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The Emerging Foundation Principles of Global Internet Governance: A View from the 2007 Internet Governance Forum[1]

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Abstract

Normative principles play an essential role in policymaking. This paper uses the United

Nations-sponsored 2007 Internet Governance Forum (IGF) as a lens through which to examine

the development of foundation principles of global Internet governance. This paper examines

the central themes around which the IGF was organized, and assesses their utility as guiding

principles for Internet governance. This paper explores the areas of intersection, as well as

potential areas of conflict, between these emerging guiding principles, as well as areas of

definitional ambiguity.

Introduction

Principles are a central component of the policymaking process. As Charles Anderson (1979/1992) states, "In order to make a policy decision, one must invoke some criteria of evaluation. We cannot decide whether a proposal for public action is desirable or undesirable, whether the results of a public program are to be adjudged a success or a failure, except in light of a standard" (p. 387). This standard is usually defined in terms of "a finite and bounded set of classic principles" (Anderson, 1979/1992, p. 390).

These principles can vary considerably across policy areas. Regardless of the specific field at issue, for these principles to be useful to policymakers and policy analysts, they must have clear, agreed-upon interpretations, so that they contain within them substantive and reasonably stable evaluative standards. Otherwise, "political argument can fasten arbitrarily on one or a few of these concepts and . . . they can be arranged in different patterns in ideological thinking, invested with a variety of meanings and given different degrees of emphasis" (Anderson, 1979/1992, p. 395).

This pitfall has been particularly acute in communications policymaking, where the central guiding principles have suffered from years of ambiguity, inconsistency, and manipulation (Napoli, 2001). Concepts such as diversity, pluralism, the public interest, and universal service have long been dominant buzzwords in communications policymaking, but often these concepts have not been infused with the specific and concrete meaning necessary for them to become meaningful and effective tools for both the design and analysis of policies (Hitchens, 2006; Napoli, 2001).

Efforts to articulate and implement appropriate guiding principles become particularly challenging if the policymaking context is global in scope (Dutton, Palfrey, & Peltu, 2007; Mueller, Mathiason, & Klein, 2007). Such is the case in the emerging realm of Internet

governance, where the growing recognition of the need for some form of global policymaking apparatus and objectives must confront the challenge of navigating, and satisfying the diverse policy priorities and needs of many nations. In this regard, the challenge of developing and applying a set of overarching policy principles becomes exponentially more difficult. Nonetheless, efforts to develop such guiding principles are ongoing within the context of broader efforts to establish a global system of Internet governance.

The issue of Internet governance is the focal point of the activities of the Internet Governance Forum (IGF), which emerged out of the United Nations' 2003 and 2005 World Summits on the Information Society.[2]   The IGF is a U.N.-sponsored convening that is intended as a forum for multi-stakeholder policy dialogue addressing the wide range of regulatory and policy issues related to the development, diffusion, operation, and governance of the Internet. The IGF represents the U.N.'s response to the fact that, unlike traditional media, the Internet is inherently global (rather than national or local) in its orientation. As such, it presents regulatory and policy problems that can only be fully resolved via international cooperation, collaboration, and implementation.   The IGF also is reflective of the growing consensus that "the debate is no longer whether the Internet 'can or should be governed' but that some form of regulation, including options for self-regulation, co-ordination and co-operation should be welcomed" (International Telecommunications Union, 2004, p. 3).

Such a global governance regime is intended to unify, to some extent, the highly fragmented and disjointed nature of contemporary regulation and policymaking related to the Internet (Dutton & Peltu, 2004; Internet Governance Project, 2004). Today, what formal global governance of the Internet that exists is widely dispersed. Core activities related to the assignment of Internet domain names and numbers are handled by the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), a private, California-based, non-profit entity that was formed in 1998 after four years of debate over how best to manage technical Internet

activities. ICANN operates under a contract with the U.S. Department of Commerce (see

United States Department of Commerce, 1998).[3]

Other aspects of Internet governance are handled by other bodies. For instance, the

Internet Engineering Task Force (IETF) is an informal organization that oversees the standards

development process for the Internet. The International Telecommunications Union is a United

Nations agency that performs a wide range of functions directly or indirectly related to

Internet governance, including standards-setting, statistics-gathering, and research (Internet

Governance Project, 2004). Other international organizations that directly or indirectly deal

with issues of Internet governance include the Internet Systems Consortium (which manages a

globalized root server and issues software that implements the Internet's domain name server

(DNS) protocol) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO). UNESCO's mandate requires it to work on behalf of "the free flow of ideas by

word and image," and to "maintain, increase and spread knowledge." These objectives have

inevitably involved UNESCO in Internet governance, primarily in terms of issuing position

papers, organizing convenings, and engaging in global policy advocacy (see, e.g., UNESCO,

2005a, 2005b).

The list of formal and informal, governmental and private organizations involved in

various aspects of Internet governance at the national, regional, and international levels

continues well beyond those listed here (for a detailed overview, see Internet Governance

Project, 2004; see also Mueller, Mathiason, & McKnight, 2004),[4] which of course raises the

question of whether some sort of more centralized and formalized approach to global Internet

governance would be advantageous.

It is within this fragmented state of Internet governance that the United Nations'

Working Group on Internet Governance (WGIG) was formed in the wake of the first U.N.

World Summit on the Information Society. The Working Group is comprised of 40 members,

representing government, the private sector, and civil society. The group met four times in 2004 and 2005. One key output of the WGIG was the recommendation for the establishment of an international convening that ultimately became the Internet Governance Forum.

The stated objective of the Internet Governance Forum is to provide governments, the private sector, and civil society, including the academic and technical communities, with the opportunity to work together towards a sustainable, robust, secure and stable Internet. The most recent Internet Governance Forum was held from November 12th through November 15th, 2007, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The 2007 IGF was the second in a planned five IGFs to be held at various locations around the world over a five-year period. The first IGF was held in Athens, Greece, in 2006. The next IGF is scheduled to be held in December, 2008 in Hyderabad, India.

The IGF, then, is essentially the laboratory in which any guiding principles of Internet governance are likely to be developed. This paper analyses the IGF primarily in terms of its work toward the development of guiding principles of Internet governance. This analysis is derived from field notes taken during the 2007 IGF, transcripts of 2006 and 2007 IGF proceedings and preparatory meetings, informal conversations with 2007 IGF participants, official documents prepared by the U.N. and the U.N.-created Internet Governance Working Group, as well as position papers and scholarly papers prepared by various stakeholder groups, including civil society organizations, government agencies, industry associations, and academics.

This analysis focuses on the five broad themes around which the Internet Governance Forum was organized. These five themes are as follows: a) openness; b) access; c) security; d) diversity; and e) critical Internet resources. This paper considers each of these five themes within Internet governance discourse, in terms of their potential as guiding principles of Internet governance, and in terms of whether, within these five themes, other potential

guiding principles might be identified. In conducting this analysis, this paper also seeks to draw parallels, where appropriate, between the established guiding principles of traditional media regulation and policy and the emerging guiding principles of Internet governance.

The first section of this paper discusses the role of principles in policymaking, with a particular emphasis on how principles have been used – and misused – in communications policymaking. The next five sections examine each of the five central themes of the IGF, with an eye towards considering each of these themes as the basis for a set of guiding principles for global Internet governance. These sections address definitional issues and ambiguities related to each of these potential guiding principles, as well as the key policy issues that are associated with each of them. These sections also consider the various points of intersection, and possible areas of conflict, between each of these guiding principles. The final section provides some concluding observations and offers suggestions for further research.

Principles and Communications Policymaking

Guiding principles are at the core of the definition of Internet governance established by the Working Group on Internet Governance. According to the Working Group (2005a):

Internet governance is the development and application by Governments, the private sector and civil society, in their respective roles, of *shared principles,* norms, rules, decision-making procedures, and programmes that shape the evolution and use of the Internet. (p. 4; emphasis added)

Thus, a key early step in the development of any global Internet governance regime is the achievement of clarity and consensus in terms of what should be the guiding principles for Internet governance. The Internet Governance Forum, in particular, has been seen as a potentially fruitful context in which to develop such principles. The IGF lacks any formal decision-making authority – a characteristic that many stakeholders feel is conducive to the kind of open and free exchange of ideas that would be lacking if specific, enforceable policy decisions were required to be reached . One IGF participant expressed the idea that the development of a concrete, agreed-upon "Framework of Principles for Internet Governance" would provide "the possibility of an end-state someplace," and thus represent an important tangible output at the conclusion of the five-year cycle of Internet Governance Forums.

It is important to recognize, however, that there are differing interpretive approaches to what comprises a guiding principle. Drawing from regime theory (see Krasner, 1983), Mueller, Mathiason, and Klein (2007) approach principles of Internet governance in terms of "basic definitions and statements of fact – that must be taken into account in any attempt to establish an Internet governance regime" (p. 243). From such an approach, principles are not infused with any strong normative undercurrents – something that is central to other interpretive approaches to the notion of principles and their role in policymaking.

Other work by Mueller (2007) employs this more normative approach to guiding principles for Internet governance. Specifically, Mueller (2007) advocates "net neutrality" as a "global principle for Internet governance," arguing that such a principle serves as a "normative guide to policy" that "transcends domestic politics" (p. 1). The Declaration of Principles that emerged from the World Summit on the Information Society was similarly normative in its orientation, identifying access to information and communication infrastructure and technologies, capacity building, building confidence and security in the use of information and

communication technologies, and cultural diversity as among its "key principles for building an inclusive Information Society" (WSIS Executive Secretariat, 2004).

The Working Group on Internet Governance explicitly acknowledged these different interpretive approaches to the concept of guiding principles. As the group noted:

In the global policy environment, as elsewhere, the term is often used in two different ways. One is to refer to statements of fundamental fact or causation about the subject matter at hand. Examples in the Internet environment would include the principle of open, non-proprietary technical standardization, or the "end to end" principle according

to which the network simply provides data transport, with applications and processing left to the users at the ends. The other is to refer to the overarching objectives that define

an activity, global governance. For example, the interconnection of networks is a guiding

principle of the international telecommunications regime, most favoured nation treatment

is a guiding principle of the international trade regime, and competition among registrars

is a guiding principle of the international regime for Internet naming and numbering. (Working Group on Internet Governance, 2005b, p. 11)

The WGIG's (2005b) position is that the use of the term "principles" in its definition of Internet governance is meant to incorporate both definitional approaches, as they "can blend into one another at times" (p. 11). Thus, according to the Working Group (2005b), "In short, principles

define what a given governance mechanism is about and, at the highest level, is intended to promote" (p. 11).

Given that, historically, the greatest challenges and shortcomings associated with the development and application of guiding principles for communications policymaking have focused on their meaning at the "highest level" (i.e., in terms of defining overarching policy objectives, rather than in terms of reaching agreed-upon statements of fact) (see Hitchens, 2006; Napoli, 2001), it is this latter dimension of principles' role and function in Internet governance that will be the point of focus here.

In terms of the definition and application of such normative principles, communications policymaking has historically been plagued by tendencies towards ambiguity and inconsistency. As Napoli (2001) notes within the context of U.S. communications policymaking:

terms such as the public interest, diversity, and the marketplace of ideas are used rather

casually and, sometimes, carelessly, with little sense of what these terms might actually

mean and even less sense of how individual policy decisions actually contribute to the

fulfillment of these principles. . . . Too often, these foundation principles function

primarily as rhetorical tools for advocating particular policy actions, as opposed to

analytical tools for the rigorous assessment of these actions." (p. 3).

Similar concerns have arisen on the global stage. In a multi-national study of the principles of diversity and pluralism in broadcast regulation, Hitchens (2006) concludes that there is "an absence of a distinctive voice for the public interest" (p. 314), suggesting that the notion of the public interest in communications policymaking has not been clearly or forcefully articulated. In terms of the discourse surrounding emerging principles for Internet governance, Dutton,

Palfrey, and Peltu (2007) have identified a tendency toward "'creative ambiguity' of the language often used to frame international Internet governance agendas" (p. 4).

As will become clear, some of these tendencies emerge within the context of the discourse surrounding the Internet Governance Forum. The sections that follow consider each of the central themes of the IGF and attempt to identify areas of intersection and potential conflict between them. It is important to emphasize that the analysis that follows builds from the themes and principles that are emerging within the context of the IGF. Consequently, there may be other guiding principles beyond those discussed here that could be central to Internet governance. The goal here, however, is to assess the institutionalized process – and output – aimed at the development of guiding principles for global Internet governance.

Toward Foundation Principles of Internet Governance

As was noted above, one of the first key tasks assigned to the Working Group on Internet Governance was to develop a clear and concise definition of Internet governance, which the WGIG developed and presented in its report. One key point of discussion revolved around whether the term should be defined narrowly or broadly in terms of its scope. That is, should Internet governance be defined purely in terms of the activities and issues related to the management of domain names and infrastructure, or should Internet governance be defined more broadly to include issues outside of ICANN's jurisdiction (Matsura, 2007)? According to Peake (2004), this issue was a focal point of debate during the first WSIS, with advocates of a narrow definition fearing that the definition of Internet governance could become so broad that it would ultimately devolve into a meaningless "catch-all" for all information and communication technology policies; and advocates of a broader definition fearing that a more narrow, technically oriented definition would allow important socio-

political issues related to the operation of the Internet to slip through the cracks (see Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007; Drake, 2004). As will become clear, such definitional issues characterize many of the overarching themes of the IGF (see below).

Within the context of WSIS and the IGF, the advocates of a broader definition of Internet governance (e.g., Wilson, 2005) seem to have held sway, as the WGIG explicitly stated that "Internet governance includes more than Internet names and addresses, issues dealt with by the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN): it also includes other significant public policy issues such as critical Internet resources, the security and safety of the Internet, and developmental aspects and issues pertaining to the use of the Internet" (Working Group on Internet Governance, 2005a, p. 4). The establishment of these broader parameters of Internet governance is particularly important to the issues being addressed here, as it opens the door to a set of guiding principles that touches upon the full range of economic, political, and cultural ramifications of Internet access, usage, and governance. Consequently, the central themes around which the 2007 Internet Governance Forum was organized were as follows: a) openness; b) access; c) security; d) diversity; and e) critical Internet resources. Each of these will be discussed below. As will be illustrated within the context of each of the IGF's overarching themes, these themes, and their relationship to possible mechanisms of Internet governance, are sufficiently new that definitional issues and debates played a prominent role in much of the discourse surrounding them.

Openness

In terms of a working definition of the concept of openness and its relationship to Internet governance, one panelist taking part in the Openness Plenary Session of the 2007 IGF broke the openness concept down into three dimensions: a) a legal dimension (dealing with issues of copyright and intellectual property); b) a political dimension (dealing with issues of

the government's role in relation to freedom of expression); and c) an economic dimension (dealing with issues of interoperability across networks and the nature of the business models employed on-line). As suggested by this definitional breakdown, openness represents a very wide-ranging theme, though perhaps its most important dimension involves its relationship to the ideas of freedom of expression and the free flow of information.

Obviously, from the standpoint of global coordination and the setting of global standards, a global approach to freedom of expression is likely to prove quite challenging, as vastly different national level approaches to freedom of expression (in terms of the degree of freedom allowed) have always existed; and have, within individual nations, often differed in accordance with the communications technology employed (e.g., the lower levels of speech protection afforded the broadcast media relative to the print media, or even relative to cable, satellite, and of course, the Internet). It is worth noting in this regard that some IGF panelists representing the broadcasting sector raised the question of whether the growing social, political, and cultural importance of the Internet may in fact require policymakers to adopt approaches that place public service responsibilities and regulations upon this sector that in some way reflect the spirit of what has traditionally been in place in the broadcast sector in many parts of the world.[5] Also raised within this context of considering possible parallels between the new and old media worlds was the issue of concentration of media ownership, in light of the growing concentration of ownership that, according to some panelists, is taking place among the most widely accessed web sites.[6]

Nonetheless, it seems clear that global civil society organizations engaged in the broader issue of freedom of expression (such as those working toward the establishment and enforcement of global communication rights; see, e.g., http://www.crisinfo.org/) see the Internet as a very important battleground, in hopes that the establishment of some sort of globally

enforceable standards may serve to counteract some of the more restrictive practices that are taking place within particular national contexts.

It is also worth noting that the wide range of approaches to free expression that exist around the globe are proving quite challenging to corporations seeking to provide globally accessible Internet services. A representative of Google took part in a number of IGF panels related to freedom of expression, at one point describing what his company faces in terms of dealing with free expression issues globally as "On a good day, like a moving target; on a bad day, like a runaway train." This statement reflects the challenges faced and the comprises reached in relation to freedom of expression that global Internet firms such as Google become involved with in their efforts to expand their markets into as many countries as possible. The Google representative outlined a number of instances in which the company engaged in censoring activities in order to conform to the policies and regulations within more restrictive countries, but defended such behaviors on the grounds that the notion of a globally accepted stance on freedom of expression that adheres to the standards established in more democratic nations remains unrealistic.

It is important to emphasize, however, as a number of IGF panelists did, that threats to freedom of expression on-line do not arise exclusively from governmental actors. Various private sector actors often are equally capable of restricting freedom of expression. Reflecting this concern, some IGF participants focused on the issue of net neutrality as a key guiding principle reflective of the broader theme of openness (see Mueller, 2007).[7] This, despite the fact that the net neutrality issue has primarily been a point of concern almost exclusively within the realm of U.S. Internet policy, where ISPs have considered implementing policies that preference access (in terms of, for example, download speeds) to affiliated content providers over unaffiliated content providers. In this regard, however, developments and controversies surrounding net neutrality in the U.S. may turn out to be a precursor to developments in other

parts of the world, particularly in light of the frequency with which U.S. business models and strategies in the media and telecommunications sector tend to diffuse globally. At this point, the U.S. government, in keeping with the ongoing deregulatory trend in the U.S., has refrained from imposing strong net neutrality requirements on Internet service providers, though it will be interesting to see if such a policy position persists into the next presidential administration, and whether the U.S. approach to net neutrality-related issues diffuses globally.

A related issue within the context of the IGF's openness theme that was a frequent topic of discussion was the issue of copyright protection and fair use. A number of representatives of the growing Access to Knowledge movement (see http://www.access2knowledge.org/cs/) took part in panels dealing with issues of on-line access and usage norms related to copyrighted materials. Here again, as was the case within the context of freedom of expression, the Internet is clearly an important battleground for civil society organizations concerned with the broader issue of fair and equitable intellectual property laws and policies; though while much concern was expressed over the dangers to the development and benefits to the Internet inherent in overly restrictive intellectual property regimes, specific policy solutions did not receive much discussion within the context of the IGF panels.

In the end, although the concept of openness clearly shares strong linkages with the concept of freedom of expression, openness is certainly a more ambiguous term, as well as one that is far less politically loaded within the context of a global Internet governance regime seeking to include nations that maintain tight restrictions on the speech rights of their citizenry, as well as seeking to include the participation of private sector actors with a strong interest in restricting the usage of various forms of intellectual property. In this regard, openness would seem to suffer from some of the "creative ambiguity" that has plagued communications policymaking principles due to the kind of political tensions and desires for compromise across

multiple, diverse stakeholder groups that are inevitably at the core of any effort to develop a global governance regime. The greater specificity offered by concepts such as freedom of expression and net neutrality would ultimately seem more desirable manifestations of a more targeted and concrete openness principle. The danger here seems to be that the development of a guiding principle that appeases all stakeholder groups will result in a principle that ultimately means nothing.

Access

The access theme was conceived by the IGF organizers as addressing issues related what has broadly been referred to as the Digital Divide – that is, the gaps that exist between developed and developing nations in terms of the extent to which the population is on-line. As was frequently noted during the 2007 IGF, only one billion of the approximately six billion people on earth currently have access to the Internet. Much discussion at the IGF revolved around the question of what it will take to connect the "next billion." Within the context of the IGF, the digital divide issue, like the intellectual property issue, also was strongly linked with the growing Access to Knowledge movement, which addresses the wide range of technical, economic, and institutional impediments to citizen access to information. Indeed, in many ways the openness and access themes intersect. This point was made explicit by Russian Internet official Michael Yakushev (2007), who stated that "The notion of 'openness' is closely related to notions of access and freedom. No one would argue today that access to information and services is not a key tool for individual success and freedom, and a main criterion for social progress" (p. 126).

The specific Internet governance issues reflected in this access theme include overcoming access challenges in rural, impoverished, and underdeveloped regions, network interconnection costs, infrastructure development, and technology diffusion and usage skills

development. However, as was common with each of the IGF's organizing themes, the exact parameters of what access should mean as an overarching principle of global Internet governance were subject to different interpretations. Thus, for instance, some IGF participants suggested that access concerns should be conceptualized quite broadly, and thus include issues such as access (for individuals and regions) to resources such as money and electrical power, given that such resources are essential to facilitate Internet connectivity. Others argued that such a broad definition moves the discussion beyond those issues that any Internet governance regime would have the authority or resources to address.

Within the civil society sector, access issues were a particular point of focus, with many NGOs emphasizing the need for policies directed, in particular, at promoting infrastructure development and technology access in developing countries. As was illustrated by the Alliance for Progressive Communication, 96 percent of the population in Africa is without Internet access, and 90 percent of Asia is without Internet access. In contrast, 66 percent of the population in the Americas and 68 percent of the population in Europe are without Internet access (Adam, 2007). As these numbers indicate, even in more developed parts of the world the majority of the population remains disconnected from the Internet and the political, economic, and cultural benefits that it can provide; however, the dramatically limited extent of Internet access that persists in less developed parts of the country illustrates a key aspect of the broader digital divide that has been a key point of concern, and of advocacy work, for the civil society sector (Adam, 2007).

As a potential principle of global Internet governance, access certainly transcends the interests of most stakeholder groups as, from a network externalities standpoint, most stakeholders benefit as the network of Internet users grows. The key questions that need to be resolved in relation to the principle of access are a) access to what, exactly; and b) how to achieve it? The first question reflects the uncertainty surrounding the scope of both the

objectives and the authority related any global Internet governance regime's efforts at enhancing access. That is, how far can any Internet governance regime go in the creation of the conditions favorable to Internet access? And, what aspects of Internet access (computer ownership, network connectivity [and, what level/type of connectivity?], electricity, content access, etc.) constitute the fulfillment of the access principle? Little progress toward answering these questions took place at the 2007 IGF. The drilling down into these issues and the establishment of specific access criteria that fall within the authority and obligations of any global Internet governance regime have yet to be achieved.

<u>Security</u>

The IGF's security theme can be seen in many ways as addressing those issues and concerns that can potentially come into conflict with those issues reflected in both the openness and access themes, in that possible solutions to the wide range of perceived on-line security threats often involve approaches that potentially reduce levels of openness and access on-line. Some participants construed the definition of security, as it relates to Internet governance issues, fairly narrowly, to primarily encompass issues related to the trust and confidence in on-line commercial transactions. Others disagreed with this fairly narrow definition, advocating instead a broader approach that includes protection of network elements, spam restrictions, a wide range of privacy issues, as well as issues related to protecting children from inappropriate content, and to the related issue of child pornography.[8]

Various forms of cyber-crime and cyber-terrorism represented key points of focus for those IGF 2007 panels dealing with the security theme. It is important to recognize, however, that one of the key points emphasized within the context of on-line crime and terrorism is the question of the extent to which existing laws, regulations, and enforcement agencies effectively

address on-line crime and terrorism. As one representative of Brazil noted in the IGF's plenary session on security, "more than 95 percent of crimes carried out on the Internet are provided for . . . in the criminal code in Brazil."[9] This point was meant to emphasize that the overwhelming majority of the crime committed on-line is not criminal activity that is in any way unique to the Internet. The challenge that exists, therefore, at both the national and the global level, is identifying the legal and enforcement gaps that may exist in relation to specific Internet-related crimes and terrorist activities.

Another key underlying challenge related to all of these Internet-related security concerns is the issue of how to develop and implement global-reach regulations and enforcement mechanisms that can effectively interconnect with the wide range of national-level regulations and enforcement mechanisms that many nations already have in place. And, of course, the desired standards, penalties, and enforcement approaches inevitably differ substantially from country to country, which complicates any effort to develop a more global approach to these issues. As one participant in the IGF security plenary noted, "We don't have a single legal standard at the moment, and that is causing a lot of trouble." In addition, this same participant noted that "law enforcement agencies do need to cooperate, and that is something that is lacking at the moment."[10]

The concept of security as it relates to the Internet at this point seems to contain within it a broad array of concerns, including concerns about privacy, concerns about other forms of cyber-crime (as well as cyber-terrorism), and concerns about protecting children from inappropriate content. The latter concern – and its relationship to freedom of speech – echoes tensions that are well-established in the traditional media realm (particularly in terms of broadcast regulation). In contrast, concerns about privacy and criminal activity have arisen in the on-line context to a degree that can not be approximated in relation to traditional media. As a result, there is little guidance or precedence in terms of determining how best to clarify

and implement the principle of security in a way that does not undermine potentially contradictory policy principles such as openness/freedom of speech and access.

In considering security as a foundation principle of Internet governance, the key challenge will, of course, be reaching an appropriate balance between the security of network elements, personal data, intellectual property, and the desired levels of network access and openness – and doing so in a way that satisfies the needs of a diverse array of stakeholders. The key danger, of course, is that individual stakeholders work to conflate institutional self-interests with the principle of security. As was noted previously, a key recurrence in relation to established foundation principles of communications policymaking is their tendency – via their frequent ambiguity – to be appropriated on behalf of the self-interests of individual stakeholders and to be used primarily as rhetorical tools to achieve desired outcomes, rather than as robust analytical tools for the implementation and assessment of policies. To the extent that security concerns can potentially run counter to – rather than in tandem with – other emerging foundation principles of global Internet governance, this aspect of how security manifests itself as a guiding principle requires careful observation and scrutiny.

Diversity

Amongst all of the overarching themes reflected in the IGF's agenda, the theme of diversity perhaps has the deepest roots in other areas of communications regulation and policymaking. Within the context of traditional media regulation, the diversity principle has been conceptualized primarily in terms of the promotion and preservation of a diverse array of sources of information, as well as a diverse array of ideas, viewpoints, and content options (see, e.g., Hitchens, 2006; Napoli, 2001).

Within the context of the Internet, which, at least superficially, would seem to provide the kind of choice and multiplicity of sources that extends far beyond what could ever be achieved via traditional mass media, the key diversity concerns arise from the issue of language. That is, the central problem reflected in the IGF's diversity theme involves the linguistic diversity (or lack thereof) of the content available online. For many Internet users, the potential benefits of the variety of content options available on-line from a nearly infinite array of sources essentially run aground against the fact that much of this information may not be available in their native language.

As many IGF panelists noted, increasing the extent to which the world's citizens have access to the Internet is only part of the problem. It is also necessary to make sure that, once online, these citizens are able to locate and access content in their native language. As was noted in the introduction to a panel on the Multilingual Internet, there are more than 6000 languages in the world. Ninety percent of these languages are not represented on the Internet. Fifty languages represent 99 percent of the content on-line.[11]

As one UNESCO representative speaking on the Multilingual Internet panel noted, "The ability to use one's language on the Internet will determine one's ability to participate in the Information Society." This same panelist suggested that the unavailability of native-language content on-line may even represent a more significant component of the Digital Divide than infrastructure imbalances. In this way, the principle of diversity becomes intertwined with the principle of access.

More broadly, the issue of linguistic diversity on-line reflects broader concerns about preserving and promoting cultural diversity. Many IGF panelists stressed the importance of the world's cultural diversity being accurately reflected in the on-line realm.[12] One panelist suggested that "Linguistic diversity is for human society what biodiversity is for nature." Consequently, many IGF participants (particularly those within the civil society sector) stressed

the need for the local production of on-line content. This point was emphasized at the IGF by Internet pioneer Vint Cerf, who stressed that the production of native-language content can only be done locally.[13]

In this way, we also see the principle of diversity as it relates to Internet governance overlapping quite strongly with the principle of localism – which has been a prominent and long-standing principle in the realm of media regulation and policy. In the media realm, localism has been reflected in efforts to structure media markets in ways that promote local ownership of media outlets and that foster (and in some cases, mandate) the production of locally oriented programming (see Napoli, 2001). In the case of the Internet, in which the scope is expanded to the global level, thus making the issue of language differences of paramount importance, the achievement of linguistic diversity is most likely only achievable via mechanisms that promote the local production of content.[14]

In terms of the practicalities associated with this issue, challenges arise not only in terms of the production of native-language content, but also in terms of the underlying system of domain name and number registration. The Internet Domain Name System (DNS) has been based on the American Standard Code for Information Exchange (ASCII), which is limited to Latin letters, digits, and the hyphen. Therefore, it has not traditionally been able to deal with languages consisting of non-Latin characters or even European languages (such as French and German) containing letters with diacritics (Dutton, Palfrey, & Peltu, 2007). In an effort to address this issue, ICANN has incorporated 11 languages that utilize non-Latin scripts into an ongoing test of top level domain names (see http://idn.icann.org/). In this way, the issue of linguistic diversity on-line is a policy issue that touches not only global Internet policymaking bodies, but also local governments, industry actors, and civil society organizations concerned with the production and availability of locally oriented and created on-line content.

Clearly, diversity's emerging incarnation as a principle of Internet governance possesses some fundamental differences from its traditional incarnation as a foundation principle of traditional media regulation and policy. As the principle becomes international in scope, it is language and content dimensions that take precedence over the source dimensions that have been most prominent in the realm of traditional media (see Hitchens, 2006; Napoli, 2001). Achieving a diversity of sources is not the problem on-line that it has been in the realm of traditional media. The nature of the infrastructure problems that need to be overcome on-line (see above) are very different from those that need to be overcome off-line, where bandwidth limitations of various forms (spectrum scarcity, etc.) and much larger barriers to entry have limited the diversity of sources available to the citizenry.

Finally, it interesting to note that although policy scholars in both the traditional and on-line media realms have advocated a greater focus on the issue of diversity of exposure (i.e., the extent to which audiences access a diverse array of sources and content options; see Hindman, 2007; Webster, 2007), this concern is failing, at this point, to gain significant traction in the realm of global Internet governance, just as it failed to ever gain significant traction in the realm of traditional media regulation and policymaking (Napoli, 2001). There was little, if any, meaningful discussion of this issue at the 2007 IGF, despite the growing body of literature documenting the extent to which audience attention on-line is tightly clustered around relatively few content options (see Hindman, 2007).

Critical Internet Resources

One thing that should immediately be clear about the Critical Internet Resources conference theme is that, unlike the other conference themes it does not reflect a broader underlying principle or value.[15] Indeed, the subject of critical Internet resources was not even included as one of the conference themes for the 2006 IGF, but was added to the 2007

agenda after some contentious debate and discussion that focused on concerns that issues related to ICANN and the allocation of critical Internet resources had been neglected during the 2006 IGF.[16]

The term critical Internet resources, as it is used within the context of Internet governance, relates to the issues associated with the authority and operation of ICANN via ICANN's authority to allocate many of those things often considered to be critical Internet resources: Internet protocol addresses and new top level domain names (e.g., .gov, .org, etc.).[17] Thus, the term critical Internet resources has been described by one IGF participant as a "code word" for ICANN within the context of IGF discussions.[18] Within the context of the operation and growth of the Internet, these addresses and domain names represent valuable, and somewhat scarce, resources. This is reflected in the fact that one of the key points of concern among critics of ICANN is that these resources have been disproportionately allocated to developed nations, possibly to the detriment of the growth of the Internet within developing nations (see, e.g., Center for Democracy & Technology, 2004; King, 2004). McLaughlin and Pickard (2005) describe the discontent with ICANN as follows:

> Seen by many in the international community as the province of a small
>
> technocratic elite with ties to the U.S. Department of Commerce, ICANN
>
> increasingly has come under fire for its lack of transparency and accountability
>
> and Western-centric mode of governance. Furthermore, ICANN has generated
>
> controversy by its seemingly arbitrary and disproportionate allotment of highly
>
> coveted top-level domain names (TLD) and Internet protocol addresses that seem
>
> to privilege developed nations over developing ones (p. 362).

The reason that the topic of critical Internet resources represented something of a sore spot for IGF organizers and stakeholders traces back to long-standing disagreements between

various stakeholder groups over the appropriate scope of ICANN's authority and the transparency and representativeness of ICANN decision-making processes (see Center for Democracy & Technology, 2004). In addition, there were many stakeholders who were concerned that a focus on the contentious issues surrounding ICANN would divert attention from other important issues related to Internet governance.[19] Many IGF 2007 participants in fact expressed initial concern that the entire convening would devolve into a debate over ICANN, but were pleased to see that this turned out not to be the case. The civil society sector, in particular, was concerned that an overarching focus on ICANN could:

> divert attention from key barriers to Internet development in many countries, including still-monopolized communications infrastructures, burdensome licensing schemes, outdated regulatory systems, limits on spectrum use, and repression of speech, as well as more mundane concerns like hardware and electricity. Moreover, defining CIR as IP addresses and domain names could lead to the misimpression that ICANN and the addressing registries are the sole repositories of Internet governance and bear the responsibility for addressing the full range of barriers to Internet development. (Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007, p. 4).

It should be noted also that other IGF participants advocated a very expansive definition of critical Internet resources, including definitions that would also consider elements such as electricity, technological training (see Center for Democracy & Technology, 2007) and even Internet users as critical Internet resources[20] – though generally the IGF discourse surrounding critical Internet resources remained confined to those resources under ICANN's authority. Given the broad range of themes and issues contained within the framework of the

IGF, it seems safe to assume, at this point, that the kind of narrowing of the definition of Internet governance that was a concern of the civil society sector is not likely to occur – at least within the context of the activities of the IGF.

Ultimately, the issue of critical Internet resources (and all of the associated issues related to ICANN's authority and operation) can be seen as the focal point of Internet governance issues out of which all of the broader governance concerns have emerged, given that it is only in the realm of critical Internet resources in which something resembling a clearly defined international governance authority exists. At the same time, the nature of the issues related to ICANN and critical Internet resources reflects the frequently articulated point that Internet governance represents a challenging confluence of technical and public policy issues. Thus, for instance, the seemingly technical issues associated with the allocation and assignment of domain names and addresses intersects clearly with issues related to linguistic diversity, freedom of expression, and access to locally oriented content, as ICANN and other stakeholders seek to manage the allocation of critical Internet resources in ways that facilitate global diffusion and access. In this regard, it seems safe to say that "critical Internet resources" does not, in and of itself, represent a potential free-standing policy principle for global Internet governance. Rather, the concerns related to the administration of critical Internet resources can, and should, be subsumed within the other emerging principles of Internet governance.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the key themes around the 2007 Internet Governance Forum, in an effort to assess the development of an emerging set of foundation principles for Internet governance. The establishment of such principles is at the core of the working definition of Internet governance, and builds upon an established tradition of foundation principles for

communications policymaking. The analysis presented here focused on identifying the key areas of definitional ambiguity and conflict within these emerging foundation principles, as well as on drawing parallels between these emerging principles and established foundation principles for traditional media regulation and policymaking.

As this analysis has indicated, there is a tendency at this point for the boundaries of the key IGF themes to be expanded to degrees that ultimately may undermine their clarity and utility as any kind of organizing principles. Thus, for instance, when critical Internet resources are defined in such a way (as some IGF panelists suggested) as to include electricity or Internet users, it is likely that such a definition does little to serve the needs of those engaged in the specific task at hand – developing ideas that could feed into the next steps in the development of a multi-stakeholder Internet governance regime. Similarly, when the concept of access is defined so broadly as to include citizen access to electrical power or to money, it too is likely being defined too broadly to meaningfully guide future debates and discussions about Internet governance.

Global Internet governance thus appears to be at the stage where its guiding principles have yet to adhere to sufficiently concrete and well-defined boundaries. Mueller, Mathiason, and Klein (2007) go so far as to suggest that progress in the realm of Internet governance has stagnated largely because the stakeholders involved failed to establish clear and agreed-upon guiding norms and principles at the outset. Future scholarly and advocacy organization work should be devoted to establishing these definitional boundaries in order to ensure that they adequately reflect the necessary public interest elements and priorities. This, of course, assumes that at some point the IGF (or whatever follows in its wake) seeks to develop, and even at some point implement, concrete policy proposals. In any case, it is clear that the defining principles of Internet governance remain contested territory – and the resolution of these contests will ultimately play a determinative role in how the Internet is governed.

Progress on this front could be facilitated by the gathering of more data related to Internet access, traffic, and content provision that can be broken down and analyzed geographically. Ideally, the guiding principles for global Internet governance can, at some point, be translated into concrete performance metrics that can, as one IGF participant from South Africa noted, contribute to "better and more up-to-date indicators of progress," and that can "improve policy decision-making around these goals."[21] On more specific policy fronts, such as in terms of assessing the effectiveness of ICANN, gaps in the necessary data to construct robust performance metrics similarly have been identified (Center for Democracy & Technology, 2003). These issues feed into broader communications policy concerns that increasingly are being raised about the availability and accessibility of the data necessary to inform effective policymaking (see, e.g., Napoli & Karaganis, 2007).

Other ways that research can potentially inform these formative stages in the development of foundation principles for global Internet governance include engaging in detailed critical analyses of the policy discourse of various stakeholder groups, in order to separate, as clearly as possible, institutional self-interest from the public interest; and analyzing the dynamics of the process associated with the formation of this emerging Internet governance regime. As previous research has illustrated, communications policymaking principles and process are tightly intertwined (Napoli, 2001) with a transparent and objective process being fundamental to the establishment and utilization of clear, concrete, and meaningful guiding principles. Detailed examination of this linkage between principles and process should be a point of focus for future research on Internet governance.

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Endnotes

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[2] For an overview and assessment of WSIS from a civil society perspective, see Raboy and Landry (2005).

[3] ICANN has the authority to set policy for, and manage, the allocation and assignment of Internet protocol addresses, add new names to the top level of the Internet domain name hierarchy, and maintain responsibility for operating root servers that distribute information about the content of the top level of the domain name space (Mueller, 2002).

[4] It is worth noting that an entire session of the 2007 IGF was devoted to outlining the wide range of formal and informal bodies addressing various elements of Internet governance.

[5] This point was made by Alexandre Jobim, Chairman of the International Association of Broadcasters Legal Committee.

[6] This issue was a key point of the preliminary results of some research in progress presented by representatives of the European Broadcasting Union and the BBC.

[7] Milton Mueller of Syracuse University and the Internet Governance Project stressed the importance of the global adoption of net neutrality as a guiding principle for Internet governance in a number of the IGF panels in which he participated.

[8] These conflicting definitions of the scope of the IGF's security theme could be found in discussions that took place during the plenary session on security.

[9] This statement was made by Antonio Tavares, a member of the board of the Brazilian Internet Steering Committee.

[10] These statements were made by Marco Gercke, an expert in cyber-crime at the University of Cologne.

[11] This statistic came from the presentation of Daniel Pimienta, a researcher at the Antiles Guyane at Martinique, as part of the IGF 2007 Diversity Plenary Session.

[12] As one panelists stated, "To reduce cultural diversity is to jeopardize the possibility for our species to evolve and adapt."

[13] In his presentation, Cerf used the term "responsible multilingualism" in relation to his point that multilingual elements must be in place in all phases of the Internet's operation. Cerf emphasized that, just like in other areas of communication, we are not likely to be able to achieve an environment in which individuals of different languages can effectively communicate with one another, but that the focus should instead remain on ensuring that the Internet permits people with a common language to effectively communicate with one another.

[14] Of course, the term "local" is being adjusted to accommodate the scope of the policy space at issue. Within the context of national-level media policy, localism typically is thought of at the level of individual cities or communities. Within the context of global Internet policy, localism is adjusted to units of analysis related to nations, or language communities within these nations. One IGF panelist noted, for instance, that Russia contains over 180 ethnic groups, with more than 150 languages, 24 of which have official status.

[15] As Dutton, Palfrey, & Peltu (2007) emphasize, openness, access, security, and diversity can be seen "as representing the IGF's underlying public service values rather than just 'issues'" (p. 7).

[16] This discussion can be found in the transcript of the February 13, 2007 IGF Consultation that took place in Geneva.

[17] For a thorough and clear overview of ICANN's responsibilities and authority, see Center for Democracy and Technology (2004).

[18] This statement was made by Milton Mueller during his participation in the IGF 2007 plenary session on critical Internet resources.

[19] This point was emphasized by Anriette Esterhuysen of the Association for Progressive Communications in the IGF's Opening Session. See also Drake (2004); Mueller, Mathiason, and Klein (2004).

[20] This statement was made by IGF panelist Fernando Barrio, of the London Metropolitan Business School.

[21] This point was made by Mike Jensen, an independent consultant from Johannesburg who works on behalf of the Association for Progressive Communications, during the IGF 2007 plenary session devoted to the Access theme.

Suspicions and Opinions:
An Essay About On-Air and Online Promotion

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Wally Langschmidt Memorial Lecture,
Given August 1, 2001
At SABC in Johannesburg, South Africa*

*This essay is an edited version of a speech given to industry professionals and academics about seven years ago. In the meantime, some of what I foresaw about online and mobile media has already far exceeded my predictions, so that portion of the speech has been updated and recast.

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Program promotion has become highly salient in media industry planning. Interest first blossomed in the 1990s with buzz about marketing and branding. Attention surged again

following the massive dot-com collapse of 2000-01 because promoting television programs seemed one of the few viable and risk-free uses of the internet. Today, the mobile web is the cutting-edge application. Although smart phone usage grows slowly in the USA as yet, Google and other media companies look to a worldwide market where internet-capable cell phones already overshadow traditional phone use. One of the appealing applications—from the points of view of users and media companies—will be mobile web promotion of television programs. This essay reports on television program promotion's value, illustrates the models guiding current research, and outlines the current arenas of scholarship regarding media promotion.

Promotion's Valuation

On-air promotion has always been valued highly for its ability to draw in television audiences, but the confluence of several factors now gives promotion increased importance. Vertical integration of programming production and distribution within the major players— Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, Fox, and NBC Universal—has made key television programs potential sources of gigantic profits. Moreover, the largest media companies are now world conglomerates with domestic and foreign interest in all kinds of media, and thus promotion is not limited to cable and broadcast properties but can travel across amusement parks and books, CDs and magazines, theaters and television, and now online and smart phones. In addition, consolidation within the media industry has reduced the number of competitors while intensifying competition domestically and internationally.

One big number trumpets the importance of on-air promotion: The Big Four broadcast networks in the USA (ABC, CBS, FOX, and NBC) forego at least $3 billion annually in advertising revenue to air promotional spots.[1] Media companies do not sacrifice such annual revenue without a very good reason—namely, that promotion has a direct impact on

audience size. For the same reason, NBC Universal has spent billions for the American television rights to several Olympics in part to use the huge audiences to promote the network's prime-time schedule.

Quantifying Impact

If the impact is direct, why refer to "suspicions and opinions" in the title? Even after two decades of research, scholars and practitioners know little about how promotion works. Moreover, virtually all scholarly research has been conducted in the USA and about on-air television and may have limited relevance in other places and with other media. Developments such as the smart phone, the complete digitalization of American television, and the increasing melding of television with the internet are expected to alter or at least refine conventional promotional practices. Promotion no longer has the negative connotations it once had among journalists and scholars, and the industry now has a hugely successful international trade association (PROMAX, now with annual conferences on every continent except Antartica). Nonetheless, how much impact promotion has remains difficult to quantify, and few have tried. Even when someone does, convincing others to agree on a dollar value is highly problematic.

I first ran across the intriguing problem of quantifying promotion's impact in 1998 when I was invited to testify in front of the Canadian Copyright Board as an expert witness. One set of lawyers was trying to persuade the Copyright Board to allocate millions of dollars in copyright royalties for imported signals in proportions that took account of the contributions of U.S. program networks and stations (because so much of Canadian viewing goes to imported U.S. signals). Canadian copyright law contains this fascinating concept called "compilation copyright," a concept that has been explicitly excluded from American law. The Canadian idea is that those who assemble programs, such as networks and stations, add something to

them. My task was to say *what*. (The other acre of high-priced lawyers wanted virtually all royalties to go to sports rights holders; after all, nothing on television matters so much as American football, does it?)

If compilers do not produce original programs themselves, just buy them, what do the stations and networks add? Most crucially, they "add" three kinds of expertise. The first of these is skill in program <u>selection</u>. Network programmers are highly paid stars, and at the station level, programming decisions are so crucial that top management retains that power. What surprises many uninformed critics is that about 70 percent of new programs fail every year on U.S. network television (Adams & Eastman, 2002). Professor William J. Adams, who has been tracking network cancellations and renewals for more than 30 years, has shown that in the 1990s three-quarters of new shows were not renewed for a second season (p. 138). Despite a reduction in this percentage in the last few years because of the proliferation of seasonal reality shows, the long-term average remains at 70% (William J. Adams, Aug. 20, 2008, e-mail). While such a huge proportion of cancellations may seem dismaying, the real meaning is that so-called failures merely had fewer millions of people watching them than the competing shows...or they were more expensive to license than other shows attracting equivalent audience sizes. Nonetheless, the blockbusters carry the rest of the lineups, and control of selection increases power over profits and losses.

In addition to selecting programs, compilers <u>schedule</u> programs. Undeniably, program scheduling is an art unique to television; there is nothing comparable in any other industry. Scheduling calls on an arcane and esoteric set of practices to get viewers to watch programs, leading to network schedules that are presumed to be based on incontrovertible research, impeccable logic, and irrefutable reasoning (but are probably derived from out-dated programming lore embedded in industry practices and what the taxi drive told his mother...).

Many of the verities of the past no longer fit a programming situation with hundreds of competitors over the air, on cable, and streaming away on the internet, and now coming to potential viewers via smart phones. Nonetheless, organization of long and short programs on the air and online is a crucial element in success.

The third part of the compilers' job is that they <u>promote</u> programs. As the old saying goes, even the best programs have no viewers without promotion. But effective promotion does more than tell what day and time a show comes on; it is far more than informational: Promos set expectations. Those expectations are part of the frame that governs how programs are perceived and understood—by viewers, advertisers, time buyers, and television programmers. In one sense, promos are commercials for programs; they are clearly related to viewing, listening, and time-spent-online. But the very best promos are mini-programs, capturing the essence of the program (or what the producer hopes the essence is). Promos have to convince tens of millions of people that they will get some benefit out of making the effort to find and watch the show, and they have to do this in a matter of 15 or 30 seconds—or less on cell phones. The benefit might merely be a good laugh or cry, or it might be a close-up view of the results of the lust for money on crime shows and suchlike. One saving thing, from the industry perspective, is that recent research shows considerable cross-fertilization across the electronic media (Edwards & La Ferle, 2000; Tan, Newton, and Wang, 2007). Effective promotion within and across media may now be the most precious of the highly-paid experts' abilities.

Theoretical Models

The model in Figure 1 illustrates the components of selection, scheduling, and promotion, which are, in turn, continually affected by the evaluation process. Although *competition, inheritance,* and *scheduling* have traditionally been identified as the key

variables affecting program viewing, they can be encompassed in quantifiable measurements of other factors affecting ratings, such as promotion. Even the so-called ineffable quality of a program is inherently part of the selection, scheduling, promotion, and evaluation processes in the minds of network and station programmers, as are the season of the year, time of day, day of the week, competing activities, kind of channel, and so on.

Figure 1. Impacts on Program Audience Size (Ferguson & Eastman, 2006)
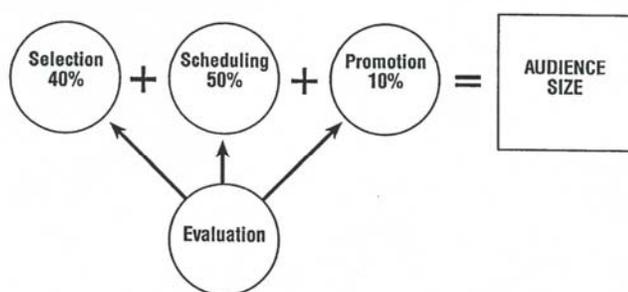
It is no news that competition has become virtually impossible to measure effectively in the United States now that more than 85 percent of households can get 200 to 600 channels of television via cable and satellite services.[2] At the same time, because of tiering and pay offerings, what those channels consist of and their placement on the delivery lineup differs from town to town. Although most television stations negotiate a match between their over-the-air analog channel numbers and their apparent placement on cable lineups, what is going to happen to lineups after February 18, 2009 when the United States "goes digital" is anyone's guess. Right now, an ABC affiliate can appear on channel 6 in one market and channel 2 in a nearby market. Recent affiliation swaps destroyed whatever national standardization of the Big Three networks had emerged from historical accident. But largely because of the need for ease in promotion, the pressure for national and even international standardization of digital lineups is likely to increase dramatically in the coming years.

Since plenty of studies have showed that about half the people watching a second program also watched the one before it (the inheritance factor, see Webster, 2006), *where* a program appears in a schedule *does* matter. But it matters less and less as the number of available competitors expands, forcing viewers into choosing their shows via electronic guides and advance recording via DVRs. Promotion thus increases in importance for capturing audience attention. In the end, promotion online, on the air, and in print (and now on the phone) appear to be the primary tools for countering greater competition and for fighting (or fostering) inherited viewing.

Salience Variables

In order to understand promotion's impact, multiple studies have sought to identify the body of variables that contribute significantly to ratings. In an early investigation, Walker (1993) presumed that frequency would be the key to promotion's impact, but found that the situation was far more complex. In subsequent studies, frequency eventually proved to be just one of sixteen quantifiable attributes of promotion when different dayparts and different program genres were analyzed.[3] The variables are listed in Figure 2, and they incorporate the key concepts of inheritance, competition, and scheduling insofar as they are part of promotional practices. Some of these variables apply especially to sporting events, such as Super Bowls and Olympics, others to daytime, movies, or prime time programs. All were statistically significant in one or more quantitative analyses (primarily utilizing multiple regression with large databases).

Figure 2. Factors demonstrated to impact promotion's effectiveness

Variable   Measure

Inherited viewing	Lead-in rating
Reach	Carriage program rating
Familiarity	New, continuing or one-time program
Frequency	N of promos for a program
Construction	N of programs promoted in a spot
Clutter	N of elements in a break
Compatibility of audience	Match/not match in age/gender of program promoted and program carrying promo
Compatibility of genre	Match/not match of promoted and carriage program genre
Distance	Time/days from promo to air date
Length	Timed length of promo in seconds
Location	Placement in pod or between programs
Position	Relative placement in pod (first, mid, last)
Design	Specific or generic spot
Goal	Acquisitive or retentive spot intention
Night bunching	Crowded in last hour of evening
Event bunching	Crowded toward last days of event

Based on findings by Eastman and Newton (1998a, 1998b, 1999) and others, Eastman created

the visual model in Figure 3 to illustrate the primary influences on ratings that come from a

program and its promotion.

Figure 3. Overall model of promotional effectiveness for television programs

(Eastman, Ferguson, & Klein, 2006)
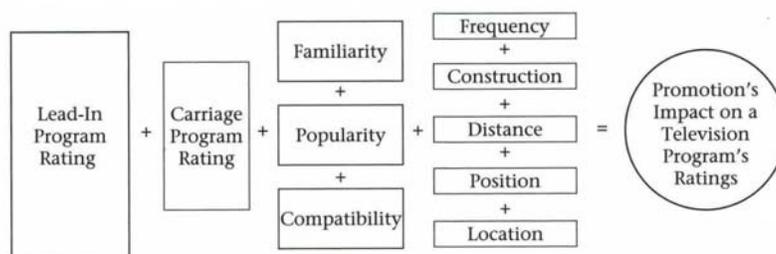
Promotion's Quantitative Impact

Multiple regression analyses by Eastman and Newton (1998a) testing specifically for the

impact of promotion on prime-time program ratings showed that programs ranked high on

the salience variables tended to be more affected by promotion than shows at either extreme, thus supporting the overall model. For series programs carried in prime time, the number that has turned up most frequently in analyses is 11 percent effect size, which seems to be the right number for mid-rated programs. One analysis showed a high of 20% impact for programs in the lower-mid quartile (of ratings) and 7% impact for the upper-mid (the keepers), top (the hits) and bottom quartiles (the losers). These studies measured a dozen or more variables for thousands of promos, although it is the number of programs one has to work with that matters most. Even counting each episode of series as a separate program (appropriate because each episode has its own lead-in, its own competition, its own ratings, and so on), truly elegant statistical analyses are difficult with the scant number of programs in the all-too-short period of prime time.

Although the model in Figure 1 implies that about 10% of ratings can be attributed to promotion, that model applies to prime time on the American networks. Comparing four different databases in analyses conducted specifically for the Canadian Copyright Board, Eastman and Newton (1998b) concluded that overall, for all dayparts and all kinds of programs, promotion explained at least 5% of the overall variance in ratings. Because a variable that affects one group of programs positively may affect another group negatively, when all programs at stations and networks were combined, the overall impact was found to be 5%. If translated into ratings differences, this amount of impact represents millions of dollars in advertising revenue for big television networks (or millions in royalty distributions). In addition to quantitative studies of promotion's impact on ratings, researchers have developed other approaches to understanding how promotion functions.

Overview of Recent Studies of On-Air and Online Promotion

One area of general interest has been the role of *content* in promos. Eastman and Bolls (2000) looked at 1,939 adults' reactions to a set of taped on-air TV promos to identify the ingredients that make situation comedy promos more or less effective[4] (primarily the storylines as revealed in the promos). Analysis established the heuristic value of the 30-category coding scheme as shown in Figure 4. Going to the next step, the relative impacts of appeals, humor, and presentation were compared in Eastman, Newton, and Bolls (2003), showing their influence was greater for familiar than unfamiliar comedies and that humor and presentation contributed to variance in ratings for mid-rated but not high- and low-rated comedies. Many producers will have intuited these things, and proprietary tests in the industry may show similar results, but barely a handful of published scholarly studies have examined promotional content.

Figure 4. Content model for comedy promotion (Eastman & Bolls, 2003)
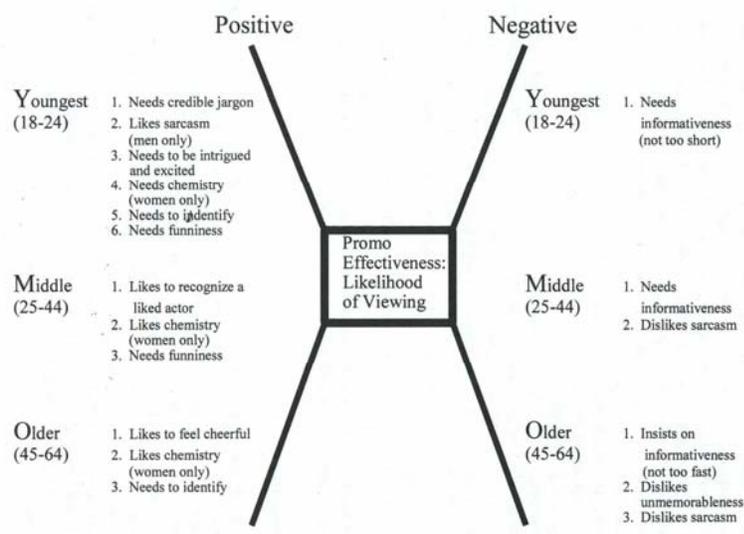
One group of studies has focused on sexual content, such as explicit behaviors or language in promos (see Eastman, Schwartz & Cai, 2002; Sapolsky, Tabarlet, & Kaye, 1994; Walker, 2000). What was particularly surprising was the absence of a positive contribution by sexual innuendo—a common characteristic of promos—and the respondents' focus instead on

the characters' chemistry. Another small surprise was the lack of mention of the subject matter of an episode, either as an attraction or repellant. In a series of three studies, Walker looked particularly at violence as well as sexual content in prime time and Sunday NFL promos, finding a modest reduction over time in violent content in promos carried in prime time (see Figure 5) but concomitant increases in sexual content and behavior in network promos, and marked variation by network.

Figure 5. Physical aggression in network television promos, 1990 to 1998

(Walker, 2000)
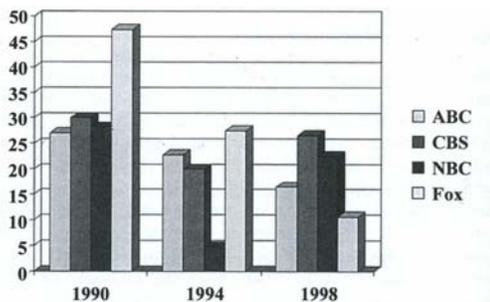
A study of promotion carried within children's programs and targeted toward children by Gantz and Schwartz (2000) found increases over time in the amount of program promotion aimed at children and that about 40% of the programs promoted during children's shows for general or adult programs that air during prime time (p. 183). Moreover, most promos lack the ratings labels that identify the content of broadcast programs.

What else do we know? Still other analyses focus on the characters in promos, seeking to determine the match between program and promos in such attributes as age, ethnicity, gender, occupation, and so on. Eastman and Walker (2005) found characters in promos overwhelmingly male and white, like in programs, but that portrayals of characters of mid-life ages in promos significantly outnumbered those in the actual programs, and also found that entertainment industry jobs were overrepresented while most characters appeared with no

indication of occupation. Similarly, Angelini, Goh, Rosow, Dodge, Deng, Zhou, and Eastman

(2005) analyzed the prominence of characters on program web sites, and found that web sites

also foregrounded more characters in mid-life ("settled adults"), but subtly gave extra visual

attention to teens.

Surprises have come from another body of studies measuring the effectiveness of

promotion carried within the Olympics and other sports. In a series of analyses extending from

1992 to 2006, teams of researchers calculated the influence of promotion within an Olympics

on the ratings of promoted prime-time programs. Eastman and Otteson (1994) found that

despite extensive network promotion of its prime-time schedule inside the 1992 Olympics, it

had little positive effect. In a subsequent study, Eastman and Billings (2004) pictured

promotional influence as positive (up), flat (neutral), or negative (down) as displayed in

Figure 6.[4] The obvious conclusion is that while promotion in these five Olympics had some

positive effect, it was sometimes outweighed by the negative effect of a series hiatus, and that

much of the promotion merely held ratings at their previous level (not the acknowledged goal

of purchasing expensive sports rights).

Figure 6. Comparative impact of promotion for prime-time programs

carried in the 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, and 2000 Olympics (Eastman & Billings, 2004)

1992

1994

1996

1998

2000: Sept/Sept

2000 May/Sept
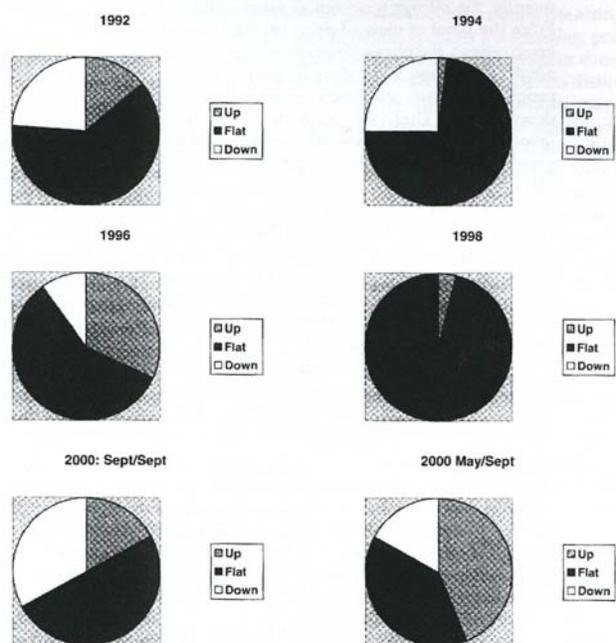
A similar analysis of the Athens Olympics, however, demonstrated a more positive impact for promotion (Newton, Williams, Billings, and Eastman, 2008a). Other sports studies assessed overall strategies for a network in relation to promotion, such as Newton, Williams, Billings, and Eastman (2008b), leading to the conclusion that a network without a powerhouse prime-time schedule gains little from promotion within an Olympics.

Other studies look at the promotion of movies on television, especially promotion within children's programs and directed toward children. A study of television movie promotion carried within televised movies and other types of programs by Eastman, Schwartz, and Cai (2005) led to a somewhat altered model for promotion's impact on movie ratings, shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Revised model of promotion's impact on movie ratings (Eastman, Schwartz, & Cai, 2005)
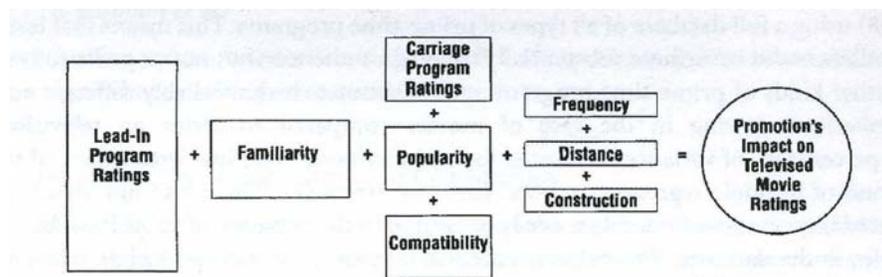
The auditory part of promos has spurred some investigation. Newton and Potter (2000) assessed the effects of auditory complexity in radio promos, finding that complexity significantly increased listener memory and more positive evaluations of stations and promos, an effect that lasted several days, but complexity did not increase recall of call letters or positioning statements, leaving open the question of what indeed influences this kind of recall. Potter (2006) looked further at production effects in radio promotional spots in a experimental study measuring heart rate as well as recognition, and heart rate data showed that production effects captured attention and increase recognition of information delivered in the promo.

Several recent studies have turned to the internet, examining program promotion on network web sites and cross-promotion between on-air and online. Ferguson (2000) looked at compared on air and online practices and found changes in web sites over time that moved toward simplification and even standardization. Similarly, Evans (2001) found that excessive promotion of "house-owned properties" can reduce or drive users away from a web site, citing the relentless push of Disney products as the root cause of the death of ABC's GO portal effort.

Several studies have tried to assess the synergy created by cross-promotion. Edwards and La Ferle (2000), for example, found limited effectiveness for cross-promotion of internet addresses within TV commercials; Ha and Chan-Olmstead (2004) found some positives in the use of cross-media for branding cable television. In one of the few experimental studies

relating to promotion to date, Tang, Newton, and Wang (2007) examined the effectiveness of cross-media promotion, finding that coordinated television and print program promotion led to higher attention, improved recall, and more positive attitudes of several kinds compared to using single-source promotion. Concentrating on news branding and cross-promotion in another experimental study, Newton and Tang (2008) found that multimedia promotional campaigns resulted in higher attention and more positive attitudes and intentions to view than TV-only campaigns. All this work merely whets the appetite by showing how little scholars have tackled and how remains to be investigated.

Suspicions about an Overall Theoretic Model

Although we generally know what we mean when we use the word *promotion*, what is and is not program promotion comes from industry practices. Moreover, integrated marketing communications approaches and media synergies have blurred once clear distinctions. Parts of the process of using the internet to enhance the on-air viewing experience (with background materials and expanded promos) can be called promotion; other parts are a broader form of marketing (star stories, merchandising).

Examining promotion from its reception (instead of conception) leads to different definitions. From a viewer perspective, even a single 30-second promo is not one conceptual thing, and its impact comes from its many components. Moreover, the process happens over time. The expanded model in Figure 8 separates some of promotion's components temporally and associates them with familiar areas of scholarly research.

Figure 8. An expanded model of promotion's impact on audience behavior
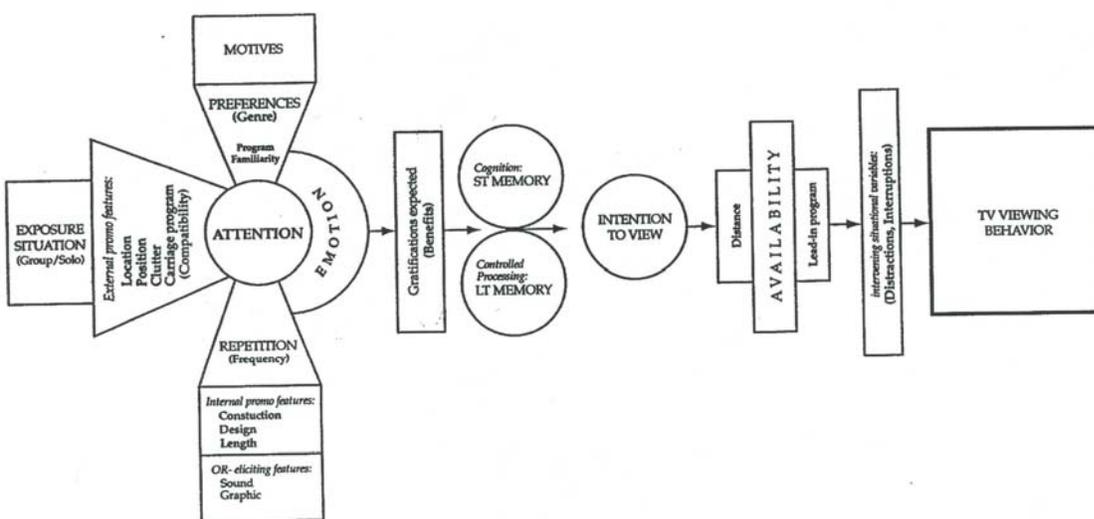
The model begins with the exposure situation and lists several factors affecting attention to a message, many of which are components of promotion. Next memory processes intervene, then situational variables such as availability, itself affected by distance, lead-in programming, and competing options. It follows that small effects for any promotional campaign for a television program are the best that can normally be expected.

The model remains an untested set of suggestions about ways to investigate promotion in scholarly studies that reach outside the boundaries of direct industry concerns. We still know too little about what makes individuals and groups act as they do. The field of persuasion—as it relates to media—remains dependent on traditions and anecdotal evidence, leaving us with suspicions and much to be investigated.

I conclude by hoping that this essay has stretched the reader's understanding of the field of promotion (a topic too new for easy Googling) and has provided pointers to relevant academic studies. What hides in proprietary industry studies is always problematic, so scholars need to provide their own assessments of various promotional processes and effects. This essay

is presented with the goal of spurring research that builds on—or challenges—what has already been found or just suspected.

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Endnotes

1. I calculated this $3 billion number in 1998 using a published table of the average values for air time on each of the major network. One consultant claimed the amount was more like $6 billion, but at the time, I could not come up with such a big figure for spot value, but given today's inflation, the larger figure may be closer.

2. According to the National Cable Television Association, as of 2006 there were 565 national programming services/networks available for distribution, plus each operator carries some of the 1,600 broadcast stations.

3. See Billings & Eastman, 1998; Billings, Eastman & Newton, 1998; Eastman & Billings, 2004; Eastman & Newton, 1998a; Eastman & Newton, 1998b; Eastman & Newton,

1999; Eastman, Newton & Pack, 1996; Eastman & Otteson, 1994; Eastman, Schwartz & Cai, 2005; Newton, Williams, Billings, & Eastman, 2008; Walker & Eastman, 2003.

4. The two September pie charts display the results of different methods of calculating influences.

A critical approach of how was the theory of metamorphosis of the minimum diversification of the television content produced (MDm): a critical analysis of the structures and the Steiner's model behind the theory.

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide an analysis of the necessary tools and stages in the development of the theory of metamorphosis of the minimum diversification of the television content. My investigation requires a survey and engagement with the evidence to understand the context for the development of this theory. This theory, although topologically limited within Greece, can possibly be a wider application tool for the study the of television diversity. This theory may be applied to cases in other countries through a risk-based analysis. The present study aims at presenting and at critically analyzing the theoretical background and structures that were used for the development of this new theory. The theory of metamorphosis is an alternative methodological framework to approach the study of diversity since it goes beyond the narrow frame of the typological approach constructed through a program's genres.

Part 1: Technical description

1.1.   Structural development of the critical analysis/the research question

The present study follows a particular structural development of the critical analysis. The critical approach to the theory will become more comprehensible when revealed through the relative literature from which the theory emerges. The critical analysis is based on three main

pillars: a) critical analysis of the existing bibliography, b) analysis of the new elements that result from the critic and b) development of the theory of metamorphosis of the minimum diversification of the television content.
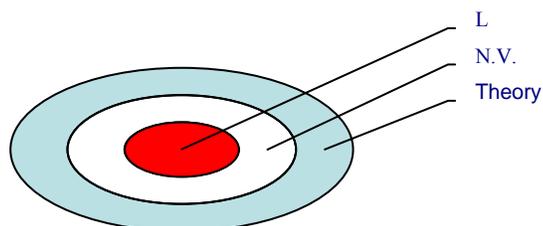
The circular diagram above gives a description of theory's structural analysis. L is the literature of which a critical analysis is going to be given. N.V. represents the new variables that result from this critique and theory is the study and development of the uncharted and unexplored territories which are analyzed and then build a new theory. The research question from which theory develops is the following:

Q: Given the minimum diversification of the television content, how are the channels diversified among each other to achieve a fair competition?

Television's minimum diversification, which is assumed in the present study, is the element used as the base of the literature for the formation of the diversification's theory. One of the main purposes of this paper is to design a framework for literature review based on the research question above. To be precise, particular research sources and materials that had been from the beginning considered important to be the main theoretical base of this study are analyzed. The selection criteria for these particular choices are analyzed in a section that follows.

1.2 Personal interviews

To construct the theory, face-to-face personal interviews have been used and specialists from the Greek television participated. Particularly, I interviewed directors from Greek television stations with national scope and AGB Hellas officials. This is the company that conducts TV Audience Measurement Research, advertising agencies that select to deploy television as a means of advertising and scholars whose research interest is in the area of television content.

1.3. Workshop

Within three months after the publication of this article in the *Mediterranean E-Journal of Communication and Media*, a one-day workshop will be organized at the Research Institute of Applied Communication to discuss the further perspective of applying the theory as a tool useful in the study of the content's television diversity. The workshop's report is going to be published later aiming to boost the theory.

Part 2. The critical Approach for theory's formation

2.1. The central idea of the MDm theory

The metamorphosis theory of the minimum diversification of the television's content is based on the assumption that there are two types of diversification when considering television's content. The first type diversifies the content based on program genres diversity, such as the rich distribution and range of scheduling through the program's types (content diversity) and generally through its classification. The second diversification type is the artificial one and diversifies the content based on its framework, using partial program-building tactics to diversify the content among the channels and achieve a television competition through virtual context diversity. We could refer to a "quality-orientated" diversification according to program's genres and an artificial diversification - using several techniques classified above –

according to the content. The concept of metamorphosis plays an interpretative role in this theory. According to the theoretical framework developed in this study, the formalistic and common-type character among the channels according to the content's genres and the overconcentration of particular types of program makes the programmers investigate and discover new modes of program diversification. This diversification – though artificial – is a necessary business choice for the channels to be able to diversify with each other and compete for as many advertisements as possible.

The word "metamorphosis" is composed of three Greek words: meta-morph-osis = meta-morphe-phasis. "Meta" means "after", "morphe" means "form" and "phasis" means "phase" or "stage". If we put the three words together in English, the conceptual result is translated as "change of shape", an alteration of the form or landscape. This linguistic combination also gives the word "morphing", which can be combined with a wide range of words such as for example the words "euromorphing" and "animorphing". In this theory, I use the term "telemorphing," to signify an application in this media, and demonstrating the process through which each channel transforms the television program. In fact, the minimum and poor diversity of the program's genres is turned into an artificial diversity. This process requires partially the use of some particular tactics. These tactics are the findings of the present research that resulted from the questionnaires. According to this theory, the process of metamorphosis of the content's diversity is called "telemorphing".

2.2. The phenomenon of genres overconcentration

The theory of metamorphosis is based on a fundamental conclusive principle: the overconcentration of the television program on particular program types. The theory is based on the question of the minimum –if any- diversification of the television content. However the

concept of the minimum diversification requires a conceptual documentation because this is a concept quite open to assumptions. This particular study considers the diversification according to the program's genres as minimum diversification. The most recent study that indicates this intention within Greek television was from Masoura (2007) that was carried out for the Applied Communication Research Institute. This study examines the contemporary television field in Greece according to the types distribution as well as program's genres, in the way it is formed, though it could change at any time given either after a new channel has entered or when program's strategy changes in some of the under examination television channels in the framework of the competition's practices. The uncertainty of this kind of television programming creates an unstable media environment. This environment has also some impact principally on the content's diversity. The uncertainty of the television programming generates also a respective – so-called – logic of the program which is conceptually analyzed in the next sub-chapter. Then, this logic is used in the framework of purpose diversity. However, the Institute's study shows a stable – within the surveyed timeframe – over concentration of certain genres. Particularly, the private television had a percentage around 32,2% regarding information/news, 16,5% regarding entertainment and 30,6% regarding series. Such high percentages generate an overconcentration in this categories and the result is that either certain program types are not recorded at all, or have exceptionally low percentages. These percentages, stable during the period when the research was carried out show, firstly, that the unstable environment of the television programming, regarding the case in Greece, had little impact on program's type logic. This is also shown by Koukoutsaki's research (2003), who examines the classic prolongation of Greek television's drama from 1970 to 1996. This means the dictatorship period and the period of the television's liberation. Even this research, a

longitudinal equal distribution of the genres and important rises and falls during the liberation period are noticed.

The analysis of these studies shows that there is some diversification in the content of the channels examined. At the same time they present an excessive competition with each other to achieve the highest possible AGB percentages. It is proved that this competition is achieved through the program's diversification, which leads to a contradiction to the program's diversification and to the question whether diversification does exist or not. These studies, though analyzing important quality pointers, do not proceed to a further quality analysis of the conceptual and methodological definition of the content's diversity.

2.3. The methodological approach of the theory of diversity's metamorphosis and the question of the concept: Topology - Morphology – Chronology (Diversity over Time and Space)

Approaching the phenomenon of metamorphosis of the content's diversity in the television, one of the basic questions that should concern scholars that deal with this subject is the conceptual definition of the diversity itself. Namely, how is the diversity in the content defined and how can this diversity be located in the television program. Is diversity's metamorphosis an abstract concept or something more particular and countable? The theory of the metamorphosis of the minimum diversification uses three variables to approach the conceptual question methodologically. These variables are diversity's topology, morphology and chronology and are analyzed in the wider framework of the horizontal, vertical and diagonal programming of the television program.

These variables aim at defining a particular as well as open to choices methodological framework that will enable an investigator to approach the question of the content's diversity and define and locate it according to its form, its place in the framework of the program zone

and, finally, according to its time redistribution. The open in applications methodological framework is due mainly to the object and the aim of diversity's measuring, which varies from research to research and is the principal reason for which, even today, there is no universal measuring methodology, even a commonly accepted one.

An initial longitudinal study that defines the content's diversity within the limits of a measurable logic in the framework of time, place and form, based on business choices and needs of the stations, is the mode of research deployed by Steiner (1952). This study, that refers to the case of the radio broadcasting though it can be extended to television, draws the borders of the diversity's concept in the framework of programming and particularly in the framework of program's timeline designing. However, a more careful examination of the Steiner's model gives us important references both regarding the content's form and its topological location in the program. Briefly, the upcoming research question – combining the methodological approach of this article with Steiner's study is the following: How a channel's business choices affect the content's morphology character (diversity) and how is this combination methodologically approached? In the framework of a more general analysis, the diversity's programming is methodologically approached under the scope of the horizontal and vertical programming. According to Papathanassopoulos (2000), the horizontal programming is in fact based on the creation of zones in the program, i.e. a serial or a show that develops through the week every day on the same time, creating a feeling of habit in the mind of the spectator. The vertical programming deals with the placement of programs similar to each other immediately after the central news program though in a weekly base on particular time (not every day, unlike with the horizontal programming).
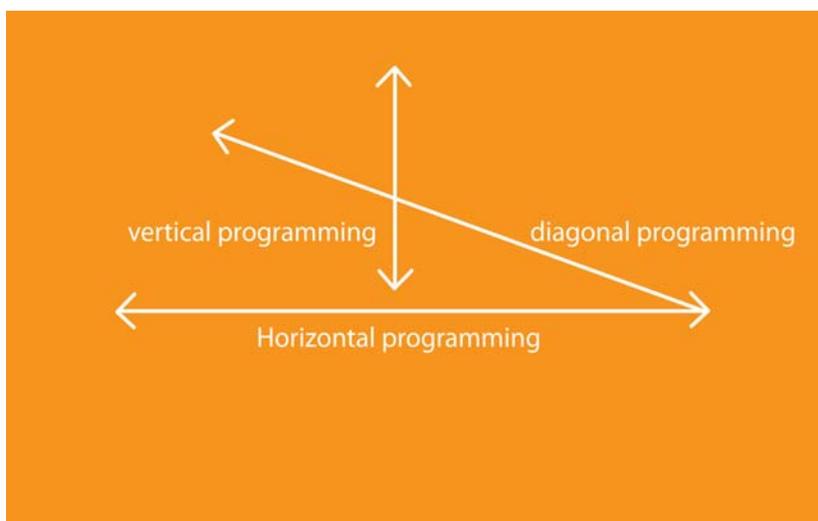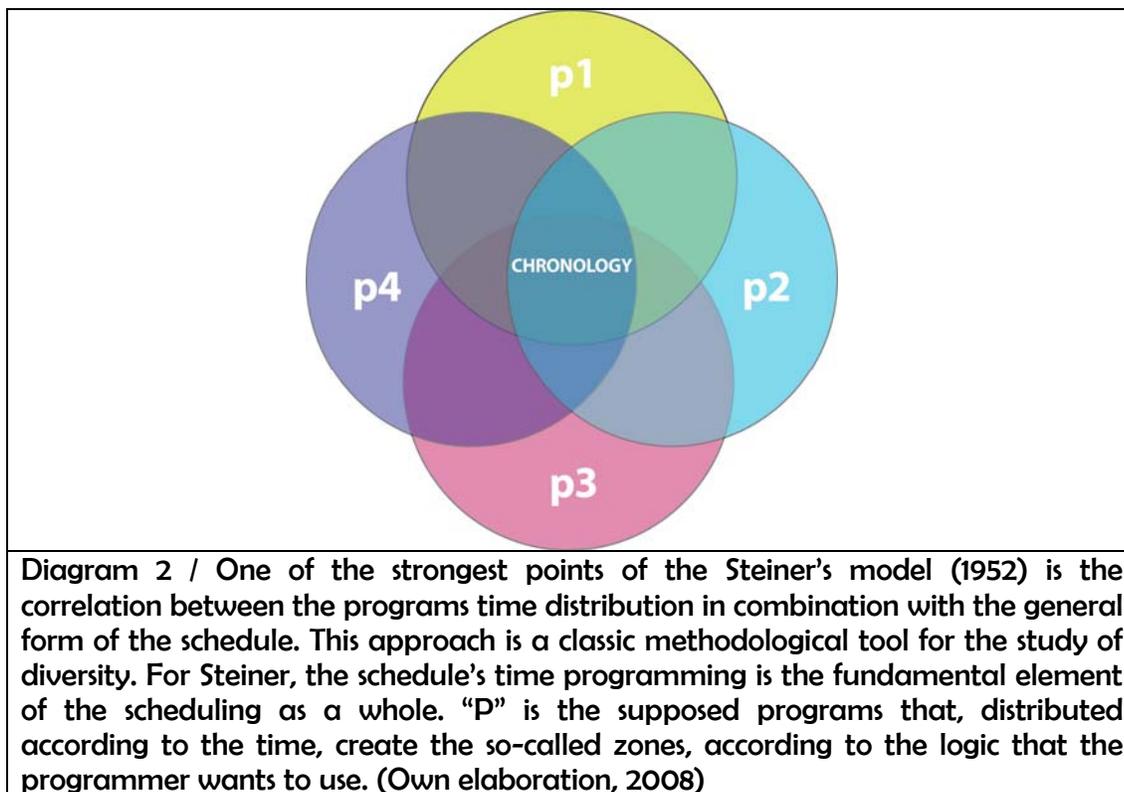
Diagram 1 / A series broadcasted daily e.g. "Μαρία η άσχημη" **(Ugly Maria) is broadcasted during the week every day the same time. However, the crime fiction program "Light in the tunnel" is placed within a particular zone (e.g. after the zone of the main news program) only once a week. These cases are examples of horizontal and vertical scheduling respectively. The horizontal/vertical scheduling is an approachable methodological criterion of the program's assessment. As shown by the figure, the diagonal scheduling could be added to the relative terminology. The diagonal scheduling is a hybrid technique made up of the two aforementioned types of scheduling. For example, the well known game «Fame Story» can be considered vertical, since its live broadcasting takes place every week but it can also be considered horizontal, since its 24h-scenes are broadcasted daily, both by the pay-tv and by the channel which has the rights. The combination of the two tactics aims at creating tension and anxiety in the spectator's mind. (own elaboration, 2008).**

In fact, Steiner's study suggests two models of the diversity's timeline order: a) the one period model and b) the model over time. The first model has to do with the broadcasting of a show on a particular date and time, aiming at the increase of audience rate during a particular period and not during the program in general. I would use the name unilateral (or simple) time diversity for this kind of program's timeline order. The second Steiner's model develops diversity's order timeline through the time, i.e. diversity is developed during the total duration and not only in the limits of a single show. The result is a form of horizontal and vertical timeline arrangement that affects the form and the content's topological locating or interacts with it dually.

Beyond the diversity's timeline arrangements – should this diversity be interpreted either from the scope of the show's duration (chronology), or by the moment (i.e. the time zone which the show is placed in - topology) of its presentation, Steiner's study brings us to program's morphology questions.

Diagram 2 / One of the strongest points of the Steiner's model (1952) is the correlation between the programs time distribution in combination with the general form of the schedule. This approach is a classic methodological tool for the study of diversity. For Steiner, the schedule's time programming is the fundamental element of the scheduling as a whole. "P" is the supposed programs that, distributed according to the time, create the so-called zones, according to the logic that the programmer wants to use. (Own elaboration, 2008)

The following assumptions compare Steiner's study with metamorphosis theory and derive from the differences and the similarities of their methodological approach:

(1a) Steiner: fixed time duration is provided for each show. This duration gives diversity its chronological characteristic (diversity over time).

(1b) Metamorphosis theory: the chronological characteristic of the content's diversity is not concentrated merely to the program's duration (chronology). One of the programmers' main

strategies is also then correct selection of the placement of the show in one of the zones, after another show or the show which is going to follow. This is the time arrangement that deals mostly with the show's placement within the framework of the program generally and it is therefore defined as topology.

(2a) Steiner: taking into consideration the general development of the program, all the channels produce the same or similar kind of shows and the result is that the channels share with each other the amount of spectators.

(2b) Metamorphosis theory: According to metamorphosis theory, if we consider that the supposed channels produce the same types of program, those types, when exposed, have not the same characteristics. The result is that their type-image differs and this way they attract different rates of spectators. The technique of the diversification of types similar to each other is better analyzed in the framework's diversity in the next sub-chapter.

Steiner's bipolar model is an important tool for the policy makers. It actually contributes to the process of structure's assessment and, generally, to the performance of the broadcasting. The pointers used in the Steiner's model aim at interpreting mainly the marketing tactics which are used for the creation of the schedule's structure. He also considers that the schedule is the result of the relation of offer and supply present in the market of advertising In relation to the theory of metamorphosis, this article focuses on the methodological extension of the Steiner's model instead of its economic analysis.

Instead of the Steiner's methodological pointers, which are quite time-orientated, the theory of metamorphosis suggests three methodological pointers.
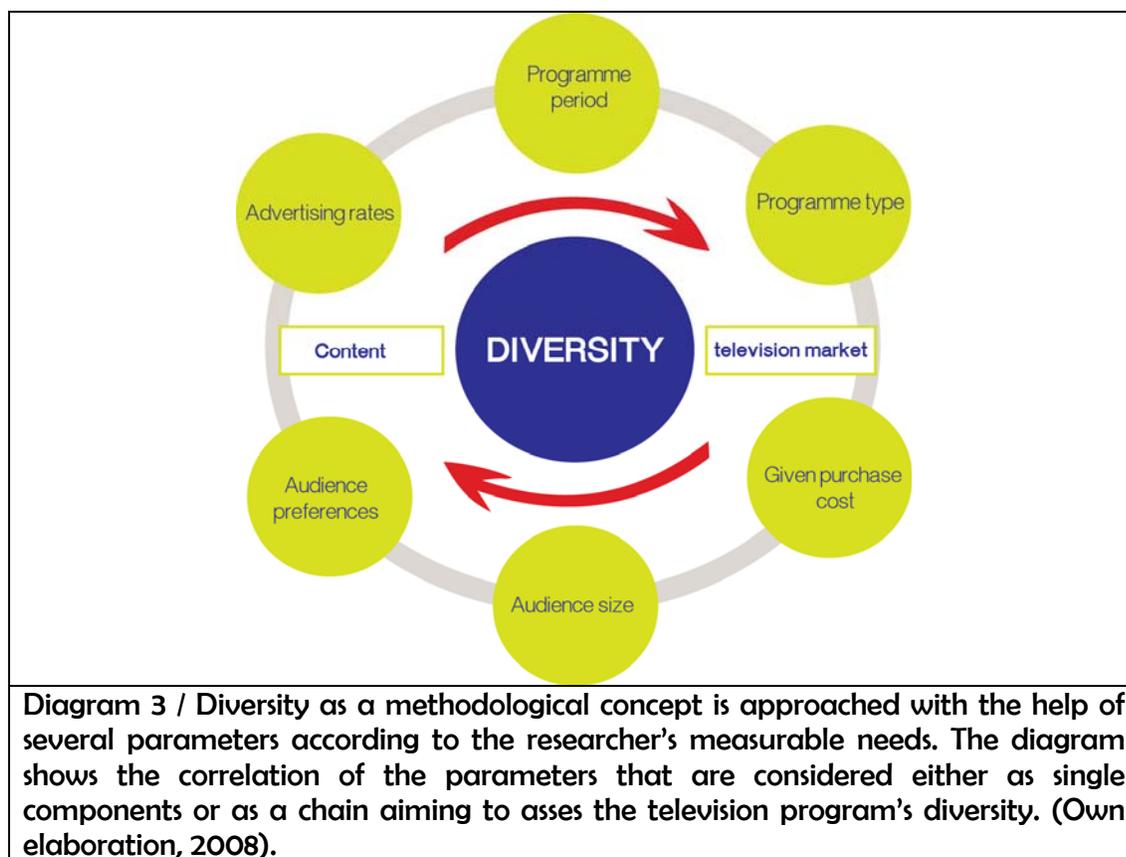
The methodological approach of the television diversity and the practical understanding of the three methodological variables – topology, morphology, and chronology – of this approach presume principally the definition of the concept of diversity, in the framework of its television programming tactics. Television diversity complexity as a conceptual question is transferred to the framework of the so-called program's logic, or television scheduling logic. To give a simple explanation, programs logic is meant to be the financial choice or choices of the channel which are expressed either through the advertisements or through strategies related to the cost and the shows production diversification and reflect on content's general development. Yet the program's logic, whose result is the program's diversity, is something more compound and more complex than a mere financial transferring of the subject to a level of attracting advertisements or telespectators.

The diversity's television scheduling logic is completed with the concepts methodological approach. In other words, the schedule's logic, the reason for the selection of the respective planning is printed upon the management of the three variables of the metamorphosis theory. A methodological definition of diversity is from Masouras (2008):
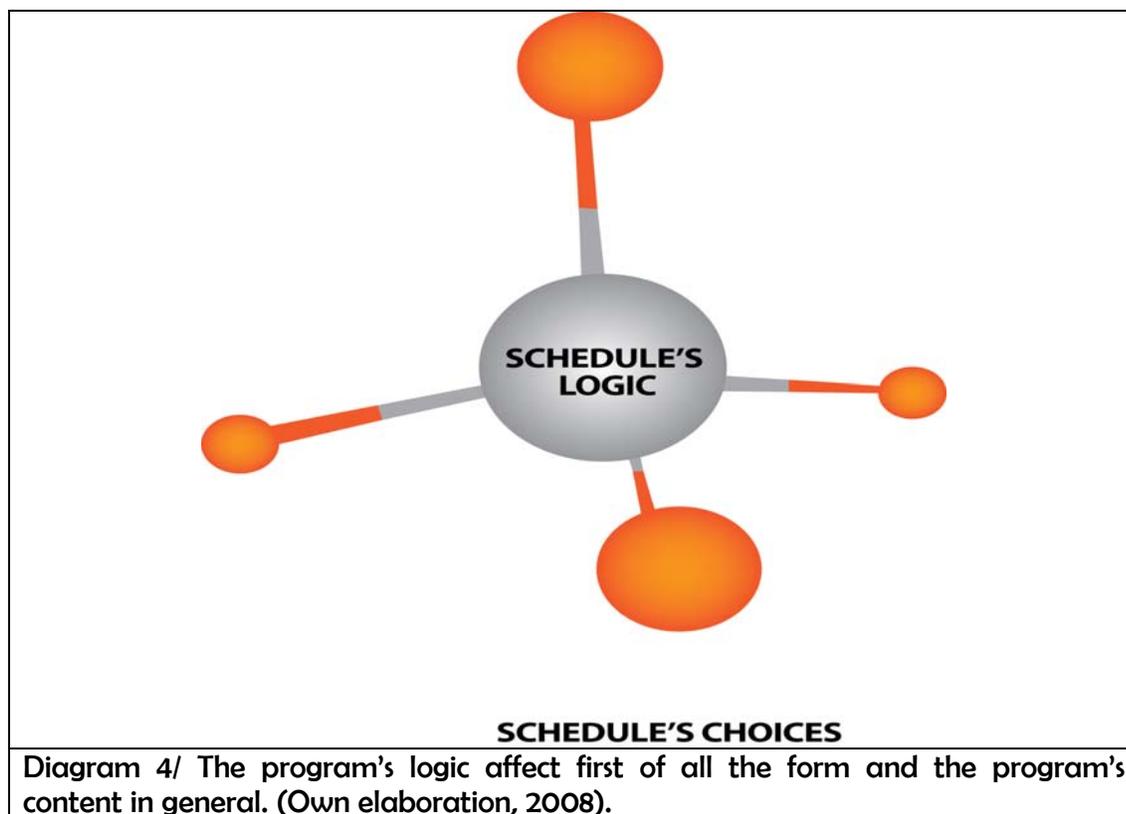
> When we refer to media diversity, we deal with an abstract measurement unit of television output as the methodologies approach varies among the researchers. It's an 'open' measurement unit, a model that is susceptible to additions and changes.

Both Steiner's study and metamorphosis theory suggest an open methodological approach framework to examine the content's diversity. The approach is diversified by the program's logic and by the information that a researcher wants to extract.

Diagram 3 / Diversity as a methodological concept is approached with the help of several parameters according to the researcher's measurable needs. The diagram shows the correlation of the parameters that are considered either as single components or as a chain aiming to asses the television program's diversity. (Own elaboration, 2008).

Monica Herrero's study, which is an extension to Aroldi's theory (2001 – In Herrero, 2003), turns the program's logic into a subject that affects basically the content itself and its form. To develop this study, three main parameters/variables (logic – content – form) are used as elements that are related and interact with each other. According to Herrero, the program's logic, which actually leads the program's structure – that's how is the parallel definition 'schedule's logic' explained, can differ from channel to channel. For example, a television enterprise may be interested in and aim to boost its audience rating in every program zone while another television channel pays more attention to a particular program zone, such as the central news program zone aiming at building an objective news-reporting and serious image. So, we could say that the so-called scheduling logic is not a static subject though not very simple. Actually, the logic's correlation with the structure and later with the schedule's

form gives the subject a complexity that should be analyzed in the content's framework, something operated by the metamorphosis theory. In this particular Herrero's study, the parallel concept 'schedule's logic', as used by Herrero contrasts to other program's logic or production's logic, underlines this relation between the business choices of the channel and the form of the content.

Diagram 4/ The program's logic affect first of all the form and the program's content in general. (Own elaboration, 2008).

2.4. The framework's diversity and its conceptual approach: Some conceptualizations of how this theory could be applied in the future

This section provides an explanation of the framework's diversity, which is part of the metamorphosis theory. The clarification of its concept is operated mainly through the presentation and the discussion of concepts that approach the same subject.

The framework's diversity is part of the wider strategy of partial tactics that aim at diversifying the television product and uses the superficial "tools", first to get diversified in the wider environment of the competition and second to gain a bigger audience. I would call it framework diversity because, through this strategy, the diversification is not achieved though the content through the program's genres diversification, but also through superficial tactics (or techniques) that deal principally with matters of branding and with the foundation of values about the channel or about the program's zone it belongs to (Masouras, 2008). These tactics do not produce a quality-orientated or effectively diversified content. They instead produce a 'heterogeneous' pseudo-content. This content is, firstly, easier to consume and secondly more profitable regarding the advertising. It serves the channel's commercial goals.

The three methodological variables presented in the previous section (topology – morphology - chronology) and based upon the primary Steiner's theorem, which refers to time arrangements of the content creating a new theoretical form, that one of metamorphosis, are the specific and individual approaches of the so-called framework's diversity. The framework's diversity is the generalizable and theoretical approach of the subject while the three variables are the partial and methodological completion of the whole theory of metamorphosis.

An effect of context diversity
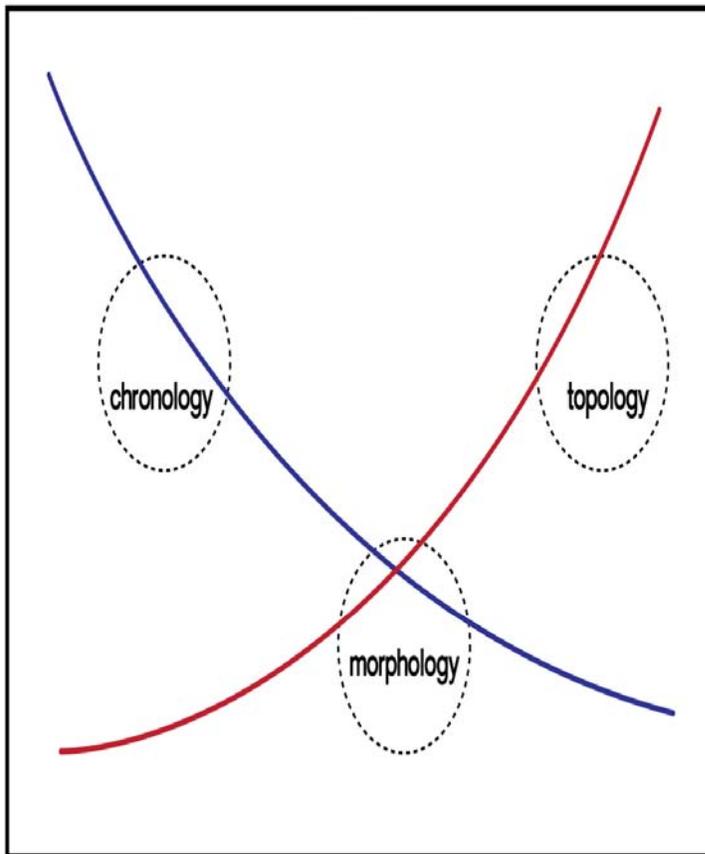
Diversity => chronology + topology + morphology = innovation

Diagram 5 / The diversity's frameworks can be approached both methodologically and conceptually by the three variables presented by this study. (Own elaboration, 2008).

Papathanassopoulos (2000) makes a reference to the diversification tactics, using the term "television scheduling tactics". Talking about this kind of diversity, we can refer to heterogeneousness or homogeneousness audience tactics and – to a lesser degree – the content's heterogeneousness or homogeneousness. The content's essence takes a lower importance. Some scholars refer to this type or diversity using the term 'structural diversity' – in contrast to the content's diversity – defining with this term the program's structure, its 'puzzling' instead of its content's diversity, though research about this type of diversity has

been limited and mostly concerns marketing techniques aiming at audience increase, as analyzed below.

Eastman & Newton (1998), for example, in their research for 'salience theory', approach methodologically the several ways of counting the types of tactic scheduling and particularly those of on-air promos via two methodological variables: content variables, which calculate or describe the program's content and more particularly according to the on-air promos genres etc. and the structure variables, which calculate the tactics that promote and present the program to the spectators. Such tactics are for example the broadcasting frequency of the on-air promos, the broadcasting time segments chosen by the channel etc. In the framework of another study, Eastman, Newton, Riggs and Neal-Lunsford (1997) examine the partial scheduling tactics. These can be the audience variations according to their season. This subject has been analyzed extensively in several studies. The season - as a criterion for the selection of the scheduling tactic - can affect not only the content's form but also its topology and chronology.

Bumer also refers to this kind of diversity though using a different name, that one of 'pragmatic diversity' (1992) referring to the case of diversity in the private television as a diversification strategy and way of gaining more audience rather than content's quality strategy, intentions interpreted by Hellman (2001) as the result of the two movements of thinking and approach of the diversity, such as the marketplace model and public policy model. Hillve, Majanen and Rosengren (1997) deploy a similar approach, though in their particular study the separation between structural and content diversity is not very clear, since it is placed in the wider context of the television's quality, something that attributes a

dysfunction to the separation between the framework's diversity and the content's diversity. This dysfunction is methodological rather than conceptual. Eastman and Newton, referring to the dysfunction of the separation of the two types of diversity particularly mention: 'Measurement of the impact of on-air promos can be approached via assessment of either structure or content variables, although distinguishing sharply between the two is problematic' (1998). The framework's diversity strategy can be characterized as a result of the television's liberation and later on as a result of the compound multichannel and competitive environment the way it is formatted nowadays. Iosifidis (1999) believes that the television's liberation led to a quantitative diversity of the number of the channels though not to a qualitative diversity of the content. Voltmer (2000) confirmed that the high standards of similarity in the content do not contribute actual choices to the citizens. This opinion can be interpreted by several approaches such as the classical approach of the concentration of the means, an event that affects their content directly. Namely, the existence of diversity does not nullify the property's concentration (Nehl, 2006). Similarly, advertising impact upon the content and the way the advertising companies intervene in the content's formatting is one of the subjects that many scholars dealt with (Botein & Rice, 1980).

Picard, placing diversity in the wider framework and structure of the means says: 'Therefore it is logical to relate the media structures to the content produced by the media and to ask, whether current structures and operations lead to homogenisation and whether consumers really get the kind of communications they want and need' (2001). He also believes that the content's convergence (or homogeneity) in many means derives from the common commercial and business-orientated practices and through the common commercial perception and worries of the market. In the framework of the common practices, we could examine the

framework's diversity as a cost's strategy too, since as a general strategy is more interesting than a strategy that would aim at enriching the qualitative content's diversity. Besides, the framework's diversity can bring quicker more direct results in terms of audience – and therefore direct advertising expenses – than the content's diversity can. This way, the programmers prefer taking care of the framework's diversity than of the content's diversity. This phenomenon is the imitative scheduling, i.e. the channels copy each other's tactics and the result is the content's homogeneity.

Papathanassopoulos says that 'the Greek television, since its appearance, was based on the American scheduling model. During the regime change, the Greek television was to a high degree affected by the European television model giving attention to its intervening cultural role. After the private channels had appeared, the Greek television returned completely to the American model.' (2000). However, I must clarify that when referring to a "scheduling model" within this study, I base only upon the scheduling structure scheduling, not upon the program's production or anything else. Papathanassopoulos considers quite normal that the programmers – mostly of the Greek private television – were affected by the American scheduling model because 'that's what existed in those days and that's what they applied'.

The framework's diversity – as a more general program's strategy - cannot be examined by itself but only with the study of the partial tactics and those variables that generally belong to the category of the framework's diversity, classifying those characteristics and tactics on which we want to focus the research interest. In other words, the context's diversity is part of the theory of metamorphosis and it should be studied within this context. Conversely, this methodological approach lacks flexibility since the use of the variables topology – morphology

– chronology requires narrow frames that we have to move within. For this reason, later, a descriptive analysis is operated through the designing of an start-up methodological model that will approach the subject, not only strictly methodologically, but also through the television branding, an approach that gives us the permission to do a more deliberate analysis and description about the values created in the Greek television field. Namely, we achieve an initial attempt to combine methodological approaches within a single methodological model. The partial methodological parameters, accordingly classified through the three main methodological variables, are the result of personal interviews that were done for the purposes of the present study.

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Research seminar

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Endnotes

1. This study focuses on the Greek case and the data were classified by the sources available, mainly AGB Hellas and the archive of printed material of the public radio and television broadcasting.
2. This study distinguishes between program's genre (program's type) and program's kind. The kind is the partial classification of a genre/type. AGB methodology uses sub-categories to classify all the program's characteristics as much as possible. The partial characteristics of the programs are used methodologically to classify them into genre categories, genre's subcategories and program's kind's categories or subcategories.
3. The purpose diversity is the same as the program's logic analysed in the subchapter 2.3.
4. See endnote 1.
5. The concept of content's morphology is presented here as a methodological approach indicator. Yet, this particular question considers whole the content's characteristics in the framework of morphology, chronology and topology as morphology.
6. The placement of programs of similar kind aims to create zones within the program.
7. Actually, Steiner suggests a particular cost strategy aiming at increasing the audience though maintaining the production at a low and beneficial, for the channel, cost.
8. Conceptually, the concept of quality is not quite approachable. This study, when referring to the concept of quality in relation to the program, means the rich diversity in program's types. It is therefore considered that a channel that presents more programs' genres in comparison to the rest of the channels, this channel has a qualitative diversity.
9. Prof. Stylianos Papathanassopoulos, Personal correspondance, 2008

Analysis of the Cypriot Sketch in radio through the work of Elli Avraamidou: The role of the Cypriot Woman and the Bicommunal Relations as presented in the Cypriot Sketch

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Abstract

As a special theatrical form, the radio sketch has been a very popular type of entertainment for the Cypriot audience since its birth in the 50's. As part of the popular culture, the Cypriot sketch has survived for a number of decades.

The profile of the Cypriot woman has undoubtedly transformed over different time periods, as a consequence of the reconstruction of Cypriot society itself. The bicommunal strife marked the history of the young Republic of Cyprus and led to the coup and invasion of 1974, leading the Cypriot woman to view herself through the perspective of new sociopolitical relationships. This new situation was depicted by radio which shaped public discourse.

The focus of this paper will be on the radio sketches of Elli Avraamidou, one of the foremost female authors of her time. First, the paper will discuss how Cypriot woman is portrayed in society. Secondly, how bicommunal relations are presented in the Cypriot sketch.

Introduction

This paper focuses on the analysis of the phenomenon of the Cypriot sketch as a cultural product in a historical context. In this sense the work belongs to the realm of Cultural Studies – it is a work based on the intersection of several disciplines (sociology, theatre, media) and methodologies (semiotic, rhetorical, dramaturgical analysis).

The term Cypriot sketch could be defined as a form of radio drama, an audio storytelling broadcast on radio. With no visual component, it depends on dialogue, music and sound effects to help the listener imagine the story. Radio sketch has been a very popular type of entertainment for the Cypriot audience since its birth in 1953, portraying Cypriot every-day life and tradition. As part of the popular culture, the Cypriot Sketch has survived for a number of decades (1950 until today).

We suggest that there has been a dynamic interaction between the Cypriot sketch and the Cypriot society. That is because while examining both the social history of Cyprus and the history of the Cypriot Sketch, one can identify a common pathway. There has not been a systematic research on this specific genre; we could only fragmentally localise some attempts to deal with the phenomenon of Cypriot sketch.   According to Leontiou (1982), the use of the term has a rather negative impact, as it nowadays mostly describes something *ridiculous*. The linguistic form used – the spoken Cypriot dialect, 'the language of the peasants' and not the Greek official language – could be considered to be the main characteristic that makes the sketch perceived as something not serious. The boundaries between ridiculous and comic are often vague for most of the people referring to the Cypriot sketch.

In this paper we acknowledge three trends that arise regarding the Cypriot dialect. Sometimes it is characterised as *ridiculous*, some others as *subordinated* to theatre and in some cases as a *communicative equality* factor towards the Greek language.

The popularity of the Cypriot sketch belongs to the long tradition of storytelling. We could draw a line from the oral tradition of mythology and epos, to the crucial turning point of the birth of ancient drama and finally to modern theatre. The Cypriot audience has always watched theatre through the centuries: sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on the external socio-political circumstances (Katsouris, 1982). The opportunity to go to the theatre, but especially, to watch any Cypriot play on stage, during the 50's, has not been big. Only the revue theatre form existed, from the late 20's, coming directly from Athens, transformed into a local theatre kind, the Pafian Revue Theatre (Charalambides, 2003). This has not been a complete theatrical play, but short comic sketches, criticising society and the British rulers, linked to one another with music and dance performances; a more intense theatrical writing has been rare. The Cypriot sketch, using similar practices, fulfilled the need of the Cypriot society for local dramaturgy. The radio sketch using the Cypriot dialect, as an extra positive element, helped it reach every household easier. On one hand, the dialect used in sketch added to its popularity, but on the other *subordinated* it as a theatrical form.

According to McLuhan (1965), radio is a medium that is able to take you out from the crowd and to place you in your own private world. At the same time, it somehow involves you with others since your private world connects with other people's private worlds. The Cypriot sketch played this connecting role in Cypriot society. It achieved this by combining the modernity of the medium with the most traditional thematic of the plots. It had been transmitted by the Cypriot Radio Station[21], the only Cypriot broadcasting station on the island, at noon, a time where all the members of the family were gathered around the traditional Sunday meal. In a society where the transition to modernity has been reaching its completion, the ritual of the Sunday table gathering was a factor of reassurance of this new reality. The sketch was in effect the centrepiece of a ceremonial weekly feast, which both affirmed nostalgia for the traditional past, while at the same time it was part of the modernisation process (Panayiotou, 2006a, b).

This paper focuses on the radio sketches of Elli Avraamidou, one of the foremost female authors of her time. Since her first radio sketch in 1953, she has produced an immense amount of work that reached the end of the 90's. With no theatrical education, the young woman,

mother of four children, started writing for radio. Most of the times she had the leading role in her sketches.

Having in front of us the huge amount of Avraamidou's sketches, we have realised that we are dealing with a very important facet of our cultural heritage, a narrative that expresses social tension during the most crucial decades of the previous century.

One research dealing with the Cypriot sketch was conducted by Elena Sophocleous (1997), who studied the cultural characteristics of the time, the process of change, the relationship between the past and the present, the differentiation and the meaning of the terms *town* and *village*, so as the romantic element, its social structure and development. The researcher approaches the early work of Elli Avraamidou by analysing the author's five sketches, as they appear in her only published work (1960). Basic elements of the past that are transferred to the present, in Sophocleous's study are: religion, the strict patriarchal family, the downgrading role of woman, the interference of parents in marriage matters, the institution of dowry, the emigration for financial reasons and the absence of education because of poverty. The researcher localises some very important findings as the positive results of the modernisation process, such as the gradual change of man's role, the upgrading of woman's position in society, the parental adaptation of modern ideas and the reduction of illiteracy. The negative side of modernisation could be detected, as Sophocleous argues, in the consequences of capitalism that wears down the Christian virtues and shakes the traditional values. According to the researcher, Avraamidou sees an ideal society, with positive elements of both the past and the present.

In this paper, we will analyse four sketches of Avraamidou, taken from the 70's, (1970, 1974, 1978, 1979), covering the politically turbulent period before, during and after the Turkish invasion of 1974, in order to focus on two central questions: how the woman's role is portrayed and how the bicommunal relations are presented in the Cypriot Sketch.

Synopsis of the sketches

The first sample entitled *I should have let him marry the poor one,* begins with the death of Demetra's father which forces her to abandon her beloved education to work as a maid. Demetra is in love with a rich young man whose mother objects to the prospect of her son's potential marriage to Demetra. To avoid dishonouring her family, Demetra decides to discontinue her contact with him. Some time later, she falls in love with the son of the family employing her. In recognition of her honesty and character, this wealthy family accept their son's relationship with Demetra, and allow the young couple to go abroad together to study. Meanwhile, Demetra's previous affair returns from his studies with a Greek wife, leading his mother to admit: 'I should have let him marry the poor one'.

The second sample of our analysis has been the sketch with the title *Peace in our land*. The plot is placed at the time of the anti-colonial struggle of the Cypriots against the British rulers. The story is about the dilemma of the British-Cypriot protagonist, when he is forced to fight against the Greek-Cypriots[21] during the 50's. His relatives, members of the EOKA[21], give him shelter, when he is wounded, but the end of the story stays open, as we realise, that the protagonist, struggling with himself, flees away.

The third sketch, *With Love* consists of two scenes. In the first scene the protagonists, a GC and a TC mother enjoy together with their sons their friendship and peaceful coexistence, in the same neighbourhood. In the second scene, the story moves four years forward, in1978. The

GC is a missing person and his mother and wife wish for his return. The story ends when their wish becomes partially true: the TC son, their former neighbour, visits them to announce that he has seen the GC missing person alive and that he offered him his help and protection, something that enhances their hopes for his safe return.

The fourth sketch has the title *Our Cyprus would have been a paradise*. The story is about the friendship of two young soldiers, a GC and a TC, who serve their military service in two watch points next to one another. They realise that the TC now lives in the house of GC in the northern occupied area of the island. The suspense is climaxed when the GC asks the TC to bring back a box of jewellery that is hidden in the house. Finally the box is found and safely returned to the owners.

The role of the Cypriot Woman

This section of our paper attempts to examine the role of women in the society of Cyprus, as portrayed in the work of a Cypriot woman, Elli Avraamidou. As mentioned above, our main focus is to analyse four sketches that were written and broadcasted in the '70s, a significant period for the Cypriot society with many political, economic and social changes.

Avraamidou, a woman who was raised and lived her whole life in the city, situates the plot and characters of her radio sketches in the village. This can be explained as the author's endeavour to present a familiar environment for her audience. Although the '70s was a period during which the transition from rural to urban society had almost been completed[21], the rural setting – which symbolises tradition – with its agricultural activities, extended families, the neighbour's solidarity, and the preservation of rituals, customs, values and attitudes, functioned on two levels: as a means of identification for the majority of the Cypriot population/audience that had experienced and/or continued experiencing this lifestyle and as *nostalgia* of a *paradise* lost to an urban society.

However, the author does not only reflect traditional life, but presents, at the same time, the traits of modernity. The Cypriot woman seems to question the practices of the old generation and adopt the characteristics of her contemporary era, as these were formed in the '70s. The lead characters of the four sketches, all women[21] – male characters usually have auxiliary roles – either represent tradition or modernity; the younger women sometimes share characteristics of both. For example, the protagonist of the first sketch maintains a romantic relationship with a young man of higher social class, but decides to discontinue with him so as not to discredit her family. On the one hand, this shows how the author perceives the role of the Cypriot woman and its changes, while on the other it reconciles the old with the new period. The following analysis illustrates Avraamidou's pattern of traditional positions still shifting towards modern views.

The traditional perception of Cypriot women is expressed in the sketches through an indirect description of the female role. The old generation of women is identified with housekeeping. In all the sketches, the author describes the *proper housewife,* who is good at knitting/sewing[21], cleaning and especially cooking, usually the reason for families to gather together. In other words, the Cypriot woman acts mostly in a private realm (house), being responsible for taking care of her family and keeping it united. One of her major roles is to guide the members of the new generation, attempting to convey to them her own perceptions regarding how women should act at home (efficient housewives) and in the local society (preservation of their integrity).

On the contrary, the new generation seems to adopt a modern perception of society. This does not mean that it abolishes all previous values, attitudes, and lifestyles, but that it embraces new practices, questioning those of the old generation. While the old generation, as Avraamidou presents it in the four sketches under investigation, is active mostly in the house, young women are educated and work outside the house (public realm)[21], along with the private realm.

Women's education, an issue that is mentioned in the work of Avraamidou, is consistent with Argyrou's (1996) position, namely that the changing Cypriot economy in the 1940s and the necessity of acquiring new expertise led a growing number of Cypriots, both men and women[21], to receive education in order to have more employment opportunities. Furthermore, in the '70s, women had already entered the labour market (Christodoulou, 1992). Although the author points out the progress achieved as a result of women receiving education and employment, in her sketches simmers the anxiety of the older generation that women's involvement in the public realm might harm their *good name*, especially in small, rural societies. For example, in the first sketch, the protagonist's mother is reluctant to allow her daughter to work for other families. The limits of the acceptable, female behaviour – even in the modern era – prevail in the author's work. The characteristics of honesty and decency are praised, while smoking, make-up, being indifferent to housekeeping responsibilities and refusing the advice of one's elders, are considered elements of corruption of modern society (e.g. first and second sketches). This reconciliation of Avraamidou's modern ideas with tradition highlights the nostalgia of the Cypriot society for a lost, older paradise.

Marriage is a recurring theme in Avraamidou's sketches. It is identified with joy, and it is every parent's aspiration for their children. For the Cypriot society, getting married is the destination of every human being. Marriage played a significant role in the traditional society since it marked the symbolic transition from adolescence to social adulthood (Argyrou, 1996) and the creation of a new, independent household (Cassia, 1985).

However, marriage was an important social action not only for the traditional, Cypriot society, but also for the modern one. In 1978, the Psycho-Sociological Research Group found that the majority of Cypriot women in that period continued to regard marriage as the main purpose of their lives (Mylona et al., 1986). Nevertheless, arranged marriage was no longer a woman's *fate*. The above phenomenon is illustrated in Avaamidou's sketches. Marriage is an important social and cultural phenomenon for the old generation, but it is also embraced by the new one, which however introduces the concept of romance.

Romance is evident throughout the four sketches since the female characters reject arranged marriage – a characteristic of the traditional era – and choose their own partners. The power of youngsters to veto their parents' choice of marriage partner emerged in the 1960s as a result of the financial and social changes in Cyprus that allowed young people to question the beliefs and practices of their elders and gain autonomy (Argyrou, 1996). Despite the fact that romance, as a modern perspective of the Cypriot society, prevails in these sketches, young women seem not to have entirely rejected the traditional perception of the *prudent* woman. In the first, second and forth sketches, the characters just reveal their feelings towards each other verbally without the expression of any physical contact. Again, the author depicts a reconciliation of modern ideas with tradition that focuses on the nostalgia of the Cypriot society for a lost, older paradise.

Another element in Avraamidou's sketches is the question of dowry, which elders consider a means of financial and social promotion of a family during marriage (Piault et al., 1994), while youngsters seem to disapprove of this tradition. In a traditional society, the ultimate obligation – a matter of honour – for a father was to provide his female children with dowry. For this

reason, in the first and fourth sketches, the older women worry either for the dowry that they will provide their daughters with, or the dowry that their sons will receive from the family of their future spouses. On the contrary, young women – living in the 70s, when women's education, employment and romance are taken for granted – refuse to consider dowry as a determining factor for a future marriage or their prosperity.

Bicommunal Relations

The decision to examine how the bicommunal relations were presented in the Cypriot sketch was based on one of the main components that make the sketch such an important part of the Cypriot social and cultural history, the component of the *communicative equality*[21]. We argue that the Cypriot sketch created a framework of communicative equality due to the fact that it was one of the only two programmes that the Cypriots could listen to the sound that defined their identity, the Cypriot sound, meaning their dialect, through the dominant media. It is significant how this sound was excluded from every form of the official public dialogue; it was excluded from any political and public speech, from the school, the church and the media (Leontiou, 1982). The Cypriots were forced to have a form of bilingualism (*diglossia*) since they used the Cypriot dialect in their everyday life but they had to use the Greek language in any kind of official or status related communication (Moshonas, 2002). Therefore, this form of public authority was cancelled, almost ritually one could say, on Sunday noon. Because of the Cypriot sketch, the Cypriots could listen to their *own sound* through the most advanced technology of that period.

For this reason, we decided that it would be interesting to see how the bicommunal relations were presented in the closest and the most immediate form of art that was broadcasted from a dominant medium. This immediacy allowed the sketch itself on the one hand, to have a powerful impact on the listeners and on the other, it allowed its listeners to identify with a public voice. The dynamic between the medium and the audience appears even under idiomorphic circumstances to be interactive.

In the large selection of the sketches available, we have noticed that the author situates the political and bicommunal relations in the story in specific time periods that have been significant for the relationship of the two communities. For this reason, let us first describe the significance of the chronological period of the three sketches, we chose to analyse, of which their plots refer to bicommunal relations both directly and indirectly. The first sketch was broadcasted on the 31st of March 1974, one day before the anniversary of the struggle against British colonialism and some months before the major conflict of the two communities[21]. The second sketch was broadcasted on the 19th of November 1978 and the third sketch was broadcasted on the 11th of March 1979, four and five years after 1974.

It is worth mentioning the titles of the three sketches since one can make some first interpretations when combining them with the historical context mentioned above. The titles are: *Irene sto topo mas* which means *Peace in our land*, *Me tin agapi* meaning *With Love* and *I Kypros mas itan nan paradisos* meaning *Our Cyprus would have been a paradise*. The first thing one notices is the positive meaning that exists in all three, especially in the two titles in which it is related to the place, Cyprus. Therefore, even from the titles, we can understand that the politics that would be described in these sketches will somehow transmit a positive meaning. This positive voice that was transmitted through the radio, the dominant medium of that period, is important since one could say that it was a voice added in the public sphere of Cyprus in that crucial historical period.

Even though the story of the 1974 sketch, *Peace in our land*, does not refer to the bicommunal conflict but to the 1955 anti-colonial struggle, the dilemma of the British-Cypriot protagonist is equivalent to the dilemma that the GCs had to face during the 1974 period. During March 1974, the GCs were experiencing the EOKA B'[21] actions (that led to the 1974 coup) therefore, the title *Peace in our land* could be seen as the voice of GCs that was indirectly referring to the political state of the present rather than the past.

It is significant that the sketch does not focus on the GCs' sacrifices that one would expect to see in a sketch broadcasted for the anniversary of the anti-colonialial struggle. On the contrary, it focuses on the dilemma of the British-Cypriot character due to the double nationality of his identity and his difficulty to take a position when he realises that the dead British soldier used to be his best friend. The writer emphasises the dilemma when she lets the audience take the final decision; hence, she directly situates the audience in the position of the dilemma. This could be seen as a reference to the internal, political conflict of the GC community.

It is important to point out that in the other two sketches where bicommunal relations appear, Avraamidou refers to two very painful issues of the 1974 conflict for the GCs: the missing persons' issue and the loss of their properties. However, she approaches them overlooking the trauma aspect of those issues, focusing on the mutual aid and friendship that exists between the two communities even in such complicated circumstances. These qualities appear twice in the three sketches. First when the TC describes to the GC missing person's mother and wife how he and other TCs helped the GC to survive during the conflict and second when the TC finds the box of jewellery in the GCs' house and returns it to its owners.

In the second sketch, titled *With Love*, the author draws the attention on the similarities of the two protagonists, the GC and the TC mother, aiming to transmit to the audience the feeling of one *common* Cypriot identity. In order to stress this common Cypriot identity, Avraamidou, compares the quality of life in the two communities before and after 1974, before and after the separation. She idealises the common past in order to create in the present the feeling of nostalgia for the lost paradise. This idealisation of the past emphasises in the definitions of *We* and *Other*. The *love* that is mentioned in the title refers to the love that existed and needs to be re-enhanced between the TCs and the GCs; thus, *we* is clearly defined as the Cypriots, including both communities, whose peaceful coexistence was interfered by the *other* that is referred in the sketch as *oi ksenoi*, meaning the foreigners. It is not clearly defined who these foreigners are. The fact that the author does not clearly refer to the interferer indicates that the audience is able to define the *other*. If we place the sketch in its historical context, November 1978, we realise that in the audience's minds the *other* is referred to all the external powers that spread both in the past and present, nationalism[21] in the island.

The third sketch could be considered as Avraamidou's suggestion for the ideal model of reunification of the two communities, and since one could argue that the dynamic between the audience and the medium is interactive then this could also be considered the desire of the audience expressed through her story. The author is using the story of the two young men, a GC and a TC soldier that lives in the house of the first, to communicate to the audience the need to trust and rely on the opposite community. The characters see this as a temporary situation that it is unpleasant, at some extend, but at the same time the GC appears to have a feeling of relief since he considers that his house is in safe hands. Avraamidou presents her protagonists to depend on each other's help and to be willing to offer their help in order to minimise their lives' difficulties. Therefore, the title of the sketch, *Our Cyprus would have been a paradise* refers again to the lost paradise of the common past. The author almost directs in

this way the audience to think and behave similarly to the protagonists in order to rediscover the lost paradise of Cyprus.

In 2003, when the crossing points were partially opened, many GCs who visited their houses found their personal belongings (kept and protected by the present residents of the house) in the state they left them in 1974 (Demetriou, 2007). It is remarkable that this idea, that the TC residents of the house would protect the personal belongings of the GC owners of the house as they felt that this situation was temporary, existed in 1979 in Avraamidou's work and it has been somehow validated in 2003.

Conclusions

In our view, the topics referring to the role of Cypriot woman in the four sketches and the way they are developed, reveal Avraamidou's attempt to present the tensions of dominant ideology during the process of modernisation of Cypriot society, as it was expressed by the old and new generation in the '70s. In order to achieve that, she seems to embrace Fisher's notion that storytelling should have a narrative coherence and fidelity that means the story to appear possible and to strike a responsive chord in the life of the hearer (Fisher, 1987 within Griffin, 2000). In this way, Avraamidou manages to accomplish identification with the listeners (both old and young) of her broadcast sketches.

Additionally, this paper argues that whenever the political and bicommunal relations appear in Avraamidou's sketches, the author stimulates the audience's memory in order to create the feeling of *nostalgia* for the *lost paradise* of the peaceful coexistence. She emphasises the terms *We* and *Other* redefining in this way a *common* Cypriot identity. At the same time, Avraamidou enhances the audience's *Cypriotness* since she draws the attention on what Mavratsas (1998) calls *sui generis* characteristics that differentiate the GCs and the TCs from the Greeks and Turks.

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