mass media landscape emerged as an influential force due to the advertising industry's development (e.g., introduction of commercial radio, television, and social networks). In other periods, however, international transfer may carry more weight, whether politically (e.g., peace agreements), militarily (e.g., wars), or financially (e.g., international corporations and advertising firms entering the Israeli market). Technology during certain periods impacted development of the local advertising industry (e.g., mobile devices, smart TV, and pay per view) most strongly. In yet other periods, various economic changes exerted the most influence (e.g., economic downturns or robust financial markets; Roth-Cohen & Limor, in press). This model is based on historiographic identification of associated patterns of data points, and not mere recitation of exhaustive lists of facts.

In an earlier study (Roth-Cohen & Limor, in press), the history of advertising in the Land of Israel was divided into four chronological time periods. In the second period, the early stages of professional advertising in the Land of Israel are described, referred to as *Advertising is Growing Up* (1922–1960). One of its key milestones is the radical change in the advertising industry caused by the Fifth Aliyah, an area meriting further investigation.

This framework can be described as a metamodel and is applicable to advertising industry development in virtually any society and country. However, herein, it will be limited to focus on the Fifth Aliyah's influences on the local advertising industry in the Land of Israel.

As can be seen, the model consists of universal key factors impacting the development of advertising industries. These consist of mass communication (e.g., mass forms of communication channels conveying the advertisements to the target audience), economy (e.g., national expenditure on advertising), society (e.g., social-cultural contexts such as demographic changes due to immigration, tension in values between collectivist and individualist ideals), technology, and international transfer. The implications can be examined across six dimensions whose relationship with each other is interactive. The six dimensions are divided into two groups. The first is the intraindustrial (micro) group, made up of four dimensions: professionalization, specialty versus generality, adoption of new techniques and work patterns, and ownership of ad agencies. The second is the extrandustrial (macro) group, including two dimensions: adman-advertiser relationship and adman-media relationship (Roth-Cohen & Limor, in press).

This research is based on a qualitative comparative analysis method. The collection of the data was carried out using two methods: documentation and document overview, followed by in-depth interviews (Richards, 2009).

1. Documentation and document overview—Data were retrieved from professional journals, newspaper items, letters from private archives, and other offline and online texts as well as Israel's advertising union, the central

Zionist archive, and the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa archives. Documents were also gathered from the offices of various ad agencies.

Because only a small amount of documentation exists, as well as for triangulation, in-depth interviews were conducted.

2. In-depth interviews—Interviews with 30 past and present senior industry executives were held, including ad agency owners, ad agency CEOs, and senior creative executives. Respondents fall into one of the following three categories: (1) central veterans of the field; (2) family members of the local ad agency's founding fathers; and (3) former owners and senior executives at various ad agencies. Interviews were conducted using the "open interview" method, which resembles a conversation (Shkedi, 2003). The in-depth interviews elicit cultural contexts of human behavior and various media, economic, social, technological as well as global elements and processes. It also reveals how they influenced the development of Israel's advertising industry (see Model 1). The interviews were conducted face-to-face and were usually held either at the subject's office or private home. All interviews lasted between 2 and 3 hours and were fully documented.

The Fifth Aliyah (1933–1939)—Background and Profile

The Fifth Aliyah is closely identified with its German element and is also known as the *German* or *Yekkes Aliyah*. Even so, only 18% of the 200,000 new immigrants were German (Gelber, 1990; Halamish, 1993).

The Nazi rise to power in 1933 proved a major catalyst for the German Jewish decision to escape their native land and emigrate. Owing to severe immigration restrictions in effect at the time in the United States, Canada, and Argentina, many Jews promptly chose British Mandate-ruled Palestine as a destination. Two standout characteristics emerge, which set those German Jews apart from other contemporaneous immigrants of other countries who had come to the Land of Israel, whether during the Fifth Aliyah or earlier. The German-Jewish immigrants, contrary to previous immigration waves, were not quickly assimilated. They continued to speak German, published German-language newspapers, and their community became the epicenter of many cultural and social activities, which, at the time, were considered highly unorthodox by local Jews (Ashkenazi, 2013; Meron, 2004; Sela-Sheffy, 2006).

Another distinguishing characteristic was that among German Jewish immigrants were thousands of professionals and artists, many of whom had higher educations and arrived with formidable professional experience (Gelber, 1990). A great number of the German immigrants nevertheless struggled to find work in their craft of origin and had to retrain in various other trades, advertising included (Sela-Sheffy, 2006). Some admen and graphic designers did go on to

find their footing in the local, budding advertising industry. They proceeded to lay down, as the following will illustrate, brand new foundations for the industry, making a huge impact on its shaping and development for many years to come.

These advertising professionals, who brought their existing knowledge to the emerging nation-state, were trained by the German advertising industry. In the 1920s, Germany stood at the forefront of world advertising culture. Historically, Germany was the homeland of Gutenberg's print revolution. It was still the leader in the typographic arts, lithography, and packaging design as well as use of vibrant color in advertisements (De Gracia, 2007). Even so, the United States was an increasingly powerful force driving the internationalization of advertising (Ross, 2008). The adoption of American-style advertising—agency structure, work process, use of visual images, consumerist culture ideas—signaled a change in German advertising hegemony. Moreover, American values symbolized "democratization of consumption." American mass consumption and marketing were adopted in interwar Germany, and the German people were keen to embrace consumerism as packaged by German advertisers (e.g., branded products, personalized focus, and emotional-psychological approaches; Ross, 2007).

Contributions of the Fifth Aliyah to the Evolution of the Advertising Industry in the Land of Israel

Based on the key factors presented in Model 1, various implications of the Fifth immigration were identified and examined across the given dimensions. As noted, these factors consisted of mass communication (e.g., mass forms of communication channels conveying the advertisements to the target audience), economy (e.g., national expenditure on advertising), society (e.g., social-cultural contexts such as demographic changes due to immigration and tension in values between collectivist and individualist ideals), technology, and international transfer. They served as the base for a systematic observation of local advertising growth in the Israeli case. This resulted in the tracing of unique global hybrid influences.

Society

Social conditions played an instrumental role in the development of the advertising industry. In demographic shifts during the Fifth Aliyah (1933–1939), scores of Western European admen arrived in the Land of Israel, along with graphic designers and other professional tradesmen with crafts closely related to the advertising industry. These immigrants made foundational contributions to the development of a modern, advertising industry. They provided comprehensive professional services to advertisers, that is, offering copywriting and design

services, media planning, and buying. This was opposed to earlier work patterns in which the advertising agent served as the "middle man" between the newspaper publication and would-be advertisers, representing the media and not the advertiser. Among them were Uli Kaufmann, owner of the O.K. ad agency, who was called the "first lady" of the Israeli advertising industry; brothers Gabriel and Maxim Schamir; Franz Krauss; Otte Wallish; and Rudy Deutsch. They were all disciples of the school of German design.

At the beginning of the 1930s, roughly 15 ad agencies were operating in Tel Aviv. By the time the decade ended, the number had increased to 25 (Helman, 2007). The agency names reflected the new era in local advertising: *Cosmos Advertising*, *New Advertising*, and *Modern Advertising* expressed the contemporary and consciously modern nature of the advertising business. These ad agencies followed the same work patterns imported by their founders from their countries of origin. In fact, this can be said to mark the first and earliest influence of any form of international transfer on the local advertising industry. As Kaufmann (personal communication, January 22, 2009) put it, "only after the *Yekkes* started their advertising agencies, established work patterns were implemented in the advertising process, graphic designers joined the agencies, and the advertisements' creative look became polished." The advertisement was nicknamed "R'eclame" (Helman, 2007; Temkin, 1947) and embodied modern consumer culture values alongside those of the more established pioneering Jewish settlers.

Ad agency ownership (see diagram of Model 1) represented an influential internal dimension affecting the advertising industry. In this early period, small ad agencies proliferated. The "beating heart" of the agency was the owner, who was in charge of three fundamentally different positions: budgeting, copywriting, and accounting (Hetsroni, 2011). It should be borne in mind that the majority of ad agency owners could not draw or illustrate, and the services of graphic designers were thus required. Therefore, agencies began to grow and were now staffed by two primary position holders: the adman (in charge of everything but design) and the graphic designer. Agencies, therefore, had to expand, resulting in an institutionalized division of roles between admen responsible for various aspects of the advertising work itself and graphic designers exclusively in charge of design aspects.

In the words of the legendary Shmuel Warshavsky (personal communication, June, 21, 2010), the first Israeli adman to sign an affiliation agreement with a worldwide advertising agency (i.e., now the *Grey Global Group*): "The fifth Aliyah immigrants established solid foundations of a modern advertising industry."

Another influential factor was professionalization (see Model 1). That is, with the establishment of a professional association, member welfare could be looked after, an ethical code enforced, and social recognition in the form of a guaranteed licensing procedure introduced. Indeed, its first indicators could be

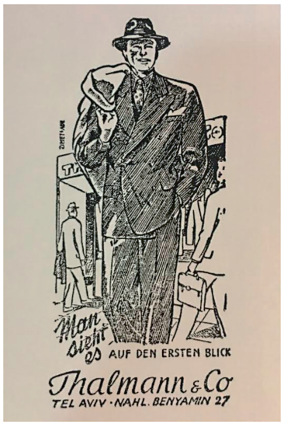
discerned in the 1930s with the creation of three professional unions (Temkin, 1947, p. 168). These were the Eretz Israel Advertising Union (members were admen and their employees), the Hebrew Artists' Union for Practical Graphics Art in Eretz Israel, and the Eretz Israel Hebrew Set Designers' Union (for shop display window designers). In addition, the Israeli Advertising Community was founded in 1935, a forerunner of the Advertisers' Union (established in 1961 and renamed the Israeli Marketing Union in 2008).

However, these unions had only little impact on the advertising industry, and most were dissolved. As for the Israeli Advertising Community, it lacked significant power and was heavily influenced by the Advertisers' Union, which enforced conditions in the advertising agencies (e.g., regularized fees, contract details, etc.). Its power also diminished over time, and it was only at the beginning of the 21st century that the Advertisers' Union regained its influence as a professional association taking care of employee interests.

Moreover, the new German immigrants brought with them an assortment of cultural and consumerist norms, celebrating bourgeois lifestyles and a self-conscious perspective. This led to the creation of ads promoting modern individual liberalism in which the consumer's own interests, health, beauty, fitness, and leisure were dominant. These advertisements carrying emotional message appeal aimed at fulfilling a symbolic need of the target audience, illustrating the immigrant's cultural habits from his homeland and giving him a sense of belonging.

Numerous advertisements were dedicated to fashion, expressing the significance of a stylish look. Many included the expression "Made abroad" which was prominently featured (Helman, 2007). Thus, the immigrant did not replace European fashion with a local one, even though differences in climate made this a bit difficult. For example, the Israeli settler wore sandals, while the German immigrant preferred leather shoes—the compromise adopted by the *Yekkes* was to wear sandals with socks (Example 1). Moreover, an elegant jacket was replaced with a buttoned shirt and formal family dinners with light casual meals.

These lifestyle values were accompanied by championing technological and cultural advances. The German community encouraged abundance and consumption as ideals (Helman, 2007, pp. 134–135). At the time, these values stood in stark contrast to dominant Zionist ideals, emphasizing values of collectivism, pioneering, and settlement of the Land. According to Carmel (2012), "advertisements can be authentic mirrors of a contemporary *Zeitgeist*" (p. 10). Indeed, advertisements in the 1930s can be divided between two dominant social and cultural mindsets—collectivist and individualist (Examples 2 to 4). As Helman observed, these ads transitioned the population from "official ideology of workers' solidarity to consumer society's conspicuous consumption; equality made way for eye-gauging envy as the leading value to be had" (Helman, 2007, p. 129).



Example 1: The adoption of a new identity in the new country was accompanied with pride in the immigrant's European origin. This ad presenting a tailored look signifies the important role of elegant fashion for the Yekkes. A refined appearance stood in contradiction to the difficult conditions in the new land. (*Sabre Deutsch—Das Lexikon der Jeckes*, p. 36).

Example 2: This ad for a special gentle soap illustrates modern lifestyle values such as beauty and emphasizes European ideals of self-care and indulgence. These values contradict collectivist themes of building the new land with hard work. (*Doar Hayom*, January 23, 1936, p. 6).

International Transfer

As noted, ad agencies were set up in the 1930s mostly by new Fifth Aliyah immigrants, based on German work patterns and principles. This should be considered the earliest international transfer in Mandatory Palestine's advertising practices. Long before globalization, numerous sectors in Palestine had

Example 3: This ad for the popular "food beverage" represents modern individual liberalism by promoting good health through natural ingredients. This ad focuses on self-care and ignores the ideology of building the new land. The English logo exemplifies international transfer, increasing the brand's perceived quality and social status. (*Doar Hayom*, August 8, 1934, p. 3).

Example 4: This ad represents the local-global identity of the newcomers by using both German and Hebrew. The use of the German language illustrates the immigrants' strong connection to their homeland. By including two languages, the ad incorporates the values of two cultures into bicultural consumer identities. (*Doar Hayom*, January 4, 1936, p. 10).

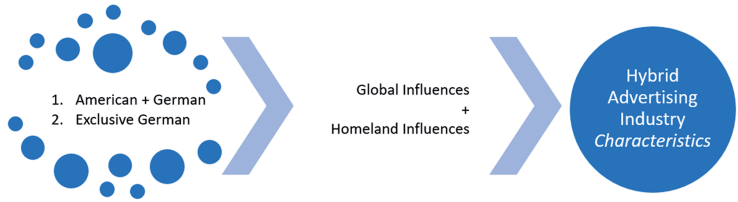


Figure 1. The hybrid advertising industry characteristics imported by the Fifth immigration.

already been subject to overseas economic and cultural influence. In the advertising industry, global influence was twofold, stemming from German cultural norms and professional work patterns as well as notions and techniques designed in the United States, yet combined with local German admen work habits and traditions (see Figure 1).

American advertisers were industry leaders in reaching and appealing to a wider mass public. German advertisers recognized this and were keen to embrace American advertising techniques and practices (Ross, 2007). American ad agencies opened branches in Germany, transplanting their style of advertising campaign, which contained visuals and illustrations of the product. The American style also encouraged consumer hedonism and modernity. German advertisers were inspired by American techniques, yet tended to adapt their methods to their own local cultural contexts. For example, they selectively adopted organizational forms of the American advertising agency. They seemed to lack interest in testimonials by screen personalities, and they developed an alternative model of beauty: German aesthetics embraced masculine and physical body image, whereas the United States opted for the cosmetic (Roth-Cohen & Limor, 2017). The contribution of immigrants from Germany changed the face of advertising in Mandatory Palestine in the 1930s, representing the dual effects of both well-established American and German advertising industries.

Mass Communication

The expansion of print media was an additional catalyst in the development of the advertising industry during this period. This was accompanied by gradual decline in the political party-affiliated press (Limor, 1998) and accelerated growth of private, profit-oriented, and widely circulated journalism (Caspi & Limor, 1999). Mass communication (see Model 1) is a primary force driving the structural and functional changes that swept through the advertising industry. Indeed, emerging newspaper publications offered advertisers and admen new advertising platforms as well as vast advertising spaces to increase revenue.

Technology and Economy

The impact of technology was felt on the development of advertising, especially with the arrival of cinema. This new advertising platform included outdoor cinema venues regularly featuring advertisements. Simultaneously, public transport advertising on city buses also began to take root, mainly in Tel-Aviv (Iron, 2009).

Mandatory Palestine was divided by the tension between new modes of consumption and traditional pioneering Zionist values. Economic conditions continued to thrive, improving the quality of life and transforming consumption habits. As a result, a new image of the bourgeois Jew was formed. This combined citizenship, entrepreneurship, nationalist values, and individualism in parallel to the Labor movement ideal (Roth-Cohen & Limor, 2017).

Population growth and new immigrant wealth further influenced the economic landscape of Jewish life during the Mandate. Large and small industrial plants were opening. Standards of craftsmanship were rising thanks to higher demand and the new population's more refined needs. Finally, commercial life in the city was flourishing, with shops, cultural centers, and art institutions founded by new immigrants (Bein, 1982). Rapid urban development resulted in economic improvements creating a widespread increase in demand for products and goods. Better transportation infrastructure enabled cross-country distribution and mobilization of merchandise. Furthermore, this economic growth also led to product diversification and with it advertising opportunities to influence this new pool of consumers. These positive economic conditions increased the demand for advertising. This was strengthened by immigrant wealth and high-profile international exhibitions (1932, 1934, and 1936). These took place in Tel-Aviv, the country's advertising hub, which also saw a new port open in 1936. Donner (1999, p. 6) argued that this increase in demand made local advertisers aware of the importance of graphics as a major marketing tool for conveying ideas and selling brands.

Discussion

Due to the striking case of Fifth Aliyah admen, the metamodel used thus far, constructed exclusively using rational-functional dimensions, should be supplemented with an additional major category based on this immigration wave—creativity. Many advertising researchers accept that creativity matters. Hartnett et al. (2016) claimed that the importance of creative execution is more impactful than message strategy. That is, how advertisers choose to convey the idea is more important than what they say. Thus, the significance of artwork in an advertising campaign is consistent with transformational advertising for low-involvement products. The transformational appeal mainly involves emotional

satisfaction and stimuli by using visuals and images with no text and information.

Indeed, the admen of the German Aliyah innovated by emphasizing the visual aspect in advertisements. Images and messages were directly copied from overseas examples. Illustrations were a central component of this new visual style. These visuals were not mere decoration but made a meaningful contribution to the text. The illustrations helped the new immigrants stay connected to their homeland and provided assistance in bonding with their new country. These conflicting desires of separation and integration were captured in the *Zeitgeist* through visual and textual aspects of advertisements. Advertisements with emotional messages aimed at fulfilling psychological, social, and symbolic needs of the targeted audience (Loewenstein & Lerner, 2003). Importantly, they minimized the amount of information about the advertised product.

The centrality of the creative aspect is also exemplified in the reopening of the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in 1935, with a graphic design department headed by Rudy Deutsch (i.e., Reuven Dayan). Deutsch-Dayan headed the department for 30 years, instilling in students the knowledge and graphic concepts he had acquired in his own studies in Germany. David Tartakover (personal communication, July, 7, 2010), a noted Israeli graphic designer and design educator, noted, "the Fifth immigration graphic designers were the creative pioneers of their time, paving the way for the next generation."

The *Yekkes* who arrived with the Fifth Aliyah insisted on preserving their German culture in the new land. Indeed, the German language dominated their day-to-day lives. Until the Fifth Aliyah, all local daily papers (except the English-language *Palestine Post* targeting local British troops and police) were in Hebrew. With such a large influx of German speakers came an inevitable emergence of German-language newspapers.

Most of these tens of thousands of German speakers were characterized by print media consumption habits. They represented a vibrant new market for newspaper publications and advertisers alike. The latter could appeal to these immigrants in their native tongue and use familiar values and norms to encode their persuasive, consumerist messages.

Some ads used both German and Hebrew in order to create a global aura for the brand, affecting perceived product quality and brand affinity. According to Ahn and Ferle (2008), the language used for brand name and body copy influence recognition and recall of brand name and advertisement message. These immigrants possessed a local-global identity that helped them self-identify in relation to a new social environment. The use of code-switched advertisements can be attributed to international transfer (see Model 1), one of its main effects being identity transformation (Voorveld & Valkenburg, 2015). These advertisements capture the lived reality of immigrant existence, complete

Example 5: Pre-German Aliyah: In this ad for an insurance company, there is no visual element, only rich text (in a round font) as the main eye-catcher. (*Doar Hayom*, December 30, 1927, p. 3).

Example 6: Pre-German Aliyah: With no visuals, this ad uses text in a round font. All the ads in this newspaper were aggregated on the last page. (*Davar*, January 6, 1927, p. 4).

with the many difficulties they had to face. These primarily involved the pressure to socially integrate into a new country, not to mention the longing for all they left behind.

The German Aliyah was not a typical wave of mass immigration characterized by unskilled migrants seeking a better life than offered by their home country. In this case, these immigrants were largely well-educated bourgeoisie. The advertisements that they were met with—many designed by German immigrants—took full advantage of this fact. They used textual and visual resources to target this very specific demographic.

Another creative output of the German Aliyah can be seen in typography, especially in the development of new Hebrew fonts (Ofrat, 2015). Although connected to their German roots, these immigrants were keen to improve the "look and feel" of Hebrew letters. The paucity of Hebrew fonts forced graphic designers, all of them Fifth Aliyah immigrants, to experiment with new

Example 7: This ad illustrates a new style of typography with a square Hebrew font and a carefully arranged table full of delicious products—a bourgeois class realization. (*Davar*, January 12, 1938, p. 3).

Example 8: In these ads, the visual element is clearly dominant. The illustrations demonstrate good life images in contrast to the hard work of the pioneers. (*Doar Hayom*, January 3, 1936, p. 11; *Hamashkif*, September 12, 1948, p. 3).

modernizing font design (Roth-Cohen & Limor, 2017). This too represents a hybrid influence of the Fifth Aliyah, as it connects the Hebrew and German languages in a creative work process. By integrating two languages, the advertisement incorporates the values of two cultures into the bicultural consumer identities (Examples 5 to 8).

The work of native German and Western European graphic designers stood out even more with the establishment of the State of Israel. The Shamir brothers, for example, designed the new nation's icons: from coins and stamps

to the symbol of the country itself. The now widely familiar Israeli state symbol (i.e., a blue shield depicting a seven-lamp *menorah* surrounded by olive branches).

Conclusion

The construction and consolidation of national media spaces is an emerging domain in research on media history. With focus on the context of the nation, research on transnational communication in a globalized world may be overlooked. The case of the advertising industry in British Mandatory Palestine that was transformed by German immigrants in the Fifth Aliyah, who imported their continental expertise into a relatively untapped market, represents an early iteration of international knowledge transfer. For Israel, this had far-reaching social, cultural, economic, and technological implications. Like other modern nations, Israel is deeply influenced by advertising, a significant segment of contemporary media arena. Israel is also very much an immigrant society and has been transformed by successive waves of immigration from a variety of sources. Nevertheless, there is a lack of research on the unique and important role of the history of advertising in Israel.

This research objective was partially to contribute to knowledge of the Fifth Aliyah. But it was also to methodically and systematically investigate influences on the budding advertising industry in the Land of Israel. As noted, the contribution of immigrants from Germany changed the face of advertising in Mandatory Palestine in the 1930s. In fact, this can be said to represent one of the earliest signs of global influence on the advertising industry in the region.

This research also proposed an additional theoretical core category for analyzing factors informing the Fifth Aliyah—creativity. The theoretical project was to model structural and functional influences on the advertising industry based on Fifth Aliyah hybrid characteristics. These had a major impact on advertising creativity by implementing images and illustrations as meaningful elements in an ad—sometimes as or more important than text. These illustrations helped new immigrants stay connected to their homeland while capturing the lived reality of immigrant existence characterized by new values of hedonism and modernity. Indeed, if advertising is a language, the *Yekkes* developed their own dialect. By doing so, they influenced and continue to influence the Israeli advertising industry to this very day.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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Article

Journal of Communication Inquiry
2018, Vol. 42(4) 381–403

DOI: 10.1177/0196859918791581
journals.sagepub.com/home/jci

La Apatrida and TPS: Counter-Hegemonic News and Reclaiming Dignity in Haitian National Newspapers

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Abstract

This study examined the news coverage of two immigration stories involving Haitian migrants that made international headlines. Those two news stories were (a) the deportation of Dominicans of Haitian descent and (b) the end of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for displaced Haitians residing in the United States after the 2010 Haiti earthquake. This study sampled 198 Haitian newspaper articles over the 6-month period that both stories made global headlines in 2015 and then in 2017. The two Haitian national newspapers *Le Nouvelliste*, the country's paper of record, and *Le Nacional*, the country's newest daily, affirmed the rights and dignity of people of Haitian origin displaced by policy attributed as xenophobic and racist. Haitian newspapers described Haitian migrant families as being equally Dominican, regardless of their status, and in the United States, as being lawful migrants with rights under TPS. Haitian newspapers varied in their coverage of the governments of the two countries, being more critical of the administration of President Donald Trump, but more nuanced in their coverage of the Dominican Republic's government.

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Keywords
Haiti, TPS, la apatrida, the Dominican Republic, 2010 Haiti earthquake, Haitian immigrants, counter-hegemony, Le Nouvelliste, Le Nacional, Haitian media

Introduction

In the 8 years after the 2010 earthquake devastated the Republic of Haiti, two governments implemented immigration policies that impacted displaced Haitians. The first government ruling with regard to Haitian migrants came in 2013 but went into full effect in 2015. The Dominican Republic retroactively removed birthright citizenship that affected roughly 200,000 Haitian immigrants, many of whom were Dominicans by birth but of Haitian descent (Sagás, 2017). The voluntary and forced repatriations of Haitians peaked in March 2015 and were called *la apatrida*, to designate the denationalization and statelessness of the repatriated Haitians.

The second anti-Haitian immigrant action came on November 20, 2017 (Ariza, 2017). The Department of Homeland Security officially ended Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Haiti in keeping with President Donald Trump's immigration policies. The initial Department of Homeland Security ruling gave Haitian migrants until July 22, 2019 to return to the country. Roughly 50,000 TPS recipients were notified to return to Haiti now that the country's protected designation had ended (Center for Migration Studies, 2017). The ongoing debate about ending TPS for Haiti triggered an international outrage when President Donald Trump allegedly described Haiti and other nations as "shithole" countries in a meeting with lawmakers on January 11, 2018.

International media outlets widely covered both political decisions on Haiti, with a majority of news outlets carrying coverage critical of these policy decisions. In Haiti, an article in *Le Nouvelliste* described the Dominican Republic deportations as "aux milliers de compatriotes chassés de la terre voisine" (of the thousands of compatriots chased from the neighbor's land; Olivier, 2015). When U.S. officials announced the end of TPS, an article in *Le Nacional* declared: "La nouvelle est tombée comme un couperet en fin de semaine" (the news [of TPS] fell like a blow at the end of the week; Julien, 2017). In describing the tone of Haitian media coverage of the two stories, Hérold Jean-François, the head of Haiti's largest media association spoke of the need to "d'accueillir nos compatriotes en toute 'dignité'" (of welcoming our compatriots in all dignity; Darius, 2015).

This article examined the Haitian discourse surrounding these two events as it was reported and interpreted in two national newspapers in Haiti. The first newspaper in this study is *Le Nouvelliste*, Haiti's longest running newspaper of record that is over 100 years old. The second newspaper is *Le Nacional*,

Haiti's newest daily newspaper, launched in 2015 after the earthquake, and whose team comprises a mostly young, new generation of journalists. This study identified how mainstream news presented national discourse within a counter-hegemonic framework, given the confines of journalistic practices in Haiti. While national and international reports of both news events about Haitian migrations after the earthquake were sympathetic to the country's circumstances and the position its citizens face as migrants, there was a common issue in covering Haiti. Foreign media continued to perpetuate the trope as a highly elevated news phrase about Haiti as "the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere" (Katz, 2013, p. 200). Therefore, foreign media were counter-productive in its solidarity because they perpetuated a sense of helplessness and pity for Haitian people, painting the country as a place of misery and despair, with reports that were devoid of context. This study outlined how Haitian national media may have differed in presenting their own reportage about their own people.

Ethnocentrism and the Mediated Haiti

Anthropologists studying the external coverage of Haiti have questioned the disconnect between the media narrative of the country and its reality. Lawless (1992, p. xviii) and Ulysee (2015, p. 21) wrote that "Haitian voices" are missing from existing media narratives. Ethnocentrism, these scholars argued, is at the root of external mediated presentations of Haiti. Journalists are aware of the complexities of Haiti but often contrast the country with a narrative of their own lives that they consider to be "normal." Hence, the lives of Haitians, and those of the developing world, are considered "abnormal" (Lawless, 1992, p. xviii).

News coverage of Haiti has often taken two main forms. The first involves the reporting of major events, mostly natural disasters and political crises, and the second focuses on Haitian people, particularly eccentric stories on voodoo and Haitian identity (Lawless, 1992; Lule, 1997; Potter, 2009). Anthropologists such as Lawless described the latter as a type of "folk people" narrative on the part of United States and international media outlets when covering Haiti. Here, the lives of Haitians do not represent or resemble the lived experiences of the foreign correspondent. Haitians are therefore presented to foreign audiences with this folk people narrative that renders them so far "othered" that it is inconceivable as seeing them belonging in the societies they migrate to. For foreign correspondents who cover Haiti, they end up perpetuating a frame, consciously or unconsciously, of a country and a people that do not appear to be normal (Farmer, 2005, p. 52; Krajewski & Ekdale, 2017, p. 231).

Haitians themselves have argued that this coverage comes from "great cultural differences" between them and the outside world, particularly from American media (Farmer, 2005, p. 57). Lawless (1992) further explains that

the practice of journalism is yet to correct its perpetuation of "folk models" (p. xviii) of the peoples and cultures of the developing world. Lawless cites Lett (1987) who states that "journalism reaffirms and reinforces the general public's world view, while anthropology questions and challenges that world view – the reigning folk model" (p. xviii).

Western journalists, particularly those who advance to becoming foreign correspondents, come from backgrounds far removed from the people they cover. Some Western reporters have acknowledged this. In fact, U.S. reporters like Katz (2013) and Wilentz (2012), for example, have written extensively about this issue. However, both Katz and Wilentz have primarily done so using alternative journalism or by publishing books. Traditional mainstream journalism still does not support the regular practice of producing counter-narratives, as outlined by Hall (2001) and as shown in a study of the postearthquake coverage of the cholera outbreak in Haiti (Krajewski & Ekdale, 2017, p. 240). Journalists who continue to cover Haiti, or developing countries as a whole, do so with a lack of context that reinforces the ethnocentrism of the reporter's background.

Reinforcing Hegemony Through Media

Ethnocentric framing impacts the communities that are the subjects of this kind of persistent mediated discourse. Ethnocentrism primarily reinforces the established hegemony. With regard to Haiti, scholars argue that racial differences, in particular, explain this mediated ethnocentrism (Lawless, 1992; Ulysse, 2015). The history of racial dominance in the Americas means that power—who holds power, and the execution of power—is both a theme and a consequence of ethnocentric narratives. The external mediated discourse of Haiti is a study of hegemony. It is first encoded in the language toward Haiti. It is then decoded as legitimized actions toward Haiti or Haitians.

Stuart Hall (1986a, 1986b) critically looked at racialized discourse in ethnocentrism by examining the role hegemony plays in shaping mediated discourse of the developing world. In studying ethnocentric media narratives, Hall (2001) wrote of the "power dimension in discourse" (p. 329). To establish power in discourse, there must be a difference to distinguish one group from the other. Difference in discourse is created through establishing binary oppositions such as White/Black or male/female. Likewise, citizen/immigrant can be considered as an example in the context of this study. Hall (2001) notes that binary opposites are "reductionist and over-simplified" (p. 329). Once discourse is set into binary categories, the simplification makes it easier for a writer to assign meaning to it, intended or not. When it comes to "racialized discourse," Hall (2001) wrote that it "is structured by a set of binary oppositions" (p. 334). In most historical contexts, the "powerful opposition" is contrasted as White equals civilized, and Black equals savage (Hall, 2001, p. 334).

In the context of the two immigration stories examined in this study, foreign media coverage sets up a binary opposite between citizens and immigrants. This difference or othering of migrants has implications about power—the right of the more powerful *citizens* or relatively more stable neighbors to return displaced peoples *migrants* who have made a home on their soil. It is the narrative that is most followed by mainstream foreign media. Such a narrative is likely to lead to a simple answer for the audience. In presenting who has power and rights, hegemonic narratives suggest to audiences that it is the government or the West, as the rightful bestowers of power and rights. Marginalized and disenfranchised people's power and rights become secondary narratives in hegemonic structures that are then mirrored in news reports. In reinforcing hegemony through journalism, foreign media coverage, as a collective, and over time, causes selective narratives to become widespread "truths." The consequences of this for countries like Haiti are that it crystallizes global public opinion resulting in real, and often detrimental, actions toward the country, by external power structures (Chomsky, 1997).

Power and narratives for developing nations. Haiti intersects both Latin America and Africa. It therefore suffers from media narratives that plague both spaces. Haiti was the first Latin American country to gain independence in the Americas. It was also the first Black republic and independent nation born out of a successful revolt of African slaves. The external mediated presentation of Haiti has drawn from negative tropes about both Latin American Republics and peoples of African descent.

As a Latin American nation, Haiti suffers from Western media portrayals of Banana Republics as exotic, ungovernable spaces that are rendered weak to coups and incapable of self-government (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, pp. 87–142). The result is that Western audiences are influenced by these salient media narratives. Western populations are likely to heavily support intervention policies by their governments, when bombarded with noncontextualized media discourse about foreign spaces. This occurred in Haiti in the buildup to the U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Here, narratives of not just Haiti, but its neighbor the Dominican Republic, galvanized corporate interests who actively lobbied for U.S. military intervention in these two countries (Renda, 2001). Historians have then documented how the U.S. occupation laid the groundwork for three decades of dictatorship in Haiti that explains the weak political structures in the country today (Trouillot, 1990). In sum, a century of ethnocentric mediated discourse can support and sustain geopolitical actions that leave behind even more decades of instability.

Haiti's status as the first Black Republic makes it a symbolic space for people of African descent in the Americas. Its successful Haitian Revolution allowed for the retention of African pride and cultural traditions and systems that had been lost to descendants whose bondage continued elsewhere for a much

longer period. This achievement of the revolution, and the subsequent isolation of Haiti in the 1800s, is rarely contextualized in narratives of Haiti today. Instead, popular tropes that face African nations are often employed in Haiti: starvation, poverty, and disasters (Lawless, 1992). The "misery" narrative that dominates discourses of the African continent is one that is also used to present Haiti to external audiences (Fair, 1993). While the Banana Republic trope triggers support for military interventions, the "misery" trope triggers support for humanitarian and aid intervention. Port-au-Prince, Haiti, is now called the "Capital of NGOs" (United States Institute of Peace, 2010). In the past decade, there were more nongovernmental agencies per capita that operate in Haiti than any other nation in the world (United States Institute of Peace, 2010).

The reliance on humanitarian aid over decades in Haiti has further undermined the country's ability to develop its own sustainable self-sufficiency (Katz, 2013). It has rendered the country, its institutions, and its peoples, clients of the international aid apparatus, with many of these projects shortsighted in their design, and in the control of foreign organizations. This reduces the opportunity for Haitian institutions and Haitian people to control the flow of international aid to their country and to have a voice in how such aid should be directed in the country (Ulysse, 2015). As resources fail to reach and impact the lives of ordinary Haitians, this triggers mass migration in times of crisis.

In combining these two critiques on race and power, prior research is clear that external narratives of Haiti still perpetuate tropes of race and power that work against Haiti and its people. The purpose of studying Haiti's own media here is to begin to outline how else can Haitians be presented to the world, even in difficult times. In elevating the work of journalists who understand the complexities of their own society, this study positions counter-hegemonic framing as a worthy critical exercise. In following the anthropological approach that "questions and challenges—the reigning folk model" (Lawless, 1992, p. xviii), this study considers what journalism could look like when journalists see their own people as normal and not abnormal.

Counter-Hegemonic Framing and Haitian Media

Framing is not without power. It is the power of media workers to influence discourse by the selection and omission, the tone and sourcing of text, image, and audio to influence audience perception. In packaging the presentation of text, frames "define problems," "diagnose causes," "make moral judgments," and "suggest remedies" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). They also "diagnose," "evaluate," and "prescribe" (Gamson, 1992, as cited in Entman, 1993, p. 52). A frame prompts the audience on how to "locate, perceive, identify and label" messages (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). It is a "central organizing idea" to help audiences make sense of the debates of a particular discourse (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 3). Most important, when considering power, frames

have an important impact on how audiences side with or against an issue (Graber, 1988, pp. 206–207).

What sides of a debate get elevated in mediated discourse, omitted, or reduced reflect the hegemony of the journalistic practice of framing (Holstein, 2003). The voices of the powerful, the educated, the elite, and of decision-makers are often placed as most important in the packaging of news frames. The voices of the marginalized, the ordinary citizen, and those who lack power are treated as secondary, if not included at all. For instance, when coverage of the Dominican Republic's immigration policy focuses on the nuances of the law and the actions taken by the Dominican government, such a story type gives prominence to those who hold power. The space, positioning, repetition, and explanation of the legal framework by reporters work together in the media narrative to legitimize the power of law and delegitimizes those who break law. Therefore, it is difficult for audiences to find sympathy with "law-breakers" because framing has positioned the opinions of the powerful as being the norm or acceptable.

Counter-hegemonic framing, Entman (2003) wrote, often appears in the journalistic tradition as a form of frame challenge. It is an attempt to shift power in a dominant frame and to reshape how audiences would traditionally interpret what is normal or acceptable. In Western media, scholars note that counter-hegemonic framing does not occur often, because social norms are rigid, and it is difficult for audiences to immediately accept alternative frames (Entman, 2003). It takes critical mass by mainstream media in Western societies to transform alternative frames into widely acceptable prominent news frames.

This supports looking at the framing of stories from marginalized spaces and nations where counter-hegemonic framing could be more prevalent. In recent times, studies have confirmed that counter-hegemonic framing does occur in Haiti's mediated discourse, particularly after a disaster (Celeste, 2016; Regan, 2015; Ulysse, 2015). However, fewer studies still do not elevate Haitian narratives as articulating counter-hegemonic frames. This practice in itself is hegemonic.

Therefore, this study examined Haitian mediated discourse of two immigration stories after the 2010 earthquake. It is a study of how Haitian media, through the journalistic lens, approached coverage of a news topic that captured international attention and headlines. While external news about these two events positioned the foreign country as the decider and positioned Haiti as impoverished and in crisis, this study asked how else did Haiti's own news frame these two immigration stories. This study therefore questioned whether there was an alternative Haitian discourse on these two immigration issues. This study posed the following four research questions (RQs):

RQ1: How did Haitian newspapers describe Haitians or people of Haitian descent in coverage of la apatrida and TPS?

RQ2: What themes consistently emerged from Haitian newspapers about la apatrida?
RQ3: What themes consistently emerged from Haitian newspapers about TPS?
RQ4: What distinctions existed in the framing of Dominican authorities and U.S. authorities?

Methods

This study sampled the two daily Haitian national newspapers: *Le Nouvelliste* and *Le Nacional*. In a 2010 survey, two-thirds of all Haitians surveyed who read newspapers, indicated *Le Nouvelliste* as their primary print news source (Powell, 2012, p. 23). Even though the majority of Haitians (96%) receive daily news and information through radio (Powell, 2012, p. 18), the source of the primary reporting for radio news reports and news talk programs come from the leading daily newspapers (p. 19). An additional two million Haitians living abroad comprise the largest portion of readership online for the daily newspapers. Therefore, newspapers in Haiti are still the agenda-setters for broadcasting. Newspapers establish what the most prominent stories are, how long these stories remain newsworthy, and the tone of coverage for national news. Radio and television outlets also cite national newspapers as the source of their reports. For instance, it is common for radio reports to include "as reported in *Le Nouvelliste*," for repackaged reports in Haitian Kreyòl over the airwaves. Therefore, national newspapers are the gatekeepers and agenda-setters of news and news discourse in Haiti which is then shared over the airwaves and new media. The two newspapers examined in this study also have their own radio stations with broadcasts in Haitian Kreyòl.

The articles sampled in this study were compiled in two ways. Both newspapers provided access to their archives for retrieving articles on la apatrida during field visits to their bureaus in Port-au-Prince, Haiti in 2015. Both newspapers also provided archive access to its TPS coverage in 2017. The newspaper archivists and editors provided the researcher a list of keywords and the names of the reporters who covered both stories to assist in building the sample for la apatrida and TPS. These keywords can be found in the Appendix. The newsroom editors assisted in identifying dates for both news events at the height of coverage in international news. For la apatrida, the study sampled articles for 6 months in 2015, from March 2015 to August 2015, which was the start of voluntary and forced deportations. The suggested keywords from the archivists guided the search during these months. For TPS, the editors suggested the following 6 months coverage: June 2017 to November 2017. This covered the period that started with a 60-day evaluation on whether to end TPS for Haitian migrants. That announcement came in late November 2017, by the Department of Homeland Security. A timeline of la apatrida and TPS official

announcements that impacted the news cycle for these two stories is outlined in the Appendix.

For the 6-months sampled to examine Haitian news coverage of la apatrida (2015) and TPS (2017), the keyword search yielded 263 articles, of which $N = 198$ were designated to be news articles, and not editorials, essays, commentaries, and opinion pieces. The number of la apatrida news articles sampled from *Le Nouvelliste* were $N = 72$. And the number of la apatrida articles sampled from *Le Nacional* were $N = 30$. The number of TPS articles sampled from *Le Nouvelliste* were $N = 69$, while the number of TPS articles sampled from *Le Nacional* were $N = 27$. Several keywords produced the same articles in the search and can be found in the Appendix. Headlines and dates for articles were coded to avoid double-counting.

Procedure

The major themes of each article in the sample were identified by reading the leads and nutgraphs for each article. These first and second paragraphs carry the angle of a story and reflect the major frame or lens with which the rest of the article is shaped. The researcher built an Excel sheet of the themes found from the articles and then collapsed them into related groups. The researcher then entered the groups into SPSS to compare the themes by immigration story. The findings for the themes were used to answer RQs 2 and 3.

To answer RQ1, the researcher selected from the lead and the nutgraph of the sample articles, words or phrases in French used to describe Haitian immigrants in both coverage of la apatrida and TPS. The words/phrases for each article were entered in SPSS to count the most frequent description of Haitian migrants as it appeared in Haitian newspapers. For RQ4, the researcher coded articles for key phrases or words used to describe the Dominican and U.S. governments. The words were entered into an Excel sheet and then placed into SPSS to count the frequency of each phrase or word.

Results

The Haitian newspapers used a variety of terms and phrases to describe immigrants beyond just the simple word: migrants. The newspapers used words ranging from families, citizens, our people, beneficiaries, our compatriots, among other pronouns to tell stories about these migrants. Figures 1 and 2 outline the primary words used to describe Haitian migrants in both immigration news stories. Both figures provide a response to RQ1: How did Haitian newspapers describe Haitians or people of Haitian descent in coverage about la apatrida and TPS?

The most common description for Haitian migrants in articles sampled on la apatrida was “de milliers de Dominicains d’origine haïtienne” (the thousands of

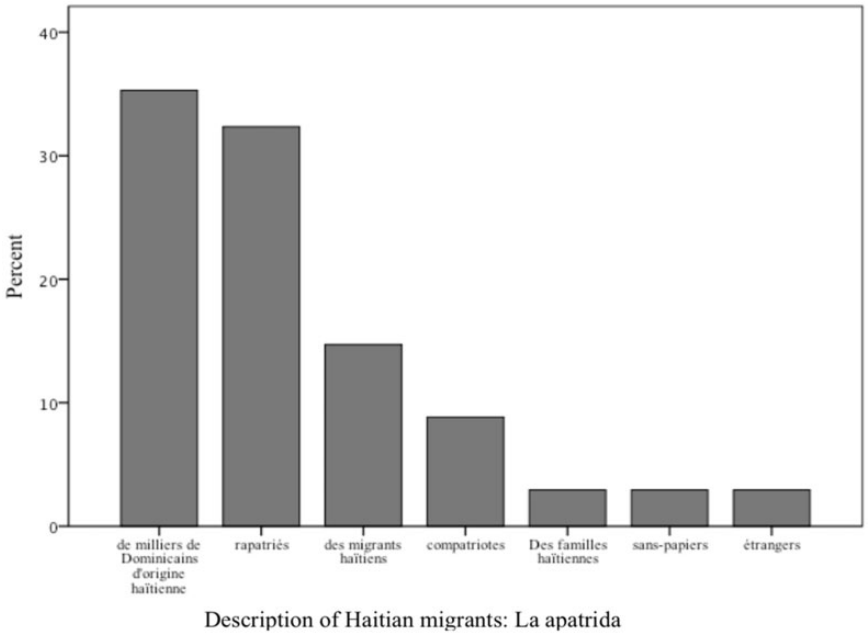

Figure 1. Words most commonly used to describe Haitian migrants in la apatrida coverage.

Dominicans of Haitian origin) at 35.3%. The second most common description used was rapatriés (the repatriated) at 32.4%. The third most common phrase used was "des migrants haïtiens" (Haitian migrants) at 14.7%. Other terms used less than 10% of the time in the sample were compatriotes (compatriotes), des familles haïtiens (Haitian families), étrangers (foreigners), and sans-papiers (undocumented).

For sampled articles on TPS, "les bénéficiaires de TPS" (TPS beneficiaries) was the most common description (43.8%), followed by "compatriotes" often written as "nos compatriotes" (our compatriots) at 31.3%. The remaining description for immigrants was "les migrants" (the migrants), "des milliers de familles haïtiennes" (the thousands of Haitian families), "citoyens" (our citizens), and "peuples" (our people). All of the other descriptions appeared in the sampled articles at a rate under 10%.

The nutgraphs and leads of the sampled news articles framed these stories. They outlined reoccurring narratives that demonstrated how Haitian newspapers sought to contextualize the major developments or discourse surrounding these immigration stories. Although all themes did not always carry the exact same words, they were grouped together because they shared at least one word in common, or covered the same themes in the article. Coding themes provided

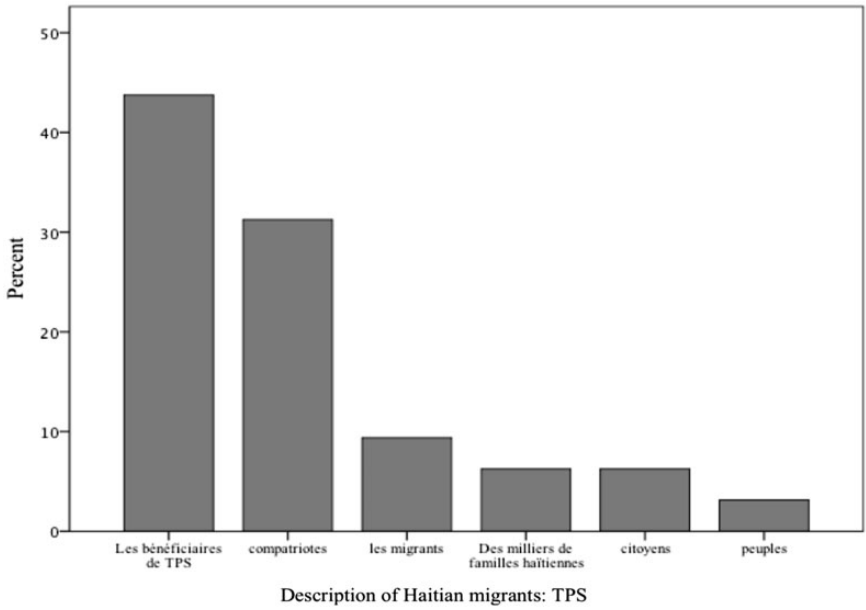

Figure 2. Words most commonly used to describe Haitian migrants in TPS coverage. TPS = Temporary Protected Status.

the frequency of frames for RQ2 and RQ3. It allowed the reader to determine what Haitian newspapers considered to be important debates in the stories.

For stories about la apatrida, the majority of sampled articles framed the story as "une crise humanitaire" (a humanitarian crisis) at 50% as shown in Figure 3. This was the actual phrase used in French in both newspapers in the lead or nutgraph in these stories. Stories describing la apatrida as "une crise humanitaire" outlined the disruption of the lives of Dominicans of Haitian descent, the separation of families, chaos at the border, the forced and voluntary migrations, the numbers or counts of weekly deportations, and the conditions of the camps where the deported were housed near the border.

The second most employed theme by Haitian newspapers about la apatrida was "solidarity and support from groups" (17.6%). These articles reflected outrage by community and citizen groups, Haitian intellectuals, the Caribbean community, and Haiti-based nongovernmental organizations. The third most prevalent theme in sampled coverage about la apatrida was the "relation entre Haïti et la République dominicaine" (Haitian-Dominican Republic relations) and criticism of the Dominican government's actions at (14.7%). Finally, Haitian newspapers were also critical of Haitian officials and their handling of services to aid repatriated migrants (2.9%).

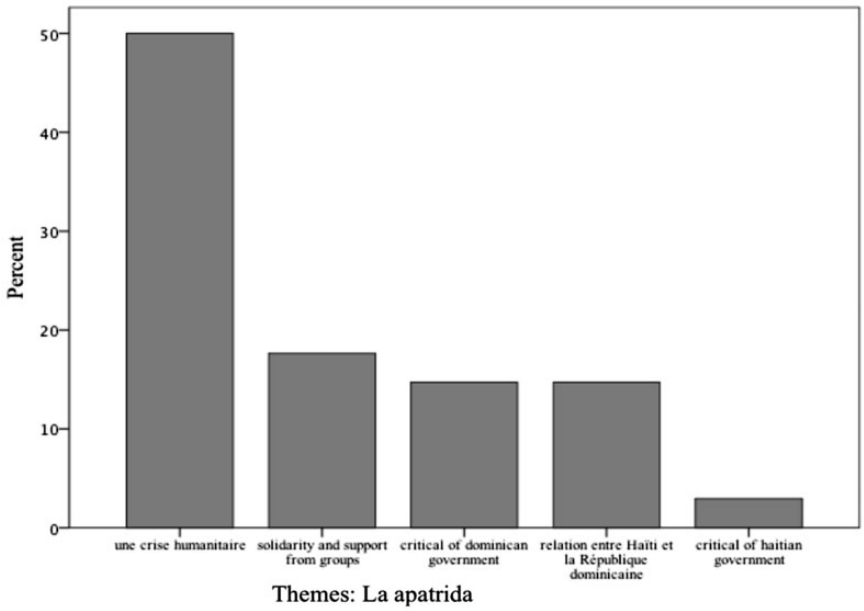

Figure 3. The most commonly used themes for la apatrida coverage.

Figure 4 reflects the common themes that answer RQ3, which sought to examine the most popular frames for TPS articles. Sixty-five percent of stories focused on the process of repatriation. These articles examined the time frame for returning to Haiti, any efforts to extend TPS, what could happen to families with U.S.-born children, attempts by officials to intervene on ending TPS, and explanations of TPS in the first place. Twenty-five percent of articles sampled focused on acknowledgments of solidarity with Haitian migrants facing deportations by groups in Haiti and in the diaspora and even from non-Haitian groups in the United States. Another 9.4% of articles examined efforts by Haitian-Americans to advocate for TPS recipients.

Figures 5 and 6 show how Haitian national newspapers identified the authority powered to make decisions with regard to the fate of Haitian immigrants in both the la apatrida and TPS stories. They answer RQ4, which sought to measure whether Haitian newspapers distinguished its framing of Dominican authorities and U.S. authorities.

Haitian newspapers used "République Dominicaine" (Dominican Republic) at 76.5% to describe which official body had the power to decide the fate of Haitian migrants. The word "voisin" (neighbor) was used next at 17.6% followed by "Le président dominicain/Medina" (the Dominican President/Danilo Medina) at 5.9%.

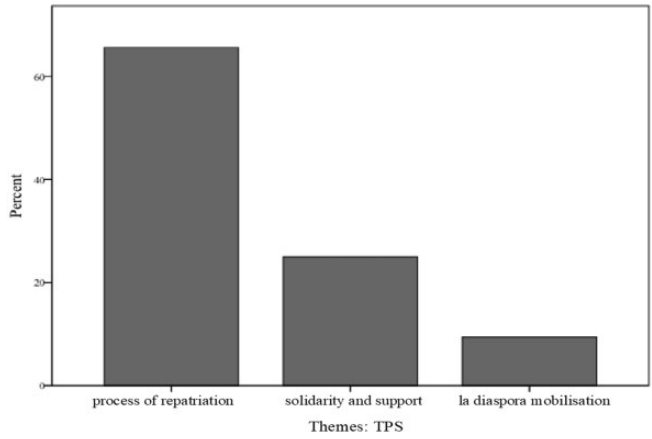

Figure 4. The most commonly used themes for TPS coverage.
TPS = Temporary Protected Status.

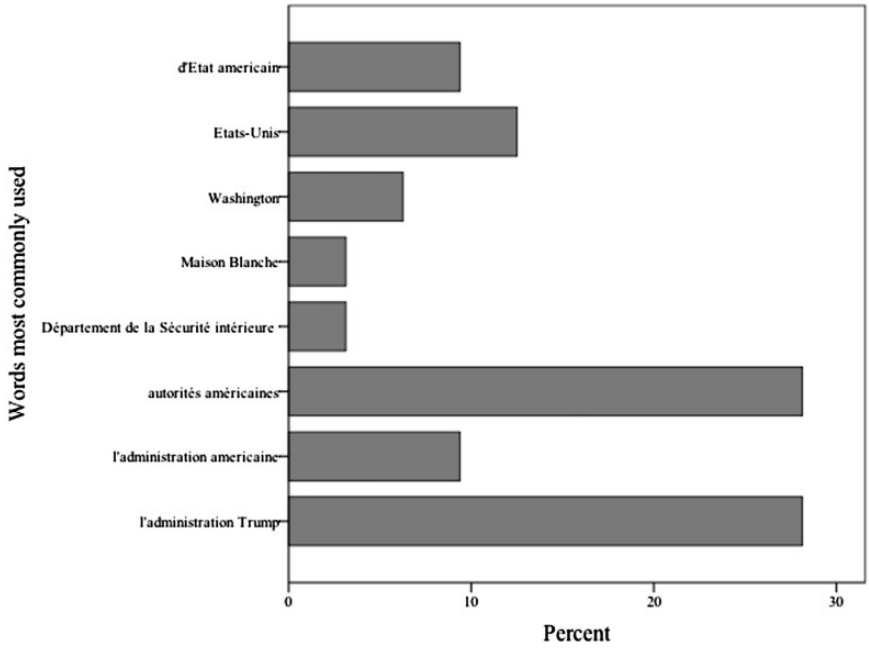

Figure 5. Words most commonly used to identify U.S. authorities.

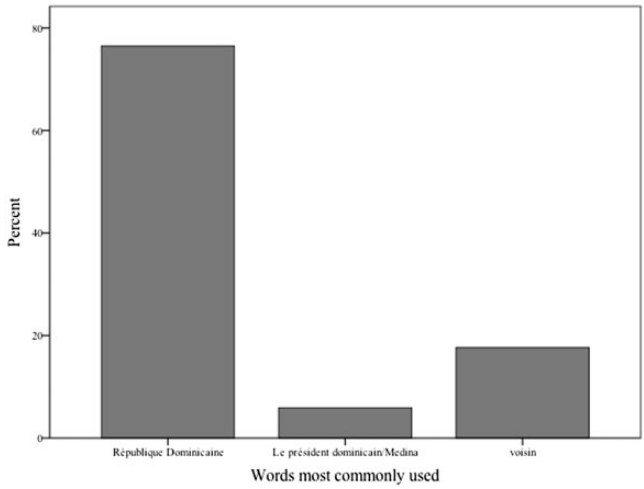

Figure 6. Words most commonly used to identify Dominican authorities.

For stories about TPS, the most common authority identified in news reports was "l'administration Trump" and "autorités américaines" (American authorities) at 28.1%. États-Unis was the third most commonly used word at 12.5%. In addition, "d'État américaine" (the American state) and "l'administration américain" (the American administration) was each referenced in the sample, 9.4% of the time. Other words used were "Washington," "Maison Blanche" (White House), and "Département de la Sécurité intérieure" (Department of Homeland Security).

Discussion

La Apatrida and Dignity: Contextualizing Historic Racism and Xenophobia

RQ1 asked what words and phrases Haitian newspapers used in both immigration stories to define their own people involved in international headlines. For stories involving la apatrida, Haitian newspapers described migrants as "de milliers de Dominicains d'origine haïtienne" (the thousands of Dominicans of Haitian origin). Haitian media, contrary to Dominican headlines, recognized these migrants as being "Dominican." Whether these migrants possessed official papers, held citizenship, or were born there, Haitian newspapers were political in identifying that these were people who primarily live in the Dominican Republic, or have families or children born in the Dominican Republic. While they are of Haitian descent or origin, Haitian newspapers chose to formally recognize migrants as Dominicans.

The news articles also referred to migrants as rapatriés (repatriated) to signify the sense that they were "sent back, or not wanted by their adopted homelands. Likewise, this word was also a political choice by Haitian newspaper journalists to identify the stripping of human rights to migrants of Haitian descent as being unjust, and discriminatory. In contrasting this finding to the results of RQ3, there is a connection between naming Haitian migrants: Dominicans and describing them also as rapatriés under stories that focused on "une crise humanitaire" (a humanitarian crisis). Haitian newspapers were deliberate in articulating that removing residents of a foreign country, who had in essence, become Dominican in every sense, and were forced back to another land they held no recent ties to, was a slap against humanity, compassion, and empathy.

The second most popular theme in coverage of la apatrida underscored how Haitian news reports contextualized immigration. The framing of the lack of compassion of la apatrida on Haitian migrants explained the background of the contemporary relationship between these "voisins" or neighbors. While the historical context between Haiti and the Dominican Republic is fraught with moments of tension, Haitian newspapers noted that it was the Dominican Republic's government that aided Haiti after the 2010 earthquake and immediately absorbed significant numbers of displaced Haitians. The reports pointed that these "good neighbor" actions on the part of the Dominican Republic had worked to improve relations on the island.

In return, Haitian newspapers reminded audiences that it is the Haitian government that has stimulated Dominican businesses by granting the largest Haiti reconstruction contracts to Dominican firms. Haiti is also the second largest market for Dominican goods, as a result of enhanced postearthquake relations across the border. These subthemes were wrapped up in the larger frame on stories about Haitian-Dominican relations as it pertained to coverage of la apatrida. Therefore, Haitian newspapers appealed to the desire to maintain cordial relations between the two countries, reminding them that in crisis they have operated in support of each other's nations.

When news articles mentioned Dominican president Danilo Medina, these news reports contextualized the immigration policy as part of election rhetoric that stirred up xenophobic and racist feelings about Haitians. Haitian newspapers were therefore cautious in the critique of "la République dominicaine" (the Dominican Republic) aware that they share a vulnerable island with their neighbor and that Haitians are fully aware of the historical conflicts between the two countries.

The coverage of Dominican Republic officials was therefore highly nuanced and outlined why the Dominican Republic's immigration stance was counterproductive to ways in which these neighbors had in fact been working together in more recent times. The coverage framed the immigration policy as being a wedge issue in the Dominican Republic elections, and news reports appealed to Dominican authorities to consider the progress both countries had been making

in terms of political and social relations, since their moment of solidarity after the earthquake.

TPS: Counter-Hegemonic Agenda-Setting

Haitian newspapers identified Haitian migrants in the United States as "les bénéficiaires de TPS" (TPS beneficiaries) and "nos compatriotes" (our compatriots). These articles described migrants as "these thousands of families," "citizens," and "their people" who would be harmed by the end of TPS and a return to Haiti after establishing new lives abroad after the earthquake. Haitian newspapers were more unanimous in singling out the administration of U.S. President Donald Trump in several different words like Washington, The White House, the Department of Homeland Security, the authorities (immigration) as being the decision-makers of the status of Haitian TPS.

Most of the stories of the end of TPS for Haitians examined the process of repatriation. Haitian newspapers sought to humanize this process in their reports. Instead of simply reporting that TPS would end and that 50,000 Haitians and their families no longer can remain in the United States, these reports outlined whether these families had opportunities and resources if they returned. The Haitian news articles considered what would happen to the children who were born U.S. citizens, what would happen to the lives these families had built in the United States and whether Haiti had fully returned to normalcy to absorb these families.

The second most common theme was the diaspora solidarity of Haitians losing TPS. Compared with la apatrida, where voluntarily and forced repatriation had already begun, TPS repatriation had not started in the articles sampled. Therefore, a significant number of articles emphasized the advocacy of migrant supporters and allies both from the Haitian community and even from African-American members of Congress to keep TPS in place for Haitians. In raising these critiques, Haitian newspapers participated in an agenda-setting role of providing space for the outpouring of outrage both at home and with Haitian-Americans in the diaspora, who could mobilize to advocate for Haitian migrants losing their protective status.

Limitations and Future Research

This study only examined traditional news articles in Haiti's two daily national newspapers. As noted earlier, other published pieces such as editorials, columns, essays, opinion pieces, and even satirical cartoons on these news events were not included in the final sample. Therefore, this study only highlighted themes that emerged from news articles, and not news analysis or commentary. These other types of content provide more critical discourse from a Haitian perspective that could have demonstrated additional counter-hegemonic narratives of the Haitian

point of view toward these two immigration developments for migrants. This study was only a measure of traditional journalistic reporting, which by its nature and design, is restrictive because it presents primarily binary oppositions or points of views. News articles do not always embody critical claims set aside in editorials, essays, or columns. There is still more to know about how Haitians feel about these two news stories than was captured in studying print news articles alone.

Likewise, this was a study of print journalism. While print serves as the gatekeeper and agenda-setter for news, news talk programs on radio carry robust public debates around these important print headlines. The expert panels and call-in segments that shape the format of radio programming expand who contributes to mediated discourse beyond simply journalists alone. Future studies that examine the complex social and national critiques from Haitian voices can benefit from a study of editorialized content on other platforms such as radio, the web, and scripted television and film. By expanding beyond traditional print journalism, scholars can further document other Haitian voices as they are reflected in the country's media to illuminate more counter-hegemonic discourse in response to the country's external image.

Likewise, these are developing stories. Deportations continue to occur from the Dominican Republic to date, and the Dominican Republic government has sought to counteract the negative coverage by extending deadlines for naturalization. However, large numbers of Dominicans of Haitian descent do not possess the proper documentation to demonstrate birth or residency, to successfully navigate the naturalization process. With regard to the fate of TPS recipients, which was originally set to July 22, 2019, immigrant advocates continue to lobby for a review of the DHS ruling. It is possible that as these two policies develop, the tone and nature of the framing of these two stories will evolve. However, one important reason to continue to study Haitian media coverage is that outside of inflammatory comments from the U.S. President, these stories fade from the international headlines. The stories of repatriated migrants, however, will continue to make Haitian headlines. Revisiting these stories when migrants return are more likely to be stories told in local media, when the attraction of foreign headlines recede or move on to the next crisis.

Conclusion

This article highlighted Haitian discourse at the height of international attention to these two news stories. It did not compare Haitian coverage to U.S. news coverage because scholars often examine foreign coverage of Haiti at the expense of the study of Haitian journalism. The goal of this study was to focus precisely on the Haitian framing of these two events, which was a counter-hegemonic exercise, where scholars have often deferred to external voices for academic inquiry about a Haitian story. Haitian news media provide

an educative window into national sentiment and discourse that allow outsiders to understand the Haitian perspective, presented within the norms and confines of journalistic tradition.

While U.S. policy and Dominican policy sought to signal to Haitian migrants that they were no longer desirable as residents in these respective countries, Haitian national news affirmed Haitians as deserving of residence in the countries that initially accepted them. Haitian media coverage assigned value and worth to Haitians in these foreign spaces by describing them as "Dominicans" and as "beneficiaries" of the rights of residents of these countries, which includes the right to continue to live there. At the same time, Haitian media decried the separation of families and loss of livelihood that comes with repatriation in both of these stories. Haitian national news also served as a space for rallying allies and Haitians within the United States and Dominican diaspora to advocate for those migrants whose rights were no longer guaranteed.

Haitian media narratives therefore reinforced basic human rights and the dignity of citizens abroad. It served as a call to action for allies: the roughly two million Haitians who live in the diaspora and advocates in the region in the Caribbean and in North America. When compared with larger narratives of immigrants facing ongoing crises, be it in Syria or Burma, these national counter-narratives that humanize immigrants are important when powerful sources reduce the spaces they come from to "shitholes."

These Haitian narratives are important because they influenced the responses of key constitutes who can then advocate for Haitian migrants. For instance, in the case of the Dominican Republic deportations, Haitian mediated discourse was also reflected in the language used by regional organizations. Caribbean nations in the Caribbean Community condemned the Dominican Republic for its "denial of basic human rights" of peoples in the region. Caricom also took political action to freeze the Dominican Republic's application to the regional body (Charles, 2013). Caribbean leaders rallied behind the Haitian government and urged a fellow neighbor to show compassion (Charles, 2013). "Human rights" and "compassion" were both the prominent themes of the coverage found in Haitian news discourse of la apatrida.

Likewise, the coverage of the Dominican Republic in Haitian media also led civic and corporate groups in the Dominican Republic to speak out about the long-term repercussions of this political decision and to advocate, in the Dominican Republic, about having better relations with their neighbor. Corporate entities in the Dominican Republic were also sensitive to the Haitian news coverage because the primary recipients of state contracts for reconstruction in Haiti were Dominican firms. Likewise, Haiti remains a primary export market for Dominican goods. These reactions by Dominican Republic corporate stakeholders also reflect the power of Haitian news stories to present counter-hegemonic frames. Negative national discourse about the Dominican Republic in Haiti's national news sources was simply not good business. It was also not

neighborly. These are just two examples where Haiti's local coverage affected responses across the border and among nations in the Caribbean basin.

When looking at TPS, Haiti's media aggressively refuted data by the DHS that the country was capable of reabsorbing 50,000 citizens 8 years after the earthquake. This was an argument that was then picked up by the Haitian-American community and its advocates who lobbied for TPS recipients. The Haitian diaspora community in the United States stays connected to national discourse and travels frequently to visit relatives in the country. Haitian-Americans then rearticulate national sentiment presented in Haiti's mediated discourse and advocate on behalf of newer migrants in a foreign space where they, too, are citizens.

More important, this article examined the way in which discourse holds power. When stories become global headlines, foreign media narratives can carry negative consequences for vulnerable groups of peoples. This study underscored the importance of examining national media narratives for major news stories that challenge external tropes. They work to move beyond binary categories of people who hold power and who do not hold power. They suggest ways to avoid the simplified *othering* that occurs in news narratives and that carry implications, both directly and indirectly for marginalized groups.

Over time, sustained counter-narratives put pressure on the powerful to reevaluate political decisions. This was shown in President Trump's response to coverage of the separation of migrant families at the United States-Mexico border. Both the Dominican Republic and U.S. responses to Haitian migrants continue to face sustained criticism from Haitian allies. The unified and nuanced tone of media discourse in Haiti, with regard to these two policies, has been part of the collective response of advocacy on behalf of Haitian migrants. This is not to say that counter-hegemonic media discourse can single-handedly reverse either of these immigration decisions. To this point, it has not. However, in small ways, it moves the conversation away from the simple delegitimizing of immigrants. In larger ways, it sustains public debate on the matter, building public opinion support for immigrant activists and advocates.

Appendix

A. **News cycle timeline**
A list of key dates that impacted the news cycle for both stories, as well as the sample selection.

La apatrida timeline (Organization of American States, 2016)

1. January 2010: New constitution eliminates birthright citizenship.
2. September 2013: The Dominican Constitutional Court upheld Resolution TC0168/13 stripping citizenship to Dominicans born after 1929 up to 2010,

if they did not have at least one Dominican parent. This court ruling impacted over 200,000 Dominicans of Haitian descent.
3. May 2014: The Dominican government passes Naturalization law 169/14 in response to outcry from agencies like the United Nations High Commission on Refugees. The law provided a window for those denationalized by the court ruling to register and determine their nationality.
4. February 2015: The end to the naturalization period. Under 9,000 people were officially registered.
5. March 2015: Voluntary and forced repatriation, and deportations begins.

TPS timeline (Department of Homeland Security, 2018)

January 21, 2010: U.S. Department of Homeland Security TPS designation start date for Haiti.
May 4, 2017: DHS announced extension of TPS for Haiti for 6 months. TPS recipients must prepare for their return to Haiti during these 6 months.
November 2017: 60-day mark when DHS re-evaluated original TPS end date of January 22, 2018.
November 20, 2017. DHS announced termination of TPS for Haiti with an 18-month transition period ending on July 22, 2019.

B. Keyword for article search

La apatrida keywords

- Haïti-rapatriement
- rapatriés
- la frontière haïtiano-dominicaine
- la République dominicaine
- Danilo Medina
- migrants

TPS keywords

- TPS
- Statut de protection temporaire
- Migration
- Haïti – refugiés
- Trump
- États-Unis
- seisme
- Américain
- Département de la Sécurité Intérieure

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: Research in Haiti was supported in part by a 2015-2016 United Negro College Fund Henry C. McBay Faculty Research Fellowship.

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Article

Journal of Communication Inquiry
0(0) 1–19

DOI: 10.1177/0196859918792850
journals.sagepub.com/home/jci
SAGE

Searching for Ontological Security via Homeland Media Use: The Case of Korean Temporary Visa-Status Migrants in the United States

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Abstract

Temporary visa-status migrants initially might be perceived as emancipated mobilities who are privileged enough to enter and exit the United States without taking any major risks. This article examines the struggles involved in the experiences of the Korean temporary visa-status migrants living in the United States, and especially the role of media in their transnational everyday lives. Using a quasi-ethnographic approach by conducting qualitative interviews with 40 Korean visa-status migrants, this article argues that the homeland media, both television and Internet, sustain "ontological security" throughout the radical transitions, feeling of "existential outsideness," and transnational insecurities and precariousness. The study offers a helpful insight in both understanding the contemporary dispersed audiences and contextualizing different migrant positions within the easily lumped category of mobile elites or cosmopolitans.

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Keywords
temporary migrants, homeland media, ontological security, qualitative interviews, US visa policy

According to the Annual Flow Report (2016), during 2014, the Department of Homeland Security granted a total of more than 180 million nonimmigrant (e.g., temporary migrant) admissions[1] to the United States. The number of nonimmigrants increased by 10% in 2015 compared to 2014. Nonimmigrants are foreign nationals granted temporary admission to the United States for various purposes such as temporary visits for business or pleasure, academic or vocational training, or temporary employment and as a representative of a foreign government or international organization (Teke & Navarro, 2016). Since these temporary forms of spatial migration are not officially classified as state-to-state immigration, the potential status transformation of these individuals and the meanings of the borders between home and host countries are important to study. Moreover, temporary visa-status migrants are both influential to the home and the host country because they may carry network capital[2] (Urry, 2007) and cosmopolitan capital[3] (Bühlmann, David, & Mach, 2013; Igarashi & Saito, 2014) within the two territories. Especially, these groups' global circulation narrates the "middling forms" of transnational migration since they acknowledge that transnationalism covers more than just the transnational elites and the developing-world migrants (Conradson & Latham, 2005, p. 229).

Temporary visa-status migrants, including South Koreans with this status in the United States, initially might be perceived as emancipated mobilities who are privileged enough to enter and exit the United States without taking any major risks. Granted, particularly in contrast to undocumented migrant work forces and refugees, these people move for reasons that are more voluntary—typically in order to gain higher status and success in relation to work and education (Jansson, 2016). However, the mobile lives of these often middle-class migrants should neither be taken as simple and easy success stories, nor homogeneous ones, and without regard to detailed contexts that complicate their efforts with considerable risks.

This study examines the insecurities and precariousness involved in the experiences of the temporary visa-status (hereafter, "tempv") migrants and especially how their media practices provide them with a sort of ontological security that they seek in their transnational everyday lives. Specifically, I question: (1) What kinds of restraints and uncertainties do tempv migrants experience and how

those differ depending on different visa status? and (2) What role does homeland media play in handling these emotional and social experiences? Through qualitative interviews with 40 Korean visa-status migrants, this study argues that homeland media, both television and Internet, sustain "ontological security" in the transnational space by functioning as an emotional stabilizer throughout the radical transitions, an emotional refuge from the feeling of "existential outsideness," and an emotional assurance in their transnational migration. The study offers a helpful insight in both understanding the contemporary dispersed audiences and contextualizing different migrant positions within the easily lumped category of mobile elites or cosmopolitans.

In this study, media practices are considered to be an inextricable part of everyday life that informs and connects people over time and space (Morley, 2000); thus, I do not focus on a specific medium but instead highlight the ways that different media practices are intertwined with each other and with other social practices (Livingstone, 2007; Silverstone, 1999). Moreover, by stressing the lived practices of everyday life, this article argues that tempv migrants are "socially and spatially situated subjects–as members of families; participants in religious or locality-based networks; occupants of classed, gendered and racialised[4] bodies; located in particular nationalist projects, state formations and border crossings" (Smith, 2005, p. 5). Thus, I try to reveal the multipositionality of different individuals in this study and how ontological security is applied contextually according to different positionalities—visa status, occupation, and sex.

Transnational Everyday Lives, Media Practice, and Ontological Security

The special issue of the *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, titled "Mobile Elites: Sojourners, Dwellers, and Homecomers," argues that researchers need to unveil the complexities of the life trajectories of mobile groups by conducting more existentially oriented ethnographies (Jansson, 2016). Some media studies scholars have highlighted this existential-phenomenological perspective in transnational media studies by focusing on the taken-for-granted feature of everyday experience and the routinized (media) practices that form/make place (Moores & Metykova, 2009, 2010; Scannell, 1996; Silverstone, 1994). While Silverstone (1993, 1994) and Scannell (1996, 2014) focused on the ontological meaning of television in everyday life, Moores and Metykova (2009, 2010) were interested in mobility and media issues in migrants' everyday lived experiences and routines. They found that previous literature on media and transnational migrants often stressed the construction of ethnic identities in place of more mundane and emotional aspects of migrants' media use. The context of migration was

important since it brought "disruption to a sense of normality" in peoples' "taken-for-granted lives" (Moores & Metykova, 2010, p. 3).

In this context, several studies in the field have argued that homeland media may provide an ontological security in the midst of transnational migration (Georgiou, 2013; Qureshi, 2007; Silverstone, 1994; Smets, 2018). Ontological security, which increasingly depends on symbolic material, is an experience and feeling of being at home or being welcome in a certain place (Morley, 2000). It is deeply related with a feeling that the surrounding social environment is understood, stable, and constant, thus allowing the self to have confidence in the continuity of its identity (Giddens, 1990).

Silverstone (1993), observing the homology between television and everyday life, argues that "television is an ontological and phenomenological reality" (p. 574).[5] Following Giddens's (1990) argument that the modern world has become increasingly reliant on relational networks and mechanisms lacking the experience of face-to-face interactions in familiar, manageable space and time, Silverstone (1993) acknowledges that globalization and a time-space convergence have resulted in a lack of confidence held by contemporary individuals in their self-identities and in the constancy of their surrounding environment. Because television seems to bridge "abstract mediated knowledge with familial and face-to-face communication," it promotes feelings of ontological security by developing a sense of reliability or trust (Georgiou, 2013, p. 306).

Along these lines, revisiting the theoretical work of Silverstone (1993), transnational media scholars have explored the relevance of his analysis in the context of "intense migration, satellite television's omnipresence, and the diversification of mediascapes" (Georgiou, 2013, p. 305). For instance, Georgiou (2013) argues that homeland TV provides and sustains ontological security for transnational subjects through three modes: (1) as a cultural system that reinforces a sense of homeliness, (2) as an everyday companion providing daily reassurance, and (3) as a supporter of efforts to manage transnational anxieties. Moores and Metykova (2010) explored the environmental experiences of Eastern European migrants who moved to Britain and focused on their routine uses of communication technologies in physical and media environments.

Methods

To address my research questions, I conducted qualitative interviews with 40 South Korean temporary migrants who have lived in the United States for more than 2 years at the point of the interview. Depending on the circumstances, I strategically mixed focus group interviews and one-on-one in-depth interviews. I believe that focus group discussions, if arranged properly with comfortable members, will promote participants to talk about sensitive topics by revealing social dynamics and relations and lessening the burden of self-disclosure

(Lunt & Livingstone, 1996). As a result, 23 one-on-one in-depth interviews and 6 focus group interviews were conducted.

Since people aged 25 to 44 constitute 43% of nonimmigrant admissions in the United States, I chose to sample participants who are in this age range. Because this study aims to investigate these temporary migrants' use of new media (television and Internet), I believe that participants in this age range are suitable because they are likely, through their generational experience, to be very familiar with this technology. I divided my sample into three categories: (1) temporary workers (H and L visa), (2) international students (F1), and (3) dependent spouses (H4, L2, F2). I recruited 10 temporary workers, 20 students, and 10 dependent spouses. The biggest difference between temporary workers and international students is their socioeconomic status (the former earn money and the latter do not normally—if they do, they earn very little). Also, domestic status is the difference between the workers (H1B, L1) or students (F1) themselves and their spouses (H4, L2, F2). In many cases, people with a spouse visa tend to be women (but not always). Adding to my two key divisions, I recruited five participants from U.S. or U.K institution and the other five from South Korean company and 25 single participants and 15 married migrants expecting to find some significant differences in media practices. Among the total interviewees, 14 were male and 26 female.

The snowball method was applied in selecting the sample, and each interview lasted approximately 45 to 75 minutes. All interviews were conducted in Korean and recorded, then transcribed and translated at a later date for more thorough analysis. The main reason of designing this study in this formation is to eschew an essentialist approach, which are the critical methodological challenges for transnational analysis (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013). Acknowledging that migrant formations can be built around various categorical distinctions, we should be cautious not to treat members of an ethnic group as "quasi-homogeneous" even when ethnicity is in fact one of the important issues of using a "transnational lens" (Faist et al., 2013, p.141).

Analysis

By thoroughly surveying 40 Korean tempv migrants' media practices and transnational everyday struggles, I found that except for four people, the rest (36 participants) predominantly used homeland media in their transnational everyday lives. In terms of television contents, more than half of them mainly watched entertainment content such as reality shows or dramas to news content. In order to watch homeland television in the host country, all of the participants appropriated new media technology to download and stream online content. Most of the participants used laptops to watch homeland television, but one fourth of them watched it via mobile phone. In terms of online activities other than watching videos, all of the participants stated that they checked homeland

news every day and some, almost in real time. Except for two people, the rest (38 participants) used Korean portal site (*Naver* and *Daum*) as their default page of Internet in their leisure time. Many of them discussed using messenger application *KakaoTalk* to contact people in homeland almost ubiquitously. Some of the participants of course mentioned using *Facebook*, *YouTube*, and *Instagram*; however, they revealed the fact that they dominantly use these sites in Korean language. This study aims to understand the implication of homeland media practices in temporary transnational migration and new media environment. The following analysis reveals how the homeland media sustain "ontological security" throughout the radical transitions, feeling of "existential outsideness," and transnational insecurities and precariousness.

Radical Transition and the Need for Continuity

Mobility both reproduces and interrupts social privilege (Jansson, 2016). For South Korean tempv migrants, they were often deprived of the social privileges that they enjoyed back in their home country during their transition to the United States, and this jarred their sense of identity. This gap between "who I was before" and "who I am now" was frequently mentioned in interviews. Several participants noted the U.S. Transportation Security Administration screening location as the first place where they felt they became a member of "minority" group subject to discrimination:

> SB (L2, male): I remember the moment when I was detained at the airport when I entered the US for a business trip. I was sitting and waiting in the separate immigration room for several hours. Then the officer asked some information about me. I could definitely see their face changing when I told them I was from South Korea, even though I had the 6-month-visa and the returning ticket. They seemed to be thinking "Why on earth does he need to stay for 6 months?" I felt really angry at them. But, this happens so often that now it rolls off me like water off a duck's back.

Considering that even the "King of Bollywood," Shah Rukh Khan, was also detained at a U.S. airport three times (Jozuka, 2016), this airport incident is not surprising. Like the Indian actor, who joked that whenever he feels too arrogant about himself he will take a trip to America, my participants, who are relatively highly educated, upper-middle-class citizens in Korea, were instantly shifted to an Asian minority status through migration. This shifting of identity was especially intensified for male international students. *NG* (F1 visa, male) acknowledged that the mixture of Asian/male/student placed him into the lowest social class of all:

> NG (F1, male): In Korea, I used to work in a big company, earn a lot of money, and as a male, I was in the dominant and advantaged group. Suddenly, coming to

> US to study abroad, I become a minority in all areas: economically, racially, and even gender-wise. Nobody wants Asian men. Once I got on the school bus, I realized that all the seats were occupied and the only two spots left were next to Asian men, including me.

These experiences of Korean tempv migrants in the United States reveal that literature on so-called "cosmopolitans," usually indicating Western expatriates who move around the world freely and proudly, cannot be applied to my participants equally. In contrast to early utopian narratives of globalization and transnationalism, the obstacles tempv migrants face illustrate how "globalization is not a universally flattening, homogenizing and time and space annihilating force" (Leurs, 2014, p. 7).

Migration occurs with time-space shifting which leads not only to separation from strong networks, such as that of family and friends, but also to an inability to do basic things: for instance, the inability to drive, or not being able to communicate due to language issues. Most dependent visa status (F2, H4, L2 visa) women participants confessed about how much they suffered at the beginning of the adjustment. Their comments also show the importance of media in surviving throughout the radical transition to the United States.

> BI (F2, female): The first three months after coming to the US, I didn't have a driver's license. My husband went out to school early in the morning. Of course he was going through hardships, but at least he had membership, colleagues, and somewhere to go out of the home. I was stuck in the house all day alone watching Korean TV through Internet. It was my only friend.

While this practice of watching homeland television is nothing new or interesting for migrants, asking participants about what content they consumed and why illuminated the value of continuity. Homeland TV practice seemed to be more of an act of *habit* (PS/F1, female) producing *consistency* and *continuity* rather than functioning as an "immigrants' ear to homeland" (Roald, 2001 in Christiansen, 2004, p. 186) or as fulfilling their diasporic consciousness (Safran, 1991). Most of them commonly contended that they watched TV programs that they had watched premigration. For instance, OK and HS (both F1, male) described that they still (after living in the United States for more than 3 years) catch up with Korean sports game results (soccer and baseball) every morning when they woke up—not because they missed Korean culture, but because it was their personal hobby and taste. Since homeland TV was available and indeed constantly present in their transnational daily lives, there was no reason to change any media habits or tastes while so much else had to change with migration. Those who migrated after web 2.0 could use media as if they had never left home. Some participants even argued that their weekly schedule was based on a particular media use (television shows, dramas, and web-cartoon), and they tried their best

to fix the same timeline with a South Korean schedule. This meant watching Mon-Tues dramas (Korean schedule) on Monday and Tuesdays in U.S. time (LW, F1, female), which was possible because of the time difference of the two countries. Most Korean TV was uploaded and available in the streaming sites or illegal downloading sites after several hours of broadcasting:

> MS (F1, female): It's not really a compensation for myself or that I miss Korean programs. It is just my life. If I don't watch "Muhandojun" (Endless Challenge) on Saturday, it just doesn't feel like Saturday to me. Then, Sunday I must see "Running Man" and "1 night-2 days." Wednesday is for "Radio Star."
>
> QH (F1, female): I have never really felt home sick. So, the reason I consume Korean media is not that I miss them, but because it is my identity, my flesh and blood. Just like rice and Kimchi to me. It is just so natural.

The few participants (ML and XH) who stated that they watched U.S. dramas also confirmed that they only viewed those shows that they had originally watched in premigration life: for instance, ML (H4, female) only watched *Naval Criminal Investigative Service* that she had been watching for 11 years. As much as possible, tempv migrants tried not to change their routines or habits of media use during the migration.

I argue that this preference for continuity in media practice among tempv migrants illustrates how media, especially homeland television, serves as an "ontological circle" (Silverstone, 1993, p. 588) for these intimidated selves due to the radical transition accompanying migration. Media as "an everyday, ready-to-hand resource," becomes an integral part of people's time-space routines for placemaking, alongside other resources such as food and furniture (Moores & Metykova, 2010, p. 176). Because "media environments" are taken-for-granted, "unnoticed" features of "being-in-the-world," they are important to transnational migrants who reflect on the experience of their environment with sharp detail as they reestablish dwelling in new geographical conditions (Moores & Metykova, 2010, p.175). In a similar context, Aksoy and Robins (2002) urge transnational media studies scholars to focus more on these habitual everyday rhythms that construct a heavily ritualized lifestyle and how migrants feel and think rather than stressing too much on their cultural orientation or ethnic identity.

Here, the concept of transitional object (Winnicott, 1953), which was introduced by Silverstone (1993) to media studies, is useful in explaining what homeland media means to the tempv migrants of my study. Analyzing the mother-infant relationship in terms of trust and security, Winnicott (1953) notes the importance of the first possession of infants (teddy bear, doll, blanket), which he calls a transitional object. It is to this object that the infant focuses "all the powerful emotional energies, desires, and fantasies that have been attached to the mother as an extension of the infant, but which are increasingly vulnerable

because the mother goes away" (Silverstone, 1993, p. 581). This object becomes critical to the infant who might use it at bedtime since it is comforting and "a defence against anxiety" (Silverstone, 1993, p. 582). Again, it is important to realize that tempv migrants, although not experiencing violent uprooting, often struggle with "anxieties and angst around self-identity, a sense of rootlessness, and fragmentation of intimate relations" (Georgiou, 2013, p. 310) resulting from their experience of a new, strange world. Thus, in migration, homeland video content may take over the role of a transitional object by "providing a substitute to the security usually offered by the family, the home, and the routines associated with these spaces of belonging" (Georgiou, 2013, p. 317). In any event, it does provide continuity that assists in finding ontological security.

Feeling of "Existential Outsideness" and Hunger for Media

All participants, regardless of their various visa types, expressed feelings of alienation. Considering that nine out of 40 interviewees had lived more than 10 years in the United States, and more than half of them did not have problem with communicating in English, this response was surprising. Participants often used the terms *stranger* (AH, FW), *temporal visitor* (GB), *foreigner* (WR), and *minority* (NG, IR, YN) when identifying themselves.

> LW (F1, female): The most difficult thing living here is that I still feel like a "stranger" after 8 years. This is not a matter of this society's system, material, or relational factors, but it is just me who feels "alone." Maybe it's because I am apart from my family.
>
> AM (citizen, female): I have citizenship and I've lived in the US for half of my life (17 years). Regardless of these factors, I don't feel I belong to this place 100%. So, I would call myself "a foreigner who has citizenship"?

The notion of existential outsideness (see Relph, 1976) accurately accounts for what the participants of this study tried to describe about their feelings in the United States. In order to illustrate the sense of belonging and not-belonging in transnational migrants' daily lives, Moores and Metykova (2010) applied this concept in their study of Lithuanians in London. For instance, although migrants are fluent in English language, the moment of using English, which is not their mother tongue, leads to the feeling that they are existentially an outsider—they experienced "existential outsideness" (p. 177).

My analysis shows that different aspects of "existential outsideness" were revealed by students (F1) and skilled migrant workers (H1B and L1). Whereas international students generally felt more lonesome and emotionally alienated, feelings of outsideness were more intense for temporary workers. Many of those who had the experience of an F1 period and were subsequently

hired at a job (Optional Practical Training [OPT] or H1B) stated that school was the safest zone since it provided institutional protections against discrimination and competition. Also, while a student visa is long-term (5 years) and could be extended easily with a school's permission, life as a temporary worker meant dealing with visa renewals all the time:

> VJ (OPT, male): When I was a student, I used to get along with some colleagues from the department. However, I am now hired in a company which doesn't have Asians, and everybody has family and kids, I do feel more alienated.
>
> WR (OPT, male): Since I am a foreigner and kind of representing South Korea, I have become cautious with everything after getting hired. If I do something wrong and get fired, unlike other people, it is not easy for me to change jobs due to my status.

Feelings of unbelonging, loneliness, and anxiety all resulted the participants' sense that they had increased their time in media use. More than two thirds of the tempv migrants in this study believed that they spent more time using media as compared to their premigration lives. Their interpersonal interaction was limited, and other information sources and cultural resources about host country were lacking. This hunger for media in migrants' everyday lives has been analyzed in previous studies, for example, among Punjabis in the London suburb of Southall (Gillespie, 1995), among ethnic minorities in Sweden (Weilbull & Wadbring, 1998 in Christiansen, 2004), and among Syrian refugees in Turkey (Smets, 2018). Christiansen (2004) suggests that migrants seek more news because these ethnic minorities cannot identify with single media sources and thus compensate for this feeling of exclusion by increasing the amount they consume. Similarly, Smets (2018) found that refugees' consumption of popular culture from homeland not only connected them to their past but also functioned as "the nicest way to pass time in their significant boredom" (p. 121).

With my participants, more media time was directly connected to more homeland media time. Rather than having a logical reason for selecting Korean content from U.S. content, participants often used words like "relaxing," "familiar," and "comfortable." Similarly, Sampedro (1998) found that participants in his study often expressed "feeling at home" through the "relaxing effect" (p. 132) they encountered via local media content. Moreover, the audience members established a kind of illusory bond with their communities of origin by building "exclusive boundaries"—media use that distinguished themselves as foreigners—and "inclusive boundaries"—media use that maintained links with their home communities (Sampedro, 1998, p. 136).

The theory of cultural proximity (Straubhaar, 1991),[6] which emphasizes issues of language and culture, fits well with this phenomenon too. However, I found that for this study, the battle was not exactly between

homeland and hostland media but more about media time and nonmedia time. In other words, although these people spent so much time using media, media time was only a portion of their life and was limited to a certain extent. For example, tempv migrants, whether students or workers, possessed certain goals for their lives and regulated their media time. For them, media time was for entertainment and relaxation outside of their hard-working schedule. The easy access and large selection of Korean media already overwhelmed their media time. While identity is not a zero-sum game (a strong local identity does not prevent identification with mobility) in transnational everyday life (Andersson, 2013), I argue that media use *is* a zero-sum game: Dominant homeland media use prevents hostland media practice. Moreover, I believe that a "nonmedia-centric" approach "that decentres the media in our analytical framework" is needed in order to "better understand the ways in which media processes and everyday life are interwoven with each other" (Morley, 2007, p. 200):

> TK (H1B, male): So, it's not just a matter of language. . . .You know, here when I am outside, I am a stranger, so I want to feel at home when I come home. So, I guess I consume Korean TV, Korean portals, blogs, and news.
>
> NG (F1, male): The leisure time in my life is limited, and nowadays your geographical position doesn't matter on what you do. So, once I fill my leisure time with Korean contents, there is not time for US contents although I love watching NBA and other American sitcoms.
>
> YJ (F2, female): Media is the only way reaching out to America. Otherwise, I don't feel that I am in a foreign country. I hardly get to meet American or other ethnic people and I actually don't need English in some ways.

As the interviews reveal, a sense of home, familiarity, and connection to a community were important reasons for, and the effects of, homeland media practice. Specifically, I want to highlight how participants frequently applied the dichotomy between the workplace and home or public and private space to narrate their homeland media practice. For instance, temporary workers (H1B or L1) and international students (F1) explained their fatigue of communicating in English during the day in workplace and school, respectively. So, they expressed that at least in their leisure time at home, they wanted to feel totally at home by watching homeland contents and using homeland new media. However, as YJ stated, many on dependent visa turned out to actively use American media, watching television or new media practices, since they had no separate space of workplace and home. For them, rather, host country media was the way to reach out to the host society.[7]

> UW (H1B, female): I lived in the US for 13 years, but I started to consume Korean media when I moved to Austin (5 years ago) since there were so many Koreans

> here. I wanted to chat and get along with the Korean immigrant community and they will ask what show did you watch, who (actor) do you like, which k-pop group you like?

Moreover, the notion of "transnational affective capital (Leurs, 2014; Wise & Velayutham, 2017)"—indicating the intense feelings of togetherness originating in shared or connected media practices—explains well what UW implied about homeland media and diasporic communities. The affective experiences between transnational subjects, and between subjects and symbolic fields in the everyday life of migrants themselves, are significant because they offer "one of the few sources of capital available to migrants" in my study and that transnational affective capital may advance ontological security (Leurs, 2014, p. 2). This kind of transnational affective capital, which may help regain a sense of ontological security, was also found in a study of African male students on the Grahamstown campus of Rhodes University in South Africa (Strelitz, 2002). Separating from other students on campus, distancing themselves from the English language, and dominantly using Xhosa, these African males' nightly gatherings in a shared space, which they named "homeland," to watch African programs, "reconfirms and lives out their feelings of difference" by providing "confidence, connection, re-affirmation, and familiarity" (Strelitz, 2002, pp. 466, 470). This intertwined connection of "emotional and bodily features of place-making" in migrants' everyday environments provided them with "at-homeness (Seamon, 1979)"—the condition of being in place.

Precarious Visa Status and Reassurance Through Homeland News

I aim to disclose the transnational insecurities and precariousness (see Georgiou, 2013) embedded in the daily lives of tempv migrants and the implication of homeland media in handling these emotional and social sacrifices. Whereas skilled migrant workers are the most privileged group compared to international students or dependents in terms of economic and social class, paradoxically it seemed that the skilled migrant worker group went through the most severe difficulties and uncertainties regarding their status in the United States.

Among all "temporary workers and families" (nonimmigrants) admitted to the United States, H1B visa workers (in specialty occupations) and their spouses constitute around one fourth, and L1 visa workers (intracompany transferees) and their spouses constitute another fourth (Teke & Navarro, 2016). According to the U.S. visa policy, international students (F1) can earn an H1B visa when they are hired by companies that approve the visa process for them. Between these two visas, F1 and H1B, there exists a grace period called OPT (Optional Practical Training) status that permits 12 months' stay for student visa-status people to work toward getting practical training to complement their education. This OPT period is extended to 29 months for students who major in Science,

Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics in order to allow more of these students to work in tech-based industry and contribute to the technological advancement of the United States. The OPT policy clearly reveals a double-faced immigration policy—OPT policy attempts to retain outstanding individuals who have been educated in the United States, while the F1 visa originally is issued on the premise of the student not remaining in the United States after graduation. The ideal route to permanent residency in the United States is generally assumed as following: F1→ OPT (1–2 years) → H1B (5 years) → green card. However, this process is very competitive, requires a lot of money and energy, and is very risky and stressful. All of my H1B and OPT participants, except one who was married to a citizen, expressed their everyday life anxiety and insecurity of their status. Moreover, they were fully knowledgeable about the whole immigration process, almost like an immigration lawyer.

> YN (H1B, female): I used to have no anxiety about my temporary status when I was a student. Now, I have to renew my visa every year. Almost every 6 months, I need to do all the paperwork. I was restricted to travel during the renewal process which takes about 4-5 months. I once couldn't even drive because my license was expired and my visa was still in the process. I spent more than $10,000 for the lawyer fee. Just going through all this process, I felt really exhausted. I kept on thinking why do I need to live in the US with all these sacrifices when I am a citizen who can be comfortable in Korea. At least, for me, the permanent residency process won't take that long if I want because there is something called NIW (National Interest Waiver). I heard that for some people it takes like 10 years.

The uncertainty about their future in the United States was even worse for OPT status participants. Four of the interviewees with OPT status emphasized that they never know when they will be kicked out of the United States since achieving the H1B visa relies on a lottery system that happens twice a year. Still, since my OPT interviewees were all highly educated (PhDs), usually getting a H1B or green card was relatively advantageous. However, if a person just has an undergraduate degree and OPT status, the situation was inferior and much less certain:

> UW (H1B, female): I am right now in the H1B second term; they normally give 3 year-3year, but I received the 2-year-one for the first one. 17 years ago, when our family all moved to the US, my parents were in E2 status. I was under them and then changed to F1 in my school days and had no choice but to apply for H1B. The journey was not easy at all. For me, the H1B visa was very tricky; my lawyer wasn't responsible and I had a hard time writing the RSE (Request for evidence) document. My whole life has been affected by this visa status. I would have selected a different major at my University if I didn't have to be concerned about keeping my (visa) status. I did accounting because many advised that it would have an

> advantage for getting a job. When I was searching for job, I don't know how many times I was refused due to the visa status. The companies did not want to support the visa. People who were born here or achieved the green card easily never will understand.

UW's life experience reveals some of the important and dark sides of visa-status migration. She has lived more than half of her life in the United States, identifies with American culture in many ways, and feels quite foreign to Korea since she rarely visited. Yet, her visa status still governs her life. After several years, when her H1B expires, she may have to go back to Korea where she has nothing: no family, no friends, no infrastructure, no plan, and no money. Unlike the OPT-status-participants of this study who had graduate degrees in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics fields and had the advantage of the NIW green card process, UW is in a more risky situation although she has lived much longer in the United States.

Participants with an L1 visa status are no exception. However, L1s felt more stress within their company of employment itself since, as much as they were protected by the company, they were also limited by it. For instance, SB (L1, male) hated his company and wanted to quit the job. However, because the company supports the visa, if he quit the job, he would have to go back to Korea. Whenever he complains about anything in the company, his boss would abuse him by saying that he should work like a slave since the company has helped SB apply for the green card. Another L1 visa holder, ZH, revealed the difficulty of planning and predicting one's life with his status. Every moment seemed to be chaos, waiting for the company's decision:

> ZH (L1, male): When I first came to Austin, the company said I will be here for around 8 months. So my wife and me didn't even buy a television. Then, the construction project went bigger, and we are now staying here for 4 years now. However, every 6 months, they told me I may go back to Korea. It confuses myself but even more, I feel sorry for my family.

The more we learn about tempv migrants, we realize how globalization has actually intensified threats to ontological security, even for these relatively privileged people. So mediated forms of ontological security probably become even more important.

Due to these uncertainties around visa status and temporary contracts, all of the participants were aware of the fact that their future trajectories were not really in their hands; they might need to go back to Korea soon or they might end up living in the United States. In this regard, homeland media practice—especially news checking—provided innovative ways for these tempv migrants to manage transnational anxieties and stress. As Georgiou (2012) observes in

her analysis of Arab audiences in Europe, "strategies to manage risk and uncertainty" (p. 307) have also become increasingly mediated.

While homeland TV watching varied depending on peoples' lifestyle and value, one media practice that was common to almost every tempv migrant was the routinized checking of homeland news and keeping up with up-to-date information about the homeland society. In my study, many participants mentioned using the Korean portal site "*Naver*" or "*Daum*" much more than *Google* (BW, CJ, DY, EJ . . .), and they noted the ritual of waking up and checking homeland news first (AH, IR, ML, TA . . .). This dwelling in homeland news meant two different things for insecure visa-status migrants. On one hand, homeland news was still important for these people because they did not know their near-term future and where they will end up being due to the uncertain visa process (YN, TK). Tracking the homeland news, they could prepare for having to deal with going back to Korea in near future. On the other hand, ironically, for some people routinely checking homeland news helped them to justify and reassure their life in the United States (BI, AM, WR):

> BI (F2, female): This is funny, but reading all the Korean news makes me think that I really don't want to go back in many ways. So, in some ways, when I feel insecure and unsatisfied about my transnational life, I search homeland news and console myself that life in Korea is no better. It makes me endure struggles here.
>
> YG (F2, female): Even though I feel close to Korea, I do have a feeling that Korean society seems to be dangerous and corrupted because I am now out of the society not in it. My friends say that nothing really changed but my eyes became more critical in some ways. I think it is natural phenomenon since I keep on accessing Korea only through mediated news and don't have any interactions with the society.
>
> ML (H4, female): I always see the negative news on Korea; the fear of education system, bullying in schools, suicidal news. . . .Since I am a mom, I cannot but think about these issues seriously. I feel that I cannot longer live in Korea.

Since most of the time the news media depict dark aspects of homeland society, such as violent incidents and accidents, the more participants read the news from home, the more they felt that it was still the right decision to leave Korea. Georgiou (2012) analyzes to this as critical proximity, referring to the cultural proximity emigrants feel for the homeland, but also the critical distance they have acquired by being away. So they now tend to use news and drama from home with more critical eyes, feeling both proximity and criticism (Georgiou, 2012).

This is understandable considering the emotional and social sacrifices they endure to maintain their precarious visa status. In other words, in case of these tempv migrants, media practice can be understood in terms of confirmation

instead of information (see Carey, 1989). Along the same lines, Silverstone (1993) has mentioned that weather programs, which "constantly encourage or reassure the viewer that tomorrow will be all right," along with the news media, as a key institution in the "mediation of risk and danger," give audiences the capacity to "understand, create, and maintain their ontological security" (Silverstone, 1993, p. 589).

Conclusion

This study has examined the everyday life struggles of Korean temporary visa-status migrants in the United States through stressing the spatial practices and taken-for-grantedness of media within people's transnational everyday lives. Specifically, I investigated the role of homeland media in sustaining "ontological security" by functioning as an emotional stabilizer throughout the radical transitions, an emotional refuge from the feeling of "existential outsideness," and an emotional assurance in their transnational migration. Moreover, the consideration of multipositionality in this study offers a helpful insight in contextualizing different migrant positions within the easily lumped together category of mobile elites or cosmopolitans.

This study stands in the same path with Georgiou's (2006, 2010, 2012, 2013) diasporic audience analysis; we share the same theoretical concepts and methods (quasiethnographic) in approaching diasporic subjects. However, this study tries to contextualize and complicate the ontological security (see Georgiou, 2013) and critical proximity (see Georgiou, 2012) found in the nexus between media and migration by actively looking at different visa-status migrants, and thus various socioeconomic-cultural positions. I also advance these theories by questioning how these phenomenon leads to tempv migrants' decision or thoughts on future trajectories.

Here, I aim neither to romanticize the essential category of home, homeland, or locality nor overemphasize the role of media in transnational everyday lives. Despite homeland media supporting some of the "ontological security" needed in temporary migrants' lives, the felt hardship of their precarious lives still remain. Moreover, the existential-phenomenological perspective of researching media and migration needs to be better contextualized through paying attention to more historical, cultural, practical, and intersectional conditions. We need to ask more detailed questions: Are there any failures made from migrants' dominant homeland media use? How does this phenomenon practically impact their lives in the United States and their future life trajectories? Do different media content or medium have different influences? and How is home, belonging, or identity defined among contemporary temporary migrants? Answering these questions will be the next step for scholars in the transnational media studies.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. This number includes Canadian tourist and business travelers and Mexican nationals with Border Crossing Cards who are mostly exempted from the I-94 process.
2. Network capital is the resources, such as "efficient communication devices, appropriate travel documents and visas, and access to convenient meeting places," to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which "generates emotional, financial, and practical benefit" (Urry, 2007, pp. 197–198).
3. Cosmopolitan capital refers to "embodied capabilities and attributes, such as language skills, international experiences and educational degrees, that make social agents better equipped to navigate the world geographically, socially, and culturally" (Jansson, 2016, p. 3).
4. Although, in this study, I do not deal with racialization since South Korea has been rather racially homogeneous nation until recently, but still problematic, and the people recruited in this study are all Asian in racial category.
5. He provides three key and interrelated concepts to build a theoretical matrix in explaining the experience of television: Giddens's "ontological security," Donald Woods Winnicott's "transitional object," and Silverstone's notion of the "routinisation of social life" (Silverstone, 1993, p. 576).
6. Straubhaar (1991) argues that asymmetrical interdependence and the idea of audiences actively searching for cultural proximity in cultural goods explain the global media environment more accurately in the media imperialism debate.
7. Of course these dependent visa women also used a lot of homeland media contents; however, still they were the people who mostly accessed host country media among my participants.

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Article

Journal of Communication Inquiry
0(0) 1–21

DOI: 10.1177/0196859918784972
journals.sagepub.com/home/jci
SAGE

Breaking the Conflict Cycle, Building Peaceful Communities: Participatory Photography and Storytelling With African Diasporas in Sydney

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Abstract

Even after resettling in a new country, the trauma and resentment caused by the conflict experienced in their homeland are passed on from generation to generation among diaspora communities. One of the factors that perpetuate the conflict in their new reality is the ethnic separation that continues to be upheld and reinforced, from parents to children. This article discusses the experience of a participatory photography project that brought together young people from the Congolese, Rwandan, Burundian, and Ugandan communities living in Sydney (Australia), whose lives are still impacted by the legacy of the conflicts that have been ravaging the African Great Lakes region. This initiative, which wanted to provide a space to encourage communication between different groups and enable the promotion of peace between communities starting from the youth, is analyzed here, and reflections are offered on the use of this method with diaspora groups.

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Keywords
diaspora, young people, peacebuilding, participatory photography, diasporic media

Introduction

This article discusses the experience of a participatory photography project that brought together young people from the Congolese, Rwandan, Burundian, and Ugandan communities living in Sydney, whose lives are still impacted by the legacy of the conflicts that have been ravaging the African Great Lakes region. Through a series of targeted exercises, the youth learned basic digital camera skills and worked on the development of stories connected to the theme of peace through the use of photographs. The participatory element of this project allowed them to make decisions over the images they wanted to capture, their meaning, and composition. The initiative wanted to provide a space to encourage communication between different groups who either come from or are indirectly affected by a reality of violent conflict, in the hope of creating a more balanced understanding of both past and present in relation to the conflict, and to enable the promotion of peace between communities starting from the youth.

The article begins with an overview of the literature, bringing together the work of scholars who have examined the context of conflict-generated diaspora; the role of this diaspora, both in conflict and in peacebuilding; and the uses made of diasporic media. It then goes on to provide the main theoretical and contextual notions that are helpful to understand the framework in which the participatory photography project was developed and implemented. The subsequent section provides an analysis of the project through a presentation of some of the activities that were implemented, the photos and stories produced, participants' reactions, and accompanying reflections from the facilitator (author of this article).

The ensuing discussion, which also sheds light on the strengths and limitations of the project and offers feedback received by participants, is helpful in reconnecting the existing literature with this new experience. Initiatives that encourage the participation of young members of different diasporas are important to understand both their own point of view on conflict-related issues and to provide an opportunity to understand that of others. While initiatives that address fragmentation in diaspora exist, they mostly focus on the divisions within the same diaspora community and seldom make use of communication technology. Initial reflections on alternative channels for dialogue involving the media emerge from this work.

The State of the Literature on Media, Conflict, and Diaspora

Smith (2017) states that diaspora does not consist merely of groups of individuals from a scattered population, but it is rather a "community-building process

with two major factors: 1. self-identification of belonging to a diaspora, and 2. interconnection between local, origin, and diaspora localities" (p. 268). Bush (2008) adds that what members of a diaspora share is "a complex set of attachment to a perceived place of origin in which [they are] not resident" (p. 194). Diasporas therefore attach stronger significance on their homeland rather than on their hostland, and it is what differentiates them from migrants (Lyons, 2006, cited in Bush, 2008, p. 194).

Some have spoken of the progression toward what we can regard as a globalized world, in which territories are no longer mapped based on a clear state–citizen connection. Yet, while this might be the case for more stable societies, for populations coming from realities that are experiencing conflict, state and territoriality are still very important notions. As Osman (2017) explains,

> globalization has [. . .] created room for the possibility of global democratic progress as well as for the globalization of regression towards symptoms of barbarism. It is through this prism of globalization that diaspora communities from homelands in conflict are negotiating their identities amidst sentiments of placelessness. (p. 76)

The peril that comes from this situation intensifies when, as Appadurai (1990) notes, we recognize that this symbolic idea of *homeland* that is key in the existence of certain diaspora groups is in fact an invention that comes from the imaginary of those who are outside it. Particularly in the context of conflict-generated diasporas, which include not only those who fled because of the conflict but also those who left for other reasons, the conflict in the homeland has a strong influence in the construction of people's transnational identity, as clarified by Lyons (2007). Haider (2014) adds that the identity of this type of diaspora is defined by the society they come from, the one they are now living in, and their experience of the violence. This identity is influenced by a sense of collective trauma and by "the recollection of specific traumatic events that are retold to subsequent generations" (p. 212), together with an attachment to their country of origin that never seems to cease.

Therefore, as Osman (2017) maintains, it is important to consider the transnational impact of an ongoing conflict in the lives of diaspora groups who are still connected to their home country. Within this context, diasporic media play a significant role. Cogo, ElHajji, and Huertas (2012) have provided a useful compendium of experiences on the subject of Diaspora, Migration, Communication Technologies, and Transnational Identities, which, as Tufte (2012) has underlined, brings to the surface "convergence cultures, community building, transnational connections and processes of identity formation" (p. 9). Bailey (2015) states that diasporic media are a crucial component of diasporas' communicative landscape, as they offer both a platform for recognition and

representation, and a time for authenticating a sense of belonging. However, Osman (2017) argues that in the case of conflict-generated diaspora, on the one hand, diasporic media (including new communication technologies) allow communities to retrieve and protect their declining identities and values, and on the other hand, they often reinforce a sense of enmity that overrules the democratic vow. They do so by reproducing local nationalism and by maintaining a strong local identity relative to the conflict, even at a transnational level. Osman (2017) calls *diasporated conflicts* those disputes created by diasporic media, through which those who have better access to technological infrastructure exert a new dominance. In essence, they are "conflicts where there is a hegemonic involvement of the diaspora enabled and empowered by diasporic media" (Osman, 2017, p. 75). From this setting, facilitating media productions that are based on the participation of different groups from the diaspora community is crucial to ensure that a number of perspectives are offered.

Bailey (2015) also explains that diasporic media are often produced in the homeland with the local public in mind and are then reproposed to the diasporas as minority media. This author refers to these as *transnational diasporic media* and claims that they do not foster a sense of transnationality, nor do they encourage the formation of a transnational identity. These media offer context-specific content that is tied to the history, economy, and culture of the place where they have been produced, which leads the audience to respond on the basis of these specificities (Bailey, 2015). The opening of alternative forms of diasporic media, which see the involvement of diverse diaspora groups and present content developed through the same transnational perspective of those who are exposed to them, can play a significant role not only in presenting the differences between groups but also in highlighting their commonalities and shared struggles.

On this line of thought, Haider (2014) emphasizes how media initiatives can be implemented in order to tackle conflictual relationships among and between diasporas and to promote attitudes of peace and reconciliation that can be useful both in the host and home countries. Productions including books, film, music, and other art-based objects can not only help members of the diaspora to heal, but they can also reshape the discourse on conflict and peace and positively influence the approach adopted by some of the key actors.

The Path Toward a Participatory Photography Project

There are mostly three points that can assist in providing a conceptual introduction to the project presented in this article. First, while the literature on migration and conflict is populated by examples of diasporas originating from Middle Eastern and Latin American countries, there appears to be a lack of analysis from African experiences, especially of those groups who fled the civil wars that started in that continent in the late 1980s and early 1990s

(Pirkkalainen & Abdile, 2009). Second, while the literature that focuses on the role of the diaspora and their contribution to peace in their homeland is vast (see Davies, 2008; Hansen, 2016; Horst et al., 2010; Koser, 2007; Osman, 2017; Probst, 2006; Turner, 2008), little is known on how diasporas address peace within the context of their host country, and how conflicts of transnational origins between different groups who now live together are being tackled. Where diverse ethnic lines were a problem in the country of origin, for example, they will continue to play a role in preventing harmony in their hostland (Hansen, 2016). Last, it has been recognized that a definition of what constitutes *diaspora* is still under debate, with the issue of *birth connection* adding an element of further uncertainty to the term. The question of children and grandchildren of those who first arrived in a place outside their country of origin still carries an unclear answer, and the way different generations of diasporas experience their reality is yet to be fully understood (Bush, 2008).

Since 1990, the African Great Lakes region has seen the occurrence of a large number of conflicts involving both the different countries that comprise it (Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Democratic Republic of Congo) and the diverse ethnic groups that inhabit them. Despite the existence of peace agreements, the region is undergoing a very slow recovery, and each country is home to numerous refugees who have fled those wars. For a successful peacebuilding process to take place, feelings such as trust, reciprocity, and belonging to a network must be restored, as suspicion and hatred continue to impact relationships both within and between countries (Ntakarutimana, 2008).

At the same time, while repairing the breakdown of societal structures has been recognized to be a fundamental component in recovering from violent conflict, efforts have been mainly directed toward those who have stayed in (or returned to) their home country. Little attention has been paid to the diaspora generated by conflict, even when relationships between these groups might have similarly been impacted by divisions and hostility (Haider, 2014). As Horst et al. (2010) state, "issues of fragmentation and politicization are often linked to the root causes of a conflict, and thus must be addressed in a constructive manner [since] some lines of fragmentation are deeply engrained within society" (p. 25).

As discussed also in the previous section of this article, even after resettling in a new country, the trauma and resentment caused by the conflict experienced in their homeland are passed on from generation to generation among diaspora communities. One of the factors that perpetuate the conflict in their new reality, in particular, is the ethnic separation that continues to be upheld and reinforced, from parents to children. Some of the young African Great Lakes region diasporas living in Sydney, for example, are taught from an early age not to trust members of (former) enemy tribes, and the dynamics between these communities are dominated by the perceived sense of injustice perpetrated by one group on the other at the time of the conflict. This harms the relationships between young

people in Sydney's multiethnic suburbs; it fragments communities and leads to the recurrence of violent episodes.

Horst et al. (2010) underline how fragmentation has been recognized to be one of the main obstacles when working with conflict-generated diaspora. Yet, as these authors point out, various activities have been implemented at the community level in order to overcome this: participatory exercises to facilitate group discussions with the aim of identifying problems and solutions together have led to positive results, and dialogue initiatives that focus constructively on the roots of divisions have also been helpful.

Baú (2015b) had already studied the use of participatory photography for peacebuilding, demonstrating how images are able to create a constructive dialogue between enemy groups and to provide a space where differences can be shared and understood. Also, Lykes, Terre Blanche, and Hamber (2003), before her, had explored the use of this method and discussed the techniques employed both to develop a response to violence and repression and to restore the social fabric of local communities. The wide literature on participatory communication that has developed over the past few decades (Bessette, 2004; Cadiz, 2005; Gumucio-Dagron, 2001; Huesca, 2003; Manyozo, 2017; Quarry & Ramirez, 2008) has emphasized the importance of allowing communities to express their voice, ensuring that all groups are represented. The media—including theater, music, or even storytelling practices—and more recently, the use of media technologies, such as video and photography, have been regarded as crucial instruments in the facilitation of participatory communication processes (Baú, 2015a; Bery, 2003; Gotschi, Delve, & Freyer, 2009; Singhal, Harter, Chitnis, & Sharma, 2014). This project finds its roots in these concepts.

Breaking the Conflict Cycle Through Images

The initial objectives that were defined for the project involved (i) minimizing intergenerational conflict and (ii) breaking the conflict cycle that impacts the lives of youth from the Great Lake African region communities living in Western Sydney. These were also related to the aims of:

- encouraging communication between different groups, creating a more balanced understanding of both past and present in relation to the conflict and enabling the promotion of peace between communities starting from the youth
- creating a safe and supportive environment for young people to meet and communicate

This initiative was made possible, thanks to a collaboration with the Great Lakes Agency for Peace and Development (GLAPD), a not-for-profit organization whose programs aim at contributing to peacebuilding and social

development among the Congolese, Rwandan, Burundian, and Ugandan communities living in Sydney. It consisted of 4 weekly workshops over the course of 1 month (from mid-August to mid-September 2016), with all activities taking place in Fairfield, one of the Western suburbs of Sydney that is home to a multicultural and mixed-background population, often from a refugee background. As this wanted to be an initial trial of this type of work, with the view of escalating its scope to include additional young people and different suburbs in the future, eight participants were involved, between the age of 14 and 21. The recruitment was carried out by GLAPD, who presented the project to the families who take part in the organization's community programs. The kids received basic photo camera and photography skills training and participated in various forms of activities including games, group writing, exercises with cameras, and storytelling. All activities saw participants working either in groups or in pairs, and their content was designed to lead to an exchange related both to participants' cultures and identities, and to the concept of conflict. Throughout the course of the workshops, reflections were regularly presented by each participant on others' views, experiences, and cultures.

The discussion that ensues is based on the author's observation of the project and rooted in the stories, comments, and feedback gathered during the course of the participatory photography workshops that were facilitated. The author (and facilitator) designed the project's structure and the activities that were implemented and kept record of participants' reactions and emotions as these unfolded. Stories and final feedback group interview were also audio-recorded and transcribed for the purpose of this research (after formal consent was obtained). What is presented here is an analysis based on the author's impressions and an understanding of and dialogue with project participants.

One of the first aspects that was noticeable as the activities began to unfold was the strong difference both between older and younger participants (teenagers vs. those in their early 20s) and between participants who came to Australia at a very young age and those who arrived at secondary school age. For the latter, the separation between communities was more real, and the reasons for this tension were known with a certain degree of detail. For the others, however, this division did not seem to be as tangible, and the causes that had led to it were not clear enough to be explained. The second aspect that emerged, and which was still very much connected to age, was the strong difference between participants in their ability to express themselves when conveying stories from their lives in their homeland. Older participants were more able to express themselves and to recall the hardship of the conflicts, while younger participants did not seem to know much about it. Older participants were also able to offer deeper insights into their stories and feelings through images, while younger participants' photos and stories always remained on the surface and were very much limited to the immediate practical tasks involved in each exercise.

One of the exercises that proved to be most powerful in eliciting feelings that could be attributed to the conflict in all participants was the caption matching exercise. Through this game, the kids had to associate a series of images that were provided to them with captions that were to be chosen from a list, and then explain their choice. While the prearranged list can be regarded as a limitation, it allowed participants to work at the same level, and it was useful in order to observe the differences in the discussions that were taking place and in the choices that were made. This task developed strong engagement from all members, who participated attentively and whose contribution went toward a smooth group effort (participants were split into three groups). It was also significant ground for critical thinking and reflections.

Figure 1. Image of soldiers on a truck, matched with the caption "injustice."

What stood out from this exercise, in particular, were the explanations that two participants gave in relation to their captions of preference, as each group was presenting their work. One referred to an unusual matching of an image with its caption. The image represented a group of soldiers traveling on the back of a vehicle, as it is common practice in many African countries (see Figure 1). The same photo was matched by other groups with the word "conflict"; yet, this participant was resolute on his decision of the word "injustice" as the appropriate caption. When the 16-year-old boy was asked to provide a reason for his choice, he explained that if the men on that truck had decided to take up arms and go to fight, it was because something unjust was done to them, and they were trying to address it. Another participant of the same age resorted to what can be considered another curious match between an image of a refugee

camp (see Figure 2) with the word "betrayed." When asked for the reason of her choice, the girl answered that refugee camps are dreadful environments for people to live in, and therefore, no one should be sent there. If a family is made to go and live in a camp, it is an act of betrayal toward them. As evidenced by these short recounts, the ideas presented through this exercise and its photos clearly spoke indirectly of participants' experiences, whether those being their personal ones, or of their communities.

Figure 2. Image of refugee camp, matched with the word "betrayed."

Working more directly with photography, participants were asked to take the cameras home for the week and come back with photos of something they felt represented who they were or what their life was about. The name of the first home-based activity, "Who am I?" asked them to take photos of something that they felt represented their identity: something they would do traditionally, either within their family or with the larger community they belong to; something they would typically wear; or a popular dish, for example. These were simply indications, and sense of initiative was encouraged. Here, older participants were able to present particularly meaningful outputs. And while the younger ones took photos that mostly related to their traditional food and clothing, the attention they paid toward the others' stories and the emotional reaction they offered through their feedback afterward was significant. The most eloquent examples from this exercise include the story of a 21-year-old man of

Burundian origins, who had grown up in a refugee camp in Tanzania until his family was successfully resettled in Australia when he was in his early teens. He illustrated his image (see Figure 3) as follows:

Figure 3. Image from "Who am I?" participatory photography exercise.
Author: 21-year-old male participant.

> This is my favourite one. It just shows that in life, you start on stairs and sometimes you get that far on it but, if you keep pushing, at the end you'll be standing up there, looking back thinking "you know, I came from down there." It's just because every step you take is painful, but you have a choice to go back down and you have got a choice to keep pushing; you have got obstacles on your way but you keep pushing and eventually, you know, your faith and all will get you there.

Another 21-year-old woman decided to bring to the workshop an old photo, instead of taking a new one. This was an image of her family when still living in Rwanda (see Figure 4). Her photo was accompanied by this poignant story:

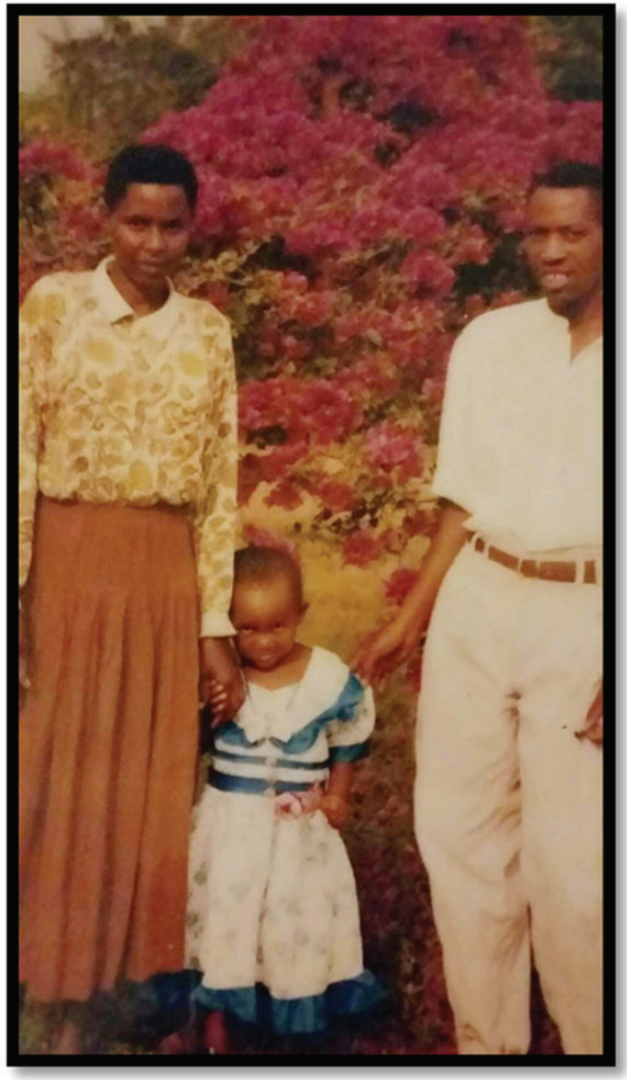

Figure 4. Image from "Who am I?" participatory photography exercise. Author: 21-year-old female participant.

Obviously I didn't take this photo, but I just wanted to show it because it represents a really big part of me. These are my mum and my dad; we were still in Rwanda before the genocide. I like it because it brings back a lot of memories like it brings back a life that I had before a lot chaos that was then a part of almost 15 years of my life following. So my dad had a good job, working as one of the top politicians as his dad was one of the tribal leaders; my mum was a nurse, actually just finished her doctors - she was a nurse, did her doctors, and she was about to start working as a doctor. It was a really good life, I was just normal. A few years after that photo was taken the genocide started, and obviously my life from this photo onwards hasn't been as pretty or as cute as that photo has been.

Through another home activity, named "Who is the other?" participants took photos of something that they believed represented the member of the other three communities from the Great Lakes. This would typically be associated to the beliefs or stereotypes they hold about the other groups. They then told the stories around the photos they had taken during their home practice to the whole group. After the storytelling, participants were split into groups and worked on confirming or rectifying the beliefs/stereotypes that were presented about each group. At the end, each group presented their points, engaging in a discussion around them.

A subsequent exercise involved participants working in pairs and explaining to one another something about their respective communities and associated beliefs; they then had to take a portrait of each other in a way that was connected to what they had just heard. All the photos taken were then projected on screen, and each participant presented the story that their partner had told them to the rest of the group and explained the meaning around the image they have taken of him or her. Two girls of 16 and 17 years of age produced particularly expressive outputs for this work. Their photos (Figures 5 and 6) are reproduced below with related stories:

Figure 5. Image from "The Other's Story" participatory photography exercise. Author: 16-year-old female participant.

T. said that Ugandan and Rwandan people don't get along because they are not nice to each other, and Rwandese people treat them badly. I took this photo because it looks like an innocent person that is being judged for no reason.

Figure 6. Image from "The Other's Story" participatory photography exercise. Author: 17-year-old female participant.

> D. told me that she doesn't really know that much about Congo and her culture, she only knows a little bit. So she told me that in her country the president is from Rwanda, so they don't really like him because he makes war. In this photo, she looks like she doesn't know where she's going and this tells me who she is. It is to show people that sometimes you have to go out there and learn about your culture and find out who you are.

After the storytelling, participants were split into two groups and worked on identifying problems that each community faces, which were highlighted through the stories and images just discussed.

Discussion

Heterogeneity in diasporas means not only that different groups within the same community may not act collectively as a cohesive body in engaging with their home country (Fransen & Siegel, 2011); it also means that different diaspora communities may hinder the development of peaceful relationships due to the beliefs held about the other group, which they have carried over from their country of origin.

The way diaspora groups choose to engage socially can have a number of negative consequences, including the perpetuation of a demonizing mindset that maintains the divisions created in the homeland between communities, and leads to a replication of conflict patterns in the hostland. Positive

peacebuilding activities are able to create a neutral space where participants can distance themselves from their hyperpoliticized reality and give the opportunity to communities who were segregated by the conflict to begin to reintegrate. The approach used to do this can take many different forms (Bush, 2008).

Participatory media-making[1] provides the opportunity for diaspora groups to take active part in a community-building process and to negotiate their identity through peaceful means. Meaningful participation involves letting oneself experience fully the process of collaboration, attributing value to all stories and adopting an ethics of relationship. Participation in media-making should open up channels that are helpful to address differences and allow all voices to be heard; this comes with a choice of visual methods that are not only culturally relevant but also of interest to a particular group while placing emphasis on the establishment of a dialogue (Smith, 2017).

Moreover, contrary to Osman's (2017) view on the powerlessness of globalization on diasporas and on the stronghold of diasporic media (discussed in The State of the Literature on Media, Conflict, and Diaspora section of this article), today's mass electronic communication driven by forces of globalization can instead gradually attenuate the connection to homeland from generation to generation, enabling the growth of a more localized attachment that favors the hostland (Bush, 2008). As Bailey (2015) states,

> [. . .] alternative [. . .] media practices of diasporic groups might support the creation of spaces of inclusion, participation and political activism, and produce a sense of belonging for many of those groups. [. . . .] The possibility of producing their own media is the result, among other elements, of processes of migration, of media misrepresentation of minority groups and of changes in the media landscape mostly generated by new communication and information technologies. (p. 416)

While the illustration and reflections deriving from this project do not allow to produce sound results related to its impact, due both to the small number of participants involved and to the limited data drawn from the activities, what has emerged here enables us to begin to understand the potential that initiatives based on this type of design can have, when implemented with conflict-affected diaspora. The creation of spaces where participatory communication, creativity, and media-making are woven together represents an important method to explore and to build upon for future work in the area of peacebuilding between different diaspora groups; this method can prove to be particularly effective with the youth, who are more familiar with but also more curious toward the use of media technologies. When asked about their final impressions of the project, there was an overall consensus among the group on the significance of photography as a tool for self-expression and on the value of the opportunity that was

given to them to meet each other and share the same space through this initiative. As the words of a 14-year-old participant reveal:

> What I am going to take away from this program . . . I have learned things that I never knew about, because I thought - before this program – I knew everything about cameras, right? Because I knew I could just turn on the camera, take a picture, check it (good or bad?), done. But I have actually learned techniques about taking photos; I have learned about expressing myself through a photo; I have learned how to read photos. I have learned how to verify and know what a photo is saying by just the people's expressions. So I guess I have learned a lot from this program.

At the same time, encouraging participation and inventiveness in the use of a visual channel like photography allows people to get a more accurate perspective of the different stories and to develop an emotional connection. A 16-year-old participant has expressed this effectively:

> I have learned about cameras and how to express myself through them. I have learned about different cultures like where everyone came from, how life is different. Like you may think you are going through a hard time but compared to someone else, yours is really nothing. So yes . . . I have learned to be resilient too.

From a more logistical viewpoint, while the strengths of this project can be identified in the provision, for the kids who participated, of a safe space, of accessible photo cameras, and in the value of the team work that took place during the workshops, some limitations are also present. These revolve particularly around the lack of regular participation or attendance in workshops for some of the youths, as well as engagement with photography home practice, which was required to progress with the workshops' program's activities. It was hard to establish the exact reasons as to why this was taking place and to put in place a system to solve that. Hence, activities often had to be shifted around in the program's schedule, and the structure that was designed prior to the start of the project had to be revisited over the course of the weeks.

Final Reflections

Reflections on the initial objectives and aims that were set for the project lead to the following considerations:

- *Minimizing intergenerational conflict:* This objective was recognized to be inapplicable to the project soon after it started. This is attributable both to the time limitations imposed by the project's design and to the reluctance of participants to discuss in too much depth the divergent views they held

from their parents. Having a more homogenous group in reference to age could be one of the ways to remove some of the obstacles to this discussion. Future projects in this area should be designed with this single objective as the focus of their activities and allow more time for participants from the same age-group to open up.

- *Breaking the conflict cycle that impacts the lives of youth from these communities*: While this initiative was not thought to put a definite end to the conflicts between the young generations of the African Great Lakes region diaspora in Sydney, participants' engagement with and reactions to some of the activities demonstrates that its design can be useful in initiating a constructive dialogue and in giving people the opportunity to learn from one another. Interestingly, what became noticeable as the workshops progressed was the absence of conflict in the lives of the younger participants (14 to 17 years old), who appeared to have a good relationship with other African communities in general. These also appeared to hold very little knowledge of other African cultures as well as their own, except for basic differences in food, clothing, and perhaps rituals at ceremonies. This suggests that selecting participants within an age bracket of late teen and early 20s might be a more effective strategy for future work in this area, as older participants were able to engage in more detailed explanations and meaningful exchanges in relation to their background and that of others. Given the relevance of the activities for this age-group, another useful tactic to adopt in the reproduction of this type of project is the recruitment of those young people who are regarded as key influencers among their peers.
- *Encouraging communication between different groups creating a more balanced understanding of both past and present in relation to the conflict*: This was achieved from a slightly more individual rather than group angle. Participants appeared to reflect more successfully on themselves individually and on their communities in general, rather than on the beliefs they held about or the interactions they had with others.
- *Creating a safe and supportive environment for young people to meet and communicate*: As discussed previously, the project was especially effective in this area. As also highlighted by GLAPD workers, kids from these communities have seldom the chance to develop a constructive group discussion that addresses their differences and beliefs. It is even more rare that they do so using a medium they can employ to express themselves in creative ways.

Conclusions

This article has discussed the experience of a project carried out with a group of young members of different diasporas, which employed participatory photography as an alternative form of diasporic medium. The initiative presented here was designed around the objective of breaking the conflict cycle that impacts the

lives of youth from the African Great Lakes region's communities living in Sydney. More specifically, it wanted to provide a space to encourage communication between different groups in order to create a safe and supportive environment for young people to meet and communicate and to enable the promotion of peace between communities starting from the youth.

First, the article has introduced scholarly works that are found within the literatures on diaspora in peacebuilding and on the role of the media in the context of this group. It has then presented the main theoretical and circumstantial concepts that have offered the bases for the design of the media initiative examined. Reflections and accounts related to the project activities have also been presented, along with some of the outputs produced by the participants and relevant stories. The discussion that followed this latter section has indicated what were some of the key elements that are useful for the development of future work in this area. Limitations and observations regarding the project's objectives and aims have also been reviewed.

While the contribution of diaspora in peacebuilding within the context of the home country is a crucial subject that warrants additional investigation, the role that young diaspora can play in breaking the conflict cycle that has been impacting their communities for generations in the hostland, and that is based on issues that are mostly contextually meaningful in their homeland, must be explored further. Developing new avenues through which the youth can find ways to communicate with their peers and initiate a dialogue that goes beyond the long-standing issues passed on from parents to children is a significant step to take in the lives of diasporas. Such step can not only ultimately bring a contribution to peace in their homeland, but it would also create a shared space where the commonalities between different groups are brought to light and used to build peaceful relationships. The media can have a significant responsibility in this setting.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Note

1. In her article, Smith (2017) uses the term *art-making* in reference to participatory photography.

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