ELON JOURNAL
OF UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH IN
COMMUNICATIONS

ELON UNIVERSITY | School *of* Communications

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The website of the Council on Undergraduate Research lists more than 200 undergraduate research journals nationwide (http://www.cur.org/resources/students/undergraduate_journals/).

Some of these journals focus on a discipline (e.g., Journal of Undergraduate Research in Physics), some are university-based and multidisciplinary (e.g., MIT Undergraduate Research Journal), and others are university-based and disciplinary (e.g., Harvard Political Review).

The Elon Journal focuses on undergraduate research in journalism, media and communications.

The School of Communications at Elon University is the creator and publisher of the online journal. The first issue was published in spring 2010 under the editorship of Dr. Byung Lee, associate professor in the School of Communications. Dr. Harlen Makemson, professor in the School of Communications, has overseen the publication since fall 2018.

The three purposes of the journal are:

• To publish the best undergraduate research in Elon's School of Communications each term,

• To serve as a repository for quality work to benefit future students seeking models for how to do undergraduate research well, and

• To advance the university's priority to emphasize undergraduate student research.

The Elon Journal is published twice a year, with spring and fall issues.

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A Celebration of Student Research

I am so proud that Elon University is home to the nation's only undergraduate research journal in communications.

This twice-a-year publication provides opportunities for our students to extend themselves beyond the classroom and investigate new areas of interest tied to their fields of study. Through research, our students further develop critical thinking skills, creativity, problem-solving abilities and intellectual independence.

This journal reflects what we enjoy seeing most in our students – continued intellectual maturation.

Complemented by video introductions featuring the student authors, these articles make us aware of the solitary hours that students spend in research, as well as the untold hours in which students and teacher-mentors work together to revise a paper for public consumption. These relationships and experiences often transform a student's future career path, making these projects truly life-changing.

This journal is a celebration of undergraduate research, as well as a celebration of learning, critical thinking and exploration.

Dr. Rochelle Ford, APR
Dean, School of Communications

Editorial Board

More than 30 faculty members in Elon's School of Communications served as the Editorial Board that selected 11 undergraduate research papers for the spring 2020 issue.

From more than 100 research papers written in advanced School of Communications classes, 20 papers were submitted to the journal by Elon communications students through the encouragement and mentoring of capstone teachers and other professors in the school.

Professors who served as the Editorial Board were Bill Anderson, David Bockino, Vanessa Bravo, Lee Bush, Naeemah Clark, David Copeland, Vic Costello, Brooks Fuller, Kelly Furnas, Kenn Gaither, Jessica Gisclair, Don Grady, Ben Hannam, Sana Haq, Anthony Hatcher, Dan Haygood, Denise Hill, Jooyun Hwang, Jenny Jiang, Laura Lacy, Derek Lackaff, Byung Lee, Barbara Miller, William Moner, Phillip Motley, Tom Nelson, Jane O'Boyle, George Padgett, Paul Parsons, Glenn Scott, Kathleen Stansberry, Jessalyn Strauss, Amanda Sturgill, Hal Vincent, and Qian Xu.

Thanks also go to Bryan Baker and Abby Igoe, who recorded the website's student introductions; Associate Dean Kenn Gaither, who reviewed articles to help ensure the quality of the journal; and Tommy Kopetskie, who proofread articles, designed the online publication, and updated the publication's website.

Editor's Note

The role of journalism in covering urgent current topics, media portrayal of gender diversity, and strategic communication strategy are explored in an array of contexts by student researchers in this issue of the Elon Journal.

Marjorie Anne Foster and Katie Hooker each use field interviews in their studies of how Muslims perceive they are portrayed by media since the election of President Donald Trump, and how Haitians feel about media coverage of their nation and culture. Perla Salazar-Rangel and Grace McMeekin each employ content analysis to explore how journalists interview children in immigration stories and how cable news networks frame the issue of climate change.

Three scholars focus on gender in media. Christina Mastrocola compares how feminism emerges in two television sitcoms with female leads, Chloe Kennedy examines model diversity in prominent lingerie brands, and Richard Kasper explores whether males and females have different emotional reactions toward brands.

Strategy in reaching audiences and communicating values are the focus of other scholars in this edition. Crosby Melendi analyzes how ecotourism bloggers gain trust, Nicole Seay explores the language in mission statements of prominent journalism and communications schools, and Susie Moore identifies the rhetorical strategies used by some of the most valuable brands in the U.S. In addition, Jeff Leu's study of Roger Deakins demonstrates how the cinematographer captures both the audience's imagination and the vision of each film's director.

Please enjoy the work of our emerging scholars.

Harlen Makemson
Professor
Editor, Elon Journal

Elon Journal of
Undergraduate Research in Communications

Framing Muslims in the Era of the Trump Presidency: Examining the Perceived Impact Media has on College-Age Muslims in America

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Journalism
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements in
an undergraduate senior capstone course in communications

Abstract

Drawing on qualitative research, this study analyzes the experiences of college-age Muslims in the U.S. and examines how they negotiate their religious identities in an era of negative media framing of Islam. The study reveals that Muslim college students labor under the multiple burdens of explaining and representing their religion, negotiating perceived disapproval and mischaracterizations of their faith and practices, and navigating their minority identities in the face of mass media's portrayal of Islam as "dangerous," "corrupt," and "a threat to the U.S." This paper presents an overview of the way Islam has been perceived in the United States in both eras before describing the current climate for Muslims. This project is used to present the impacts of media framing of Islam on Muslim college students' evolving identities and experiences as minorities on campuses, the struggle to trust media, and, finally, the change they hope to see in the future.

I. Introduction

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, changed the way the United States government and the American people viewed Islam. This was the beginning of the "Us versus Them," or the U.S. versus Islam narrative that pulsated throughout American media systems (Powell, 2011, p. 14). The concept of Muslims being the enemy has continued to be a source of tension for Muslims in U.S. media and in their perceptions of the media's impact on their evolving sense of self. According to a recent report by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, there has been a significant increase in hate speech toward those identifying with Islam. This rate is higher than in the post-9/11 period ("Hate Crimes"). Although only 1.2% of Americans are Muslim, that means 3.6 million individuals face constant tension and pressure from the media to "live quietly and make sure they don't do anything that could result in negative news" (Personal Interview 5/12/2019). There is significant research on media framing of Islam following 9/11, but less is known about its impact in the last four years. Additionally, with the Trump candidacy and election, there has been a new wave of violent speech, biased news coverage, and harmful rhetoric towards Muslims in America (Powell, 2015). The advent of the "Trump Era" brought public expressions of Islamophobia, as evidenced by policies such as a travel ban to certain countries. Muslims, especially those in youth communities, have had to reestablish, defend, and apologize for who they are and how they speak about their faith (Ali, 2018).

The ages of 18-23 are some of the most formative years in a person's life (Ali, 2018). It is a time for critical development when children become adults and are typically forced to solidify their understanding of the world around them and their place in society. Distinct from other individuals on college campuses, Muslim students are developing their sense of self in an intensified era of unfavorable public opinion, aggressive speech, and unapologetic Islamophobia (Klaas, 2019). According to a 2017 Pew Research Center study, 74 percent of Muslim-Americans say the current president and media systems are "unfriendly to them." Many Muslims see the implementation of the travel ban, aiming for a "total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States," as taking blatant actions against their religion. These feelings have only intensified with the perceived negative representation of Muslims in the media ("U.S. Muslims"). Drawing on 20 one-on-one interviews with students ranging from 18-23 years old, this study will present the idea that 9/11 is the baseline, not the point of rupture, for young Muslims who have never known a world without the impacts of 9/11 on their social identities. It will also present the perception of media framing of Islam as negative, scary, and foreign, and discuss the perceived impacts these sentiments have on college-age Muslim students in the U.S.

II. Literature Review

Scholarship on the framing of Islam in mass media has interested professionals and researchers, particularly as part of understanding hate crimes, Islamophobia, and the overall attitudes pertaining to Muslims in the U.S. A variety of disciplines and approaches have studied Muslim representation of the media, and a growing number of resources provide a comprehensive view of how 9/11 was a turning point for the public's understanding of Islam (El-Aswad, 2013; Kimberly, 2011; Kimberly, 2018; Nacos et al., 2011; West & Lloyd, 2017). This literature review is focused on two areas. One is the aftermath of media representation of Islam post 9/11. Second is the continuation of negative framing in subsequent years, including violent, intolerant imagery of Muslims. Finally, this review will present the ways Muslim youth have experienced Islamophobia through discrimination, religious and racial slurs, and an increased pressure to defend and reconcile inaccurate portrays of Islam in the media. The researcher considers framing, cultivation, and spiral of silence theories in order to better understand how Muslims have been represented to the public, how that image as been internalized by the masses, and the reaction Muslim youth might have to this imagery.

Post 9/11 Muslim Identities in Media

For Muslims in the U.S., their lives can be distinguished between who the world thought they were pre-9/11 and how they were seen post-9/11. For many, this was the moment they no longer felt a sense of belonging in the United States, a struggle that adults would later pass down to the next generation (Ali, 2014). Beyond the attitudes of their fellow citizens, this was marked as a time when Muslim-Americans feared for their safety. One student wrote about her family being incarcerated after being reported for "suspicious activity" (Bayoumi, 2012, p. 12). Previously, suspects could only be detained for 24 hours, but this process shifted after 9/11 such that once a tip was reported, suspects could be held until the case was closed, which could have taken up to four months. Despite their innocence, this family was held in prison for over half a year (Bayoumi, 2012). Due to experiences and stories such as these, Muslims have felt like they have targets affixed to their backs, which has not diminished over the years.

In post-9/11 America, some media outlets have used terrorist attacks to build negative, fear-inducing, and unwelcoming images of Islam for its audiences (el-Aswad, 2013). Scholars argue that this type of presentation of Islam has triggered the incline of discriminating and stigmatizing experiences Muslims have faced based on factors such as race, language, dress, customs, and heritage (el-Aswad, 2013). The limited knowledge the U.S. public has about Muslims has been tainted by the framing of Islam as a "major terrorism threat" (Powell, 2018, p. 14). Powell writes, "The fact that Western media participates in bias and creates stereotypes against Islam is accepted in the academic world," and continues that media for the most part "do not separate Islam and Muslims, the actions of one Muslim are equated with all Muslims" (Powell, 2018, p. 2).

Media and Manufactured Images of Islam

Powell argues that Islam entered many Americans' homes for the first time via news, and the coverage was often focused on oil, war, and terrorism (Powell, 2004). Following 9/11, some media figures

on the political right described the prophet Muhammad as a "terrorist" and the *Qur'an* as the "enemy's book" (Varisco, 2005, p. 6). Additionally, some media outlets presented images of Muslims as "mad religious imams or mullahs," airplane hijackers, skyscraper terrorists, or suicide bombers (Bowman, 2006; el-Aswad, 2013). Some media outlets portrayed Islam as something that was innately scary, tantalizing, and different (Ryan, 1991). After 9/11, Powell found that media framing often continued to connect terrorism to Islam, further perpetrating "a fear of the 'other," increasingly dividing American-Muslims and their non-Muslim neighbors (Powell, 2018, p. 3).

Cultivation Theory and Spiral of Silence Theory

Cultivation theory suggests that exposure of images within media, over time, subtly "cultivate" viewer's perceptions of reality (Shanahan & Morgan, 2004). A 2018 study found that those accused of a violent plot who looked Muslim, or had a "Muslim sounding name," received seven times more media attention than non-Muslim counterparts, despite similarities in their alleged crimes (Roa et al., 2018, p. 13). Similarly, Muslim-perceived perpetrators accused of violence were referenced in the media at four times the rate of their non-Muslim counterparts. One content analysis of news media in the U.S. found that nine in ten news reports about Muslims, Islam, and Islamic organizations are related to "violence and some form of terrorism." This study also found that a large majority of articles referencing a Muslim-perceived perpetrator contained the "terror-focused" terms "terror," "terrorism," and/or "terrorist" (Powell, 2004, p. 34-35). Powell also suggests that media are drawn to cover and mislabel "terrorist attacks" in order to create "shocking and sensational" acts, resulting in nonstop coverage of events that "create a climate of fear" (Powell, 2004, p. 3). This type of coverage comes at a cost of making religious minority groups afraid to speak up and defend their traditions.

Many Muslims are wary of representing themselves in the media, creating a void of voices and inaccurate representations of Islam. The notion of staying silent because a person is in a marginalized minority can be seen in the Spiral of Silence theory. Originally proposed by German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in 1974, the theory describes the tendency of individuals to remain silent when they feel that their views are in opposition to the majority view on a subject (Slater, 2004). Typically, people remain silent because they fear isolation when the group or public realizes that they have a different opinion, or they fear reprisals such as loss of a job or status. This theory accurately captures the current narrative of Muslims, specifically those born during or after 9/11, and their personal engagement and perceived impact of media systems in the U.S. For present-day college students, there has not been a world where this type of media coverage has not been the basis of their social identities.

Muslim Students' Lives: The Last Seven Years

In her book *Young Muslim America* (2014), Shabana Mir revealed the scrutiny Muslim students face from their American influences and their Muslim communities for being too religious or not religious enough. Mir highlighted that these students struggle with fitting in, often as a result of minimal community, negative stereotypes of Islam, and the pressures to limit their outward expression of their religion. Similarly, Sumbul Ali-Karamali (2012) presented the notion that Muslim students are constantly faced with defending Islam and helping non-Muslims recognize the misconceptions of the religion. Finally, Author Muna Ali (2018) distinguishes further the pressures Muslim students face in the divergent origins and converging histories surrounding Muslims in the U.S. She recognized three major cultural narratives that confront many Muslim youth – balancing home life and societal influences, the need to recover "pure/true" Islam from cultural contamination, and saving America from cultural takeover by Islam and Muslims (p. 291). Each of these authors aimed to present a case for the unique positioning Muslims students find themselves in era beyond 9/11, where differences are evident, identities are challenged, and students' sense of self are seen as incompatible with U.S. values, traditions, and political structures. Although these authors conducted ethnographic research, spending time in college spaces, little information was collected surrounding the perceived impact the media portrayal of Islam has had on these students in their evolving identities and experiences as minorities on campuses.

Purpose and Research Questions

Through in-depth interviews, the researcher sought to answer two questions: What role does mass media play in the current rise in religious hate speech and crimes in the United States? How has media framing impacted the behaviors and evolving identities of college age Muslim-Americans? The first question

is essential in understanding where hate crimes and hate speech may come from. The second question highlights a group of people that has been silenced out of fear and who are struggling to preserve their identities in the U.S. This research is important because themes presented in these interviews may provide valuable insight in understanding the ways a variety of media outlets might impact minority populations in America. Additionally, understandings of the perceived impact of media may jumpstart new prevention efforts in decreasing religious and racial discrimination. Other studies have looked at the amount of negative media coverage Muslims received, but did not analyze or address the perceived impact that coverage had on Muslim youth communities. Therefore, this research builds on previous studies and intends to fill the research gap by identifying the perceived impacts and reactions mass media has had on college-age Muslims in America.

III. Methods

The researcher conducted 20 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with college-age (18-23) Muslim students, ten female and ten male, in North Carolina. A one-on-one interview is used as a qualitative method to better understand a subject and collect "free and spontaneous" responses from the subject, in contrast to what can happen in focus groups or surveys, where the atmosphere can be intimidating or isolating (Bryman, 2007). The interviews were taken in comfortable, relaxed atmospheres where prompts were personalized in order to discover a deeper understanding of the student's reactions to mass media in the U.S. Each interview lasted 30-40 minutes in length and took place in private settings on their campuses or mosques. There was no incentive offered to the participants for the information they provided.

Each interviewee was protected under Institutional Review Board guidelines and signed a confidentiality waiver, so their names will not be mentioned in this project. The researcher located the participants through Muslim Student Associations (MSA) on four different university campuses, and then used the snowball method of sampling to connect with the friends of the interviewees. These interviews were collected over one month during the fall of 2019. Several specific questions asked during these interviews were: What is the most prominent Muslim figure presented to mainstream U.S. media? What is the most negative and most positive depiction of Islam in the news? Where do you see Muslims in entertainment? How would you change the current portrayal, coverage and depiction of Muslim in mass media? This method of research was used to explore the subjects' personal experiences and emotional interactions with the way that the media portrays and frames their religion.

IV. Findings

After analyzing responses from the 20 in-depth interviews, several interesting findings emerged. These interviews showed unique patterns and perceptions of how college Muslim students interact with media and their over-all understanding of how Islam is represented to the masses. This section includes a detailed examination of common trends, unique perspectives, and a look into potential solutions to the representation of Muslims in American media.

Although these students were in the same age range and living in the same state, two extremes emerged in the way students consume media. Eleven out of the 20 students said that they "rarely watch the news," while the other nine said they "consume news daily" and were "very informed" about national news. Although there was a clear difference between how students consume news media, the respondents said that they consume media of some sort outside of traditional news, including radio, video, online publications, social media, and video games. On average, these students reported to have been on their phones between 3-6 hours a day.

Perceived Media Impacts

One student was in the seventh grade when he felt impacted by Islamophobia. He recalls one morning watching the news and his family cheering that Osama bin Laden had been killed. He walked to school like any other day, but this time his friends walked towards him as he arrived. "I heard your granddad

died yesterday," the student reenacted the voice of a boy in his class. He remembers how it was the first time he realized how little people knew about Islam and what they did know came from national events such as this one. Another student said he had a similar epiphany when he arrived in the U.S. after living his whole life in Lebanon. "When I got [to the U.S.], it dawned on me that the main way non-Muslims learned about Islam was through the media, and that is extremely scary, especially since every fourth person is a Muslim." Later he discovered that people's media-informed knowledge of Islam led teachers to put him on the spot to explain *jihad,* students asking him if his cousins were the Boston bombers, and him no longer viewing himself as someone people wanted to be around. He explained, "I just felt like I wasn't someone people would feel comfortable going up to. I look Arab, and therefore Muslim, and I think people were and still are scared of me." For this student, these instances of discrimination and exclusion were thought to be connected to the ways the media uses "scary, dark, foreign" imagery to portray Islam.

A recent study by the University of Alabama showed that terror perpetrated by Muslims received 357 percent more attention in American media than attacks committed by non-Muslims, despite the fact that the latter committed nearly twice as many assaults between 2008-2016 (Kearns et al., 2018). According to the study, terrorist attacks committed by Muslims received 105 headlines in national news outlets, compared with merely 15 headlines covering attacks by non-Muslims (Kearns et al., 2018). When the interviewees were asked if they were surprised by this statistic, each of them said no. One student said, "Media throws around images and quotes from the *Qur'an* of Muslims being violent, but rarely do they show the other 1.8 billion practitioners feeding the homeless and taking care of the poor." Other students agreed that the representation of Muslims is not equally balanced between the negative and the positive. One interview said she is not surprised there are acts of discrimination against Muslims: "Think about it. If all you see of Muslims on the news and in movies is someone who kills people, they will look at me and think that is who I am. Those images, even if you reach a certain point of open-mindedness, are probably still in your mind."

Another student expressed his thoughts that the U.S. antagonizes the Muslim community in order to be united in something. He explained, "We've been used as a scapegoat since 9/11. Nothing has changed about that, if anything, it has just gotten worse." One student went as far to say that media "hijacks" Islam, a sentiment not only seen in the news, but also in movies, T.V., and video games.

One interviewee grew up watching cartoons and the Disney channel just like the other children in her neighborhood. It wasn't until her friends wanted to dress up as princesses that she realized there wasn't one fit for her. She recalled one specific memory from her childhood, "None of them looked like me and I was subconsciously bummed. That's when the idea that my family was weird and not like the average American family started. Sometimes I still struggle with feeling like I don't really fit the 'American' image." For another student, looking different did not matter when he was relaxing behind a screen with his gaming console. He chose a "non-Muslim" sounding name so that he would not face any problems online, an action his parents prompted him to take. But, when he moved to college, he decided to use his real name and it was then when he began receiving threatening messages online. He shared his concern: "Whenever a person realized I was Muslim, that was it … they would say whatever they wanted. It's really concerning what people will say behind a screen and gives you insight into how they feel about you, especially when that person could be your neighbor."

Perceived Presidential Impact

The memories of these students from a young age have deeply informed the way they view themselves and the way they view their role in society. Students expressed that these sentiments are not solely stemming from media representation, but from a president that uses mass media to show his "outward expressions of hatred" toward those practicing Islam.

Each of the 20 interviewees expressed their own stories of people speaking against their religion in ways they had never seen in the past. One student said this administration has made people feel "much more confident in their hateful speech." He explained, "Being president is president. People look up to that and when they hear his opinions and his rhetoric towards Muslims, it makes them think it's okay to have it too." He elaborated on the notion that the hateful words the president was saying were broadcasted nightly for his family and friends to hear. To him, this felt like the quickest way to "use media as a weapon against Islam."

Another participant agreed, saying Trump's Twitter platform has set a precedent for average people to act violently towards their religion. These sentiments were confirmed by two researchers who compared the number of Trump's tweets in a given week that used keywords related to Islam and the number of anti-Muslim

hate crimes that followed. Another interviewee said Trump's rise to fame was because he "doesn't follow political rules" by saying whatever is on his mind, but that has sparked others to outwardly express their own hatred towards others. One student explained, "People feel like they can be 'unapologetically you,' even if that 'you' is an Islamophobic, racist individual. People are shameless about things they should be ashamed of." Beyond the hateful words they have received, this presidency and corresponding media coverage have caused Muslim students to react in two distinct ways: pressure to perform and a fear that leads to isolation.

Pressure to Perform

A majority of the students interviewed expressed that being Muslim in the U.S. meant "a lot of explaining yourself." From a young age students felt like they had to "always be on" in order to show non-Muslims how inaccurate of a representation media portrayed their faith. One student said, "Especially today with the media misrepresenting Islam, it's important for every Muslim, regardless of age or anything, to be on the spot." Another said she was in a unique place when coming to college in the U.S.: "I have this pressure on me to behave really nicely so that people can see that, 'Oh, this is what Muslims are like.' I feel like I am representing a part of my community, which I don't think other people have." Other students shared this idea that they have a unique responsibility to carry and defend their religious images, particularly in the face of disaster. One student expressed: "When a Christian man shot members of a church, no one demanded the Christians condemn his action. It was assumed that that man was mentally unstable and not acting on his religion. But, when a Muslim across the world hurts someone, it is expected that the American Muslim community speak out against it."

Despite some of the "exhausting" pressures to be a "mouth piece of all of Islam," multiple students said that they felt like being a Muslim in the U.S. deepened their practices and made them an even better practitioner of their religion.

One participant said that the challenges of being Muslim in the U.S. have been beneficial. She explained, "I feel encouraged to be a better Muslim because of my surroundings. I know that I need to serve as a better example and show people how Islam is the religion of peace." She also said that when she makes a small mistake it will "make a huge difference in how people view Muslims," but said it is a responsibility she is willing to take. These students also expressed an awareness of their presence that seems rare to a majority of college students. One student recounted what it was like on the anniversary of 9/11: "I walked out of my house and onto campus and saw hundreds of little American flags that honored the deaths from 9/11. I instantly thought about how I had forgotten to trim my beard that morning." This moment was a manifestation of an insecurity of being Arab and Muslim where his ethnicity and religion were directly connected to a national attack. Despite not having been born yet, he was aware that his presence in certain spaces might feel "threatening" to others.

One *hijabi* student said she also faces the pressures of physically representing her faith. She recalls a night where she was verbally attacked by a man yelling at her to "go back to ISIS" when she was at an arcade with her family. This instance made her aware of the way she carried herself in order to portray that she was "not a threat." She added, "Knowing there are people who hate me because of how I look, even if it doesn't impact them is tough. Just because I dress differently or believe differently doesn't mean I'm not as American as anyone else." These moments have not only cause many to be hyper aware of their presence, but has also festered a sense of fear for their safety.

Fear That Leads to Isolation

After the New Zealand attacks, where 51 people from two mosques were murdered, many students recognized for the first time that they might be in danger due to their religious orientation. One university Imam explained how increased national and global hate crimes committed against Muslims have caused many students to disaffiliate from their religion. The Imam explained, "These students come from a religion where their places of worship are being bombed and shot up. It's my job to make them feel safe and if not identifying with their religion does that, then I will support them." One university chaplain said they have had a hard time knowing who is Muslim because so many people do not self identify. "I can't say I blame them," said the chaplain. "They just feel like people are suspicious of them, that the essence of their religion is being misunderstood."

For many Muslims going to college for the first time, their biggest fear is finding community. Having been rooted in their home mosques and surrounded by a microcosm of Muslims, it is daunting to step into a space where they cannot identify who is like them and who may be afraid of them or even cause harm. One student admitted that he struggles with trusting people and building community on campus. He shared, "The way I view Islam has stayed the same, but the way I approach others, with all the prejudice out there, that is very different now." He continued to explain how much more guarded he is in expressing his faith outwardly. One example is public prayer: "A lot of students at my school feel comfortable praying on the lawn. I would never do that. What if someone saw me and just took out a gun?"

V. Discussion

The interviews suggested that media does play some role in how Muslim college students view themselves and interact with others, but the primary point of rupture for fear, isolation, and silence has been the Trump presidency and the increased use of media to publicize negative and potentially harmful attitudes of Islam. These findings support previous research that Muslim college students feel alienated from mainstream culture due to misunderstandings about Islam, sparking many students to feel angry and afraid (Ali, 2018; Mir, 2014).

Results of this study align with previous scholarship that found Muslim students' perceptions about the impact of media have not changed since 9/11, and have only intensified with average individuals feeling like they have a platform to contribute to the negative representation of Islam (Ali, 2018). The notion that average people are outwardly expressing their attitudes toward Islam are seen by the students in print media, broadcast media, television, and video games. It is rare for students to have first-hand experiences with a hate crime or religious slur, but those that had were all outwardly Muslim, meaning at that moment they were wearing a *hijab* or some other type of religious attire. This notion was also seen in Ali's study where women who chose to wear a *hijab* experienced three times the amount of prejudice that those not wearing it. Ali argued the increase in accessible, negative speech has made hate speech towards Muslims "cool" in conservative spaces (Ali, 2018). With the increase in social media platforms and usership, many of these individuals now have a platform to threaten, embarrass, and/or, impact the way people view Islam. Students agreed that this type of media has impacted the way they express their faith, view themselves, and interact with others.

The students also expressed a struggle with the dueling narratives that Islam is "dangerous and scary" and "peaceful and loving." Such feelings are related to social identity theory, which describes the process of a person identifying with what others label that person, or what role that person has in society (Ali, 2018, p. 87). This can be seen in a society were Muslim women are often portrayed as "helpless, vulnerable, and without rights" in movies, television series, and international news. This has led many students to speak out against this stereotype, particularly those choosing to wear head covering. Many college-age women confessed their desire to wear the *hijab,* but did not feel like they were adequate representations of the faith. Therefore, those who did choose to wear the covering said they do feel an extra sense of responsibility on their identity solely because they could not hide their religion. This extra sense of pressure stems from the desire these women have to change a media-induced stereotype of Muslim women. Although past research has found that there are many students that disaffiliate with their religion in college, these students generally acted opposite to the spiral of silence theory, which claims members of a minority group may be afraid to express their opinions due to a fear of isolation and rejection (Slater, 2014). Despite the intensified presence of those speaking against Islam, there has also been a shift in outward support shown to those practicing the religion.

Students participating in this study agreed that although they have had to fight the ways people frame Islam in a negative light, they also have tangibly experienced support from non-Muslims. Following the New Zealand shooting, people around the world showed their solidarity with the mosques in their area by becoming active on social media and uniting crowds of people to surround Muslims during prayer (Mezzofiore, 2019). Multiple interviewees had experienced small-scale, yet intensely meaningful encounters where individuals approached them to say that they are loved, welcomed, and supported in the U.S. These examples shed light on the changing attitudes of Islam in America, but most students agreed, the support still was not enough to make them feel fully welcome and able to practice their religion freely and openly at all

times. The reality for many Muslim students is that the attitudes towards Islam are heightened, both positively and negatively, leaving students unsure of when they are safe to speak up or when they are in danger due to their religious beliefs.

VI. Conclusion

These interviews sought to explore the impact media representations of Islam have on the evolving identities of college-age Muslims in America. The study determined that students overwhelmingly felt like media presents Islam as "dangerous," "scary," and a "religion of terrorists." These students experienced discrimination from an early age and have undertaken their college careers in the face of extreme Islamophobia, hate crimes, and an intensified outward hatred. The interviewees unanimously agreed that American media does a poor job of accurately representing their religion to the masses. Many students identified a lack of positive Muslim figures in the news, in television, and movies, and other entertainment media, leaving them with no role model and no exemplary figure for non-Muslims to connect with. This lack of representation and the history of Islamophobia have sparked two reactions in these students: the need to increase positive Muslim experiences in public spheres through religious knowledge, self-discipline, and kindness, and the need to limit their outwards expression of Islam due to the perceived risk to their personal safety.

Overall, this qualitative study builds on the notion that Muslims are negatively framed in U.S. media. In some quarters, there are indications that media practices may be slowing changing. Some news organizations have reported on uplifting Islamic stories and brought in scholars of Islam to highlight that not all Muslims are connected to one negative event. Additionally, there is an increasing presence of Muslims in mass media. As the number of Muslim contributors to mass media increases, the neutral and positive portrayals of Muslim-Americans may also rise. If this is so, future Muslim generations could finally begin to see a more accurate representation of their religion.

It is important to note limitations to this study. Interviewing more students beyond North Carolina would better determine how media framing of Islam has impacted or changed their behaviors and identity. Two-thirds of the students interviewed were born and raised in the United States, with most of them having never lived outside of North Carolina. Future researchers could include voices of first-generation immigrant students and/or those who are here solely for college. Additionally, surveys and focus groups could be used to determine what media outlets have the greatest impact on students, how often students use certain media, and whether they feel influenced to make changes as a result of that exposure. It may also be important to speak to more professors, chaplains, and Imams to note if they have seen shifts in students' behaviors following a particular media event. While there is room to deepen and broaden this study, this research brings to light several impacts media has had on Muslim youth in America.

Acknowledgments

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From Angels to #Real Women: Comparing the Diversity of Models in Two Lingerie Brands

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Abstract

Diversity has been a constant issue in the fashion industry and is becoming more prominent with the use of brand advertising on Instagram. Most often, models used by brands are white and thin. However, recently, there has been a push for more diversity and companies have increased the number of models of color and the number of plus-sized models used. This study analyzed the diversity, both in race and size, on the Instagram accounts of two lingerie brands, Aerie and Victoria's Secret, from July 9 to October 31, 2019. Using content analysis, the study found that Aerie had more diversity on its Instagram posts than Victoria's Secret. However, white, small-sized models were still the most commonly posted overall, indicating that racial and size diversity still needs to be improved in the fashion industry. The study furthers the understanding of how brands are portraying themselves through advertising on social media and provides practical implications for how brands can connect better with their consumers.

I. Introduction

Skinny, tall and white. This is the look that comes to mind for most when they think about a typical fashion model. The current state of the modeling industry lacks diversity, and this is an issue because it influences what women believe they should look like. There is a disconnect between what women really look like and the models being used by fashion brands (Aagerup, 2011). This difference can cause women who do not fit the stereotypical look to feel badly about their bodies and can even lead to eating disorders (Dittmar & Howard, 2004).

This study looked at diversity in the modeling industry, specifically with lingerie brands, in order to note the diversity of race and size. Throughout history, models have generally been portrayed in a stereotypical way, which can cause consumers to feel disconnected from the brands using these unrealistic models. There have been many studies about models in the fashion industry in terms of print media and advertisements, finding that models are predominately young, white and underweight (Freitas, Jordan & Hughes, 2017). This study will add to scholarship on models in the fashion industry by looking at advertising and brand presence on social media.

II. Literature Review

To investigate and gain a better understanding of the diversity of models today, the researcher examined literature on the diversity of race and size in the fashion industry, studies on Instagram and social media marketing strategies, and scholarship on the self-image congruence theory.

Diversity in the Fashion Industry

Studies show that there is a narrow representation of body images in media and that models are predominately young, white and underweight (Freitas et al., 2017). A study of three 1980s popular magazines – Cosmopolitan, Glamour and Vogue – found that black models appeared in 2.4% of the images, Asian models were only in 0.5% of the images and no Hispanic models were present (Jackson & Ervine, 1991). A similar study of the same magazines in the early 2000s found that 91% of the photographs still featured white models (Millard & Grant, 2006). These studies showed that even though the presence of models of color has increased, the increase is small.

In addition, the majority of models at events such as New York Fashion Week are white (Sauers, 2013). This "implies that beauty is exclusive to white models" (Adodo, 2016, p. 7). Adodo also found that when models of color were on the runway, they tended to have different hairstyles than their white counterparts, were lacking accessories, and wore darker makeup (Adodo, 2016). The reasoning behind this could be, "women of color are often stereotyped as 'exotic,'" (Reaves et al., 2004, p. 142).

The fashion and beauty industries have also been criticized for an overemphasis on thin models (Freitas et al., 2017), who are often used to connote health, fitness, and fertility (Kiire, 2017), in addition to beauty and sexual attractiveness (Reaves et al., 2004). It is assumed that by using thin models and even digitally altering models to look thin, consumers will think that the models are more attractive because they look fit, "healthy" and sexual. One study found that participants who viewed advertisements that used thin models believed that the image had been digitally modified. Digitally modifying models creates an unrealistic and unattainable image that consumers strive for, leading to a negative impact on women's body satisfaction (Lewis et al., 2019). Another study noted that female participants were significantly happier with their bodies once they viewed the original image of the model and compared it to the digitally manipulated image (Reaves et al., 2004). However, the current standards of beauty, which emphasizes thinness, are accepted by most women (Tiggerman, 2003). Although the most common model-look these days is unrealistically thin, this thinness is tolerated by most because they have been conditioned to believe it is the norm.

Researchers have found that, "women who viewed fashion magazines preferred to weigh less, were less satisfied with their bodies, were more frustrated about their weight, were more preoccupied with the desire to be thin, and were more afraid of getting fat than were their peers who viewed news magazines" (Turner et al., 1997, p. 603). Another study found that body image was viewed as significantly more negative after viewing thin media images than after viewing images of average and plus-sized models (Groesz et al., 2002). Even though most women have accepted that extreme thinness in models is not representative of reality, it still causes women to feel insecure about their bodies.

Some countries have made efforts to improve body image diversity in the media and fashion industry. Israel and France are attempting to regulate the minimum body size of models, and Australia has created the Australian Industry Code of Conduct on Body Image. This code was developed to instill good-practice principles for the advertising, fashion and media industries in hopes of creating diversity in body size, using healthy weight models. (Freitas et al., 2017). Israel, France and Australia have also passed laws that require advertisements to include disclaimers when an image has been digitally altered (Lewis et al., 2019).

Instagram and Marketing Strategies

It is now a must for brands to have a presence on social media platforms. Brands can use social media to improve brand recognition and loyalty (Smith, 2019). More specifically, Instagram is a place where users can share photos and videos, and can engage with followers by "liking" and "commenting" on other's posts (Rouse et al., n.d.). Instagram has 1 billion monthly active users, more than 500 million of them active daily. These users share an average of 95 million photos and videos per day (West, 2019). On Instagram, brands and companies have regular engagement with 4% of their total followers (Read, 2018).

Recent research shows that marketing budgets are being increasingly directed toward social

media (Latiff & Safiee, 2015). One study explained this shift through several factors: declining response rates towards conventional marketing efforts such as banners and direct mailers, technology developments leading to social media attractiveness, demographic shifts to younger individuals, customer preference, and low cost (Gillin, 2007). One study noted that, "customers' motivation to purchase is strongly related to their desire to express ideal selves through the consumption of brand personalities attached to certain products … On Instagram, customers have more power to not only consume the products of brands but share their experiences with others" (Chang, 2014, p. 20-21).

For a brand to have a good Instagram marketing strategy, research suggests that an account should post one to two times per day, and that top-performing brands post an average of 1.5 times a day (Rupert, 2019; Arens, 2019). Photos on Instagram must be high-quality images that are engaging; many of them include a call to action (Standberry, 2019). The use of hashtags is a way for brands to gain more traction on Instagram, and the associated comments are a way to keep followers engaged (Gyant, 2018; Standberry, 2019). Additionally, partnering with an influencer is becoming much more common and is a way to reach a larger audience (Wishpond, 2019).

There are specific strategies brands can use to promote products, connect with customers and reach a new target audience. One way is to run contests and giveaways, which is an incentive for followers to engage with the brand and a way to increase sales. Brands should post product photos and, in captions, emphasize the price, availability, and unique selling point. Brands should also show their product in action and share customer testimonials, stories and reviews (Wishpond, 2019). All of these practices can drive the company's success.

The Self-Image Congruence Theory

The self-image congruence theory is relevant in examining how diversity through brands affects consumers. The theory refers to "the match between consumers' self-concept (actual self, ideal self, etc.) and the user image (or 'personality') of a given product, brand, store, etc." (Kressmann et al., 2006, p. 955). In simpler terms, this theory is, "a match between the personality of a brand and those of its consumer" (Aagerup, 2011, p. 494). When consumers see a match between their own self-images or personalities and the image of a brand, they are able to reach different forms of satisfaction and avoid certain dissatisfactions, which leads to consumers having a positive attitude towards the brand and a stronger likelihood of buying from that brand (Sirgy, 1982).

The self-image congruence theory has direct relevance to this study. Research shows that there is a disconnect between the models used for fashion brands compared to what women really look like (Aagerup, 2011). This difference can cause women who do not fit the stereotypical model-look to feel badly about their bodies (Dittmar & Howard, 2004). However, if there is a strong connection between brand image and self-image, the theory suggests that there is a better chance that consumers will buy from that brand.

While a significant amount of studies examine the diversity of models in the fashion industry through print media and advertisements, few studies have examined the diversity of models on social media platforms. This study will look at the Instagram accounts of two lingerie brands in order to get a better idea about the diversity of the models that are being posted.

Research Questions
RQ1: How have Aerie and Victoria's Secret used models of different races?
RQ2: How have the two brands used models of different sizes?
RQ3: Are there any differences between the two brands' social media in terms of diversity?

III. Methods

The study examined the Instagram accounts of Aerie and Victoria's Secret. Lingerie brands were chosen instead of clothing brands because the minimal clothing made it easier to note the diversity of the models. Aerie was chosen, in part, because the brand is on the rise, reporting a 32% increase in sales in 2018 (Hanbury & Tyler, 2018). Victoria's Secret was chosen because it is the most famous and largest lingerie

retailer in the United States (Hanbury, 2019).

In addition, Aerie has engaged in a number of high-profile diversity initiatives. In 2015, Aerie partnered with the National Eating Disorders Association in order to focus on body positivity and help reduce the prevalence of and stigma around eating disorders, noting that unrealistic and digitally manipulated images can play a role in the rise of eating disorders (Women's Wellness, 2019). The previous year, the company unveiled the #AerieREAL hashtag, with the tagline, "Power. Positivity. No retouching." More recently, Aerie launched an additional movement to this campaign featuring, "57 women of various shapes, colors, disabilities, and sizes embracing their inner beauty" (Penrose, 2018, para. 4). This campaign has gained traction and allows consumers to post Instagram pictures and videos with the caption #AerieREAL.

Victoria's Secret is part of L Brands, Inc., which is an American fashion retailer. The company's motto is, "Brands That Inspire. Empower. Indulge." The brand also seeks to "help customers feel sexy, bold and powerful" (About Us, 2019, para. 3). Victoria's Secret is famous for its annual fashion show with models who are referred to as "angels." While many viewers enjoy the annual event, critics say that, "the brand fails spectacularly at celebrating body diversity. Instead, it objectifies women and their ethnicities in order to sell merchandise, and champions a stick-thin yet selectively curvy body type so difficult to obtain that even the models train and diet for weeks in advance to achieve the look" (Webster, 2017, para. 6). The shows have also been criticized for a lack of racial diversity, although models of color made up nearly half of the 2017 event (Jennings, 2018). The brand has made recent efforts to include models of more sizes in order to address a sales slump, featuring a size-14 model in a a collaboration with Bluebella (Reda, 2019).

For this study, fifty Instagram posts from each brand (100 posts total) were randomly selected from July 9, 2019, to October 31, 2019. All posts for each brand were counted chronologically and assigned a number. Then, a random number generator was used to select the 50 posts for analysis. If a model was not included in the photo (such as a photo just showing the product) that post was skipped and the next most recent photo with a model was used. If more than three models were included in the photo, the photo was skipped to avoid confusion when coding.

The selected posts were then analyzed for race and size. There are various methods for coding of race, but this research draws from a 2017 study that defined five categories - black, Asian, white, other person of color, and indistinguishable. "Individuals were assigned Black if they had medium or dark-coloured skin, a natural/afro hair, and/or a braided or dreadlock style" (Reddy-Best et al., 2017, p. 67). Individuals were assigned white if they, "had fair or light coloured skin and smaller facial features. Asian was assigned if the individual had narrow-shaped eyes and straight darker hair" (Reddy-Best et al., 2017, p. 67). An individual was assigned to the "other person of color" category if it was hard to definitively determine the race of the person but some of their physical characteristics matched a person of color. Additionally, Latino, Native American, and Pacific Islander were included in the "other person of color" category. The researcher did not use the indistinguishable category because coding the race of the model was an important part of the study. If the race could not be determined, the photo was skipped.

To determine body size, past research has used the Stunkard Figure Rating Scale "of nine silhouette figures increasing in size from 1 (very thin) to 9 (very obese)" (Freitas et al., 2017, p. 252-253). However, nine options, with only very small differences between adjacent options, would be too challenging when analyzing models. Instead, this research draws from a study by Aagerup (2011), who investigated how the weight of ideal users affects the perception of mass-market fashion brands using three size categories. In this study, the categories will be coded as small, medium, or large. A full description of all coding categories can be found in the Appendix.

IV. Findings

For Aerie, the 50 posts included 63 total models. For Victoria's Secret, 54 total models appeared in the sampled posts. For Aerie, 55.5% of models were white (n=35), compared to just over 61% for Victoria's Secret (n=33). However, as seen in Table 1, Aerie had a much higher percentage of black and Asian models, while Victoria's Secret had a higher proportion of "other person of color."

Table 1. Race by Brand

Brand	Black	White	Asian	Other POC	Total
Aerie	14.3% (9)	55.5% (35)	15.9% (10)	14.3% (9)	100% (63)
Victoria's Secret	7.4% (4)	61.1% (33)	5.6% (3)	25.9% (14)	100% (54)

In terms of size, 88.9% of Victoria's Secret models were small (n=48), compared to 63.5% of Aerie models (n=40). Aerie had much larger proportions of medium and large models than did Victoria's Secret (Table 2).

Table 2. Size by Brand

Brand	Small	Medium	Large	Total
Aerie	63.5% (40)	19.0% (12)	17.5% (11)	100% (63)
Victoria's Secret	88.9% (48)	7.4% (4)	3.7% (2)	100% (54)

V. Discussion

It is clear that white models are most commonly posted to Instagram by these brands. A 2016 report by the U.S. Census Bureau notes that 61.2% of the female population is white, suggesting that Aerie may slightly underrepresent this demographic, while white representation by Victoria's Secret is largely aligned with the population. Conversely, blacks represent 13.7% of the total female population, suggesting that Aerie's representation on Instagram largely reflects that demographic, while Victoria's Secret may underrepresent this category (Women of Color in the US, 2018). It is important to note that while the census data can be a helpful guide, brands may not want to simply match their use of models to these statistics, but instead, they may want to strive to make all races feel equally represented. This study aligns with past research showing that models are predominately white.

In terms of size, both Aerie (63.5%) and Victoria's Secret (88.9%) had predominantly small models. However, Aerie was much more likely than Victoria's Secret to feature medium-sized models (19.0% vs. 7.4%) or large-sized models (17.5% vs. 3.7%). It is clear that Aerie displays much more diverse body types. According to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention, the measured average weight for adults ages 20 and over is 170.5 pounds (Fryar et al., 2018). According to a women's size guide based on weight and height from a popular online personal style service, if a woman weighs 170 pounds, she will be a large no matter the height (Stitch Fix, n.d.). Therefore, the average female is wearing large-sized clothes, meaning that both Aerie and Victoria's Secret are bypassing what logically could be the target audience for their Instagram pages.

Overall, Aerie is more diverse both in terms of race and size compared to Victoria's Secret. This aligns with Aerie's mission for fairness and equality and the #AerieREAL campaign, with the tagline, "Power. Positivity. No retouching." Aerie's diversity, when related to the self-image congruence theory, determines that Aerie's message and mission connect well with their brand image, ultimately connecting them better to their customers.

These findings suggest that Victoria's Secret would be well served to increase the diversity in its models, mostly in terms of size, but additionally in terms of race. Both these brands need to make sure that they are portraying diversity in the models that are selling their product because the power of the media today makes Instagram incredibly influential, especially to customers. The more diverse the models are in terms of both race and size, the more comfortable and accepting all women will be of themselves.

VI. Conclusion

This study looked into the diversity issue in the modeling industry in terms of race and size. It contributed to the communications field by looking at Instagram advertising and brand presence on social media, which is a relatively new addition to marketing strategies. These findings showed that both Aerie and Victoria's Secret have room for improvement regarding the diversity of their models. This push for diversity is important so that consumers can relate better to brands and feel more comfortable about how they look when they see models that look like them, instead of unrealistic images, which in turn, could drive greater brand loyalty and increased sales.

It is important to note that age was not accounted for in this study. An estimated 75% of 18-to-24 year olds use Instagram, and the group is the largest age demographic on the application (Chen, 2020). Studies that have found an association between body dissatisfaction and mental health problems have focused on younger female populations, meaning that older women may not necessarily have the same ideas about their self-image (Haines & Neumark-Sztainer, 2006). Future studies could analyze whether content targeting older women have similar results.

This study also is limited by sample selection and sample size. The researcher only chose to look at two different brands, which is not representative of all lingerie brands. In addition, the study only examined 100 posts. Having other researchers code the data and creating an intercoder reliability test would have been helpful to confirm the reliability of the coding instrument. Lastly, the researcher only reported frequencies and percentages and did not look at correlations or statistical relationships among the variables. For future research, it would be beneficial to do statistical analysis, specifically a T-test, to determine if there is a statistically significant relationship between the race and size of brands' models.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix 1: Coding categories

Category	Definition	Exemplary photo	Coding rules
Brand name	1= Aerie 2= Victoria's Secret	-	1 or 2
Race	Different groups of humans with different physical characteristics.		
Black	Medium or dark-colored skin, natural/afro hair, and/or a braided or dreadlock style and large facial features.		0- Not Black 1- Black
Asian	Narrow-shaped eyes and straight darker hair.		0- Not Asian 1- Asian

White	Fair or light colored skin and smaller facial features.		0- Not White 1- White
Other person of color	If some of their physical characteristics matched a person of color. Latino, Native American, and Pacific Islander.		0- Not other person of color 1- Other person of color
Size	The physical measurements of the body, in this case, weight.		
Small	A "1" on the Figure 2 scale. Between the sizes of 0 and 4. Little fat on body, fit.		0- Not small 1- Small
Medium	A "2" on the Figure 2 scale. Between the sizes of 6 and 10. More fat on body, curvy.		0- Not medium 1- Medium
Large	A "3" on the Figure 2 scale. The size 12 or larger. Overweight.		0- Not large 1- Large

Haitians' Response to U.S. Media Coverage of Haiti

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Abstract

Drawing on past scholarly literature and ethnographic data collection in Miami's Haitian community in the summer of 2019, this article examines how Haitians respond to American media bias concerning Haiti, and the differences between how Haitians perceive themselves and how they believe Americans perceive them. Research participants expressed a multitude of beliefs concerning Haitian identity, many of which were rooted in a deep historical self-consciousness as well as an awareness of new struggles that Haitians and Haitian-Americans face today. The findings suggest that the persistence of colonial attitudes and paternalism towards Haitians — as well as the continued circulation of century-old stereotypes — are contributing to a chasm between Haitians and non-Haitians in the United States today vis-à-vis cultural identity.

I. Introduction

Journalism and news reporting rely on the accuracy and objectivity of reporters and media outlets. Parachute journalism, a concept referring to the dropping of reporters into unfamiliar territory to briefly cover an event before returning home, can be problematic in foreign media coverage — journalists who do not know a lot about the place or the people they are covering are more susceptible to perpetuating stereotypes or providing less than the whole picture (Martin, 2011). Media bias creates negative relationships between nations and can keep alive hackneyed ideas. This is the case with the United States and Haiti. Bias in American media coverage of Haiti and the Haitian people is contributing to misunderstanding between the two nations and the perpetuation of negative stereotypes and biases rooted in falsehood.

This paper draws upon scholarly literature and original ethnographic research during the summer of 2019 in Little Haiti, Miami, to discuss how Haitians believe Americans perceive them. With the invaluable help of a research partner who is a Haitian native, interviews were conducted with Haitians and Haitian-Americans concerning media bias, cultural stereotypes, and life as immigrants in the United States.

II. Literature Review

Since winning its independence from France in the early nineteenth century, Haiti often has been misrepresented and treated with condescension in American media (Dubois, 2013). Haiti has been portrayed

in many different negative lights — from evil to savage to helpless — yet these portrayals have little to no basis in truth. Poor U.S. media representation of Haiti continues today and can be easily recognized in America's coverage of the disastrous 2010 earthquake in Haiti. American journalism, for example, often perpetuates the century-old narrative that Haiti is weak, inferior, and pitiable. In order to improve media relations between Haiti and the United States, scholars suggest that American journalists increase their own awareness of Haiti's history and present struggles and spread such awareness to the American public through accurate and even empathetic reporting.

In order to understand the recent United States media portrayal of Haiti, it is essential to understand the deep history between the two countries. Haiti successfully unchained itself from slavery and earned its independence in 1804. After much internal political turmoil, Haiti was occupied by the United States for 19 years beginning in 1914. During this time, the media described Haiti as a country plagued by political instability, violence, disarray, and immorality, among other problems (Potter, 2009). One newspaper in particular, *The New York Times*, "displayed condescension, paternalism, and racism in its editorials toward the inhabitants of the 'black republic'" throughout the period of occupation (Bergman, 2011, p. 38). This type of media portrayal was common during the U.S. occupation, and, more broadly, the United States has regarded Haiti with an air of superiority and pity since the country gained independence. In the decades after the occupation, American journalists continued to "blame the problems of Haiti on the 'races,' languages, religions, and cultures of Haitians" instead of reporting objectively (Daut, 2015, p. 610). Simply put, American journalists have historically viewed Haiti as a "failed state unable to properly govern itself," which has become a "common frame that can be found on the pages of U.S. newspapers" (Potter, 2009, p. 209).

Additionally, Hollywood is largely responsible for creating stereotypes surrounding the people of Haiti and circulating these misconceptions among the American people. Hollywood films like "White Zombie" portray Haiti as an uncivilized society consumed by evil and black magic, especially with regard to the spiritual tradition of Vodou (Halperin, 1933). Popularization of Vodou dolls and the association of Vodou with sorcery can be largely attributed to Hollywood and American popular culture, as "books, films, and travelogues have helped perpetuate [Vodou] stereotypes" (Potter, 2009, p. 211).

Despite the close relationship between Haiti and the United States over the past 300 years — one characterized as "intricately connected through geography, the Haitian diaspora, and the global economy" — the United States media, "whether consciously or not, have a tendency to portray Haiti as completely isolated from the rest of the world" (Potter, 2009, p. 211). American coverage of Haiti denigrates the country and continuously paints the Haitian people as inferior, with continuing media stereotypes reflecting and stemming from colonial discourse (Bellegarde-Smith, 2011). The combination of negative stereotypes, self-proclaimed altruism, and misinformation continues to drive biased American media coverage of Haiti.

Coverage of Haiti: The 2010 Earthquake

American coverage of the catastrophic earthquake that struck Haiti in January of 2010 proved to be no exception to the media bias described previously and serves as a case study for recent U.S. media coverage of Haiti. The 7.0 magnitude earthquake devastated Haiti in 2010, killing hundreds of thousands of people and displacing over a million ("Haiti Earthquake Fast Facts," 2018). The disaster was perceived by people across the globe as "an unfortunate, even 'unfair' natural calamity on a people already suffering the million affronts of acute poverty an underdevelopment," ("Haiti's Lesson," 2010, p. 5). Haitians were traumatized by the immense loss of life and the degree of environmental destruction. Yet the American media largely did not tell this story — they continued to stereotype and denigrate the country of Haiti and its people.

Once the United States got word of the earthquake in Haiti and its severity, the reporting began. Without wasting any time, cable news networks, newspapers, bloggers, and other Internet media sources began delivering speculation and misinformation instead of facts — with most of the information "ahistorical" and bordering on "gross racial caricature" (Lundy, 2011, p. 128). American media weaved undertones of Haitian inferiority in their reports, perpetuating old stereotypes during a time of disaster and grief. The journalists reporting on the disaster were largely uneducated on Haiti's history and offered little sympathy to the people dealing first-hand with such a tragedy (Ulysse, 2010). Overall, Haiti's troubled and dysfunctional past made the country an object of pity to the world, and the earthquake only fueled that narrative (Balaji, 2011). Despite the broad circulation of stereotypes and a narrative about Haiti based in pity and superiority, scholars suggest that media relations can be repaired if effort is made to better understand the country, its history, and its current challenges.

Relational Issues Between the United States and Haiti

Many observers believe the United States should be focusing on developing a way to help Haitians without patronizing them, advocating that foreign aid should be used to halt cycles of tyranny and poverty — especially after natural disasters — not to further colonial ideas or serve paternalistic agendas ("Haiti's Lesson," 2010). American media, critics charge, exacerbate the difficulties, failing "to adequately acknowledge the full extent of its present problems or place them in their properly complex geohistorical context, thus inhibiting an understanding that will offer real solutions to its problems" (Potter, 2009, pp. 226-227). While the fact that Haiti has had a "tangled and, at times, traumatic relationship" with the United States is irrefutable, "the potential exists for a more enlightened relationship between Haitians and the United States based on reciprocity and intercultural dialogue" (Dash, 2014, p. x).

Ignorance clearly exists in America concerning Haiti's past and present, which manifests itself in news coverage. The simplest solution to patronizing, stereotyping, and often inaccurate American media coverage of Haiti is to better educate society on who Haitians are, what they have endured, and what they are still challenged by today. Instead of marginalizing Haiti — a common framework for coverage of disaster in developing countries — the American media should seek to spread awareness and organize relief solutions (Brown, 2012). The answer to Haiti's problems is not American pity — feeling sorry for Haitians only serves to distance Americans from them further — nor is it reliance on clichés and stereotypes. "The day when Haitians as a people and Haiti as a symbol are no longer representatives of or synonymous with poverty, backwardness, and evil is still yet to come" (Ulysse, 2010, p. 37). It seems as though the answer may be a blend of knowledge, empathy, and aid that aims to uplift.

The present study examines the following research questions:

RQ1: Do Haitians/Haitian-Americans today feel as though the American media is biased against Haiti?

RQ2: How do Haitians/Haitian-Americans today feel they are perceived by Americans?

III. Methods

This study employed participant-observation at religious and community sites in a section of Miami called Little Haiti, and additionally conducted thirteen long-form interviews with Haitians and Haitian-Americans with the assistance of a research partner who is a Haitian native. Participants ranged in age from the early 20s to late 60s, with five identifying as male and eight identifying as female. Snowball sampling was used to make connections with possible participants and schedule interviews in Little Haiti. With permission from participants, each interview was audio-recorded and then transcribed.

While a greater number of interviews was intended, the political climate was frightening during the timeframe of the study. Haitians were cautious about disclosing personal information to strangers. Additionally, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers were patrolling interstate roads, leading to clergy telling congregation members how they should act if ICE agents knocked on their doors. At times, the researchers were suspected of being ICE agents. Several interviews were scheduled where participants never appeared, and community leaders expressed concern about the privacy and wellbeing of participants during the study. Despite these challenges, valuable information emerged from long conversations centering on Haitian religion and identity.

IV. Findings

The thirteen interviews revealed a series of themes: Haitians were united by a sense of cultural pride, a deep understanding of their country's history, and a drive to work hard. Haitians expressed that they believe their perceptions of themselves, however, are not in line with how Americans perceive Haitians. These findings led to the conclusion that there is a gap in mutual understanding between Haitians and Americans, in part perpetuated by American media's biased coverage of Haiti.

The first trend was that Haitian emigres were united by their deep sense of pride in their cultural heritage. Each participant expressed affection and respect for the Haitian people — their people — with

one participant emphasizing, "I have never been one day ashamed or embarrassed of who I am" (Personal Interview, 6/26/19). The qualities and values Haitians used to describe and characterize themselves and the examples they gave to illustrate what Haitian identity means to them can effectively be grouped into two categories: discussions of perseverance through a tumultuous and painful history and references to hard work in today's American society.

Participants displayed an astounding degree of historical consciousness. Several Haitians referenced Haiti's history as a slave colony, the oppressive rule of François Duvalier (the violent totalitarian president of Haiti in from 1957-1971), and their lasting reputation as "botpipel," a derogatory term used to refer to Haitians who came to America by ship beginning in the late 1970s. These periods of hardship and perceptions of their own cultural uniqueness instilled a sense of dignity in Haitians and contributed to the formation of a Haitian identity predicated on honor. One participant, a second-generation, female Haitian-American, captured these ideas in this way: "Being Haitian has always been about being uniquely different and having a lot of pride in terms of — not necessarily your blackness, but the liberation process — conversations about liberation, about freedom, about being bold, and unapologetic, is definitely what it means to me to be Haitian. And to speak Creole gives me a sense, a tie, to those that came before me. Actually, it's something that I'm very proud of" (Personal Interview, 6/19/19). Haitians feel dignified because of what their ancestors have overcome and the trying historical events their people have endured. The Haitian people carry on a legacy of devotion to freedom, fellowship, and resilience that is apparent in their perception of their cultural identity today.

Secondly, participants also identified hard work as a cornerstone of Haitian identity. Participants often referred to the challenges of immigration and living as foreigners in American society, even as they juxtaposed these difficulties with their perceived ability to overcome them. One participant put it succinctly: "Haitians are courageous people. We know what we want and we work hard to make it happen" (Personal Interview, 6/27/19). Another participant discussed a conversation she had with another Haitian in Miami concerning his job and his relationship with his American boss. He explained, "I would tell [my boss] that just because he sees me work very hard and very well in spite of the fact that I'm not paid well and I'm treated badly, I'm not stupid. It's not because I'm stupid that I'm working so hard for you. It's because as a Haitian man, the quality of my work still speaks for me. Because I don't have an education, I don't have degrees, the quality of my work continues to define who I am" (Personal Interview, 7/4/19). In addition to the history they have overcome and the survival of their culture, Haitians pride themselves on their willingness to work hard to improve their situations. Haitians see themselves as uniquely resilient and strong in a positive way and possessing an unwavering sense of dignity.

Despite their favorable perception of themselves, Haitians are aware that others — outsiders to their communities and to their nationality — see them differently. Participants expressed that Americans generally lack credible information concerning Haiti's history and instead base their judgments in stereotypes. One participant disclosed, "I do express [my Haitian identity], but I am very cautious about whom I might offend because of the bad connotations on Haitians, the way they see Haitians, the way they see my culture. 'Cause once somebody say 'Haitians', the first word comes in their mind is 'Vodou'" (Personal Interview, 6/14/19). This theme directly aligns with academic literature, which analyzed American media and popular culture portrayals of Vodou practitioners as evil and uncivilized. Despite the fact that not all Haitians practice Vodou, they feel judged and looked down upon for being associated with a tradition that is so stigmatized within American culture. Further, participants expressed an awareness of persistent colonial and paternalistic attitudes in American media, as if Haiti is a place that needs saving. These comments support Potter's claim that the framing of Haiti as a failed state can certainly be found in U.S. newspapers (Potter, 2009).

Additionally, one participant noted that she feels as though non-Haitian Americans view them as "less than human," perhaps because of societal and racial differences (Personal Interview, 6/14/19). Another participant offered the idea that "we look at Haiti through the lens of American exceptionalism and we expect for Haiti to have the same development standards as first-world countries," a comment which lends further support to the contention that Americans are generally ignorant of Haitian affairs and society (Personal Interview, 6/19/19). This ignorance can surface in reporting, especially in parachute journalism, and lead to the circulation of misinformation, stereotypes, and framed or biased stories. The same participant also claimed that, "The only reason why Vodou is perceived as something negative is because it's practiced by brown and black people," pointing to the idea that perhaps the American bias against Haitians may also be racial (Personal Interview, 6/19/19).

Broadly, there is a significant disconnect between how Haitians view themselves and how they believe Americans view them. It is clear that many Haitians feel as though the American media is misrepresenting them, drawing out old stereotypes and focusing on negative aspects of their culture. Participants were looking for non-Haitian Americans to gain a greater understanding of Haitian culture and history, advocating for more education about Haiti in U.S. schools, better media representation, and for Americans to actually visit the country itself. One participant, a middle-aged man who works multiple jobs to support his wife and three children, expressed disappointment, saying, "the American people, they have a lot to know about Haitian people. When they see Haitian people here, they think we are 'botpipel,' poor people, black people. It's not true. It's not true. We have a heart. They have to know more about Haitian people" (Personal Interview, 6/29/19).

V. Conclusion

Poor media representation of Haiti — including but not limited to the country's government, people, and religious practices — is contributing significantly to the stereotypes about Haitians that Americans have internalized and the gap in understanding between the two countries. This research suggests that ignorance is the root of the Haiti-United States disconnect. Haitians seek understanding, open-mindedness, and less arrogance in American attitudes towards Haitians. In order to halt the spread of misinformation about Haiti and the Haitian people in American media, it is essential that journalists prioritize fact and objectivity in their reporting and that the American people avoid judgement, generalizations, and ignorance.

Acknowledgments

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Gender Differences in Emotional Advertising:
How Types of Emotion Impact One's Trust
and Attitude Toward a Brand

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Abstract

Emotions can drive much of what individuals do, say and feel – and often impact one's decision-making. It is no wonder then that brands attempt to elicit emotion through advertising. This study sought to learn how men and women are impacted by different types of emotions elicited from advertising. Past research focused on types of products and their impact, how gender stereotypes play a role in how men and women interact with ads, and how men and women respond to a generally labeled "emotional" advertisement. Participants viewed three video advertisements then took a survey that collected both qualitative and quantitative data. A major finding was that high levels of ad enjoyment don't relate to a memorable brand, but emotional connection and assimilation play a major role in developing brand trust and favorability. These findings are important to advertisers so they may better cater to and develop an emotional connection with their target audiences.

I. Introduction

Emotions drive much of what we do, say, and feel. Not only do emotions prompt us to express ourselves, but to help us make decisions as well. In his book *Descartes Error*, neuroscience professor Antonio Damasio explains that emotions are one of the key factors of decision making, as they create preferences to lead to a decision (Damasio, 2008). An example of this is how brands possess the ability to manipulate and cause people to express emotion through advertising. This can be accomplished by creating a sad advertisement that connects with someone on a deeper level, a humorous advertisement that resonates, or a disconcerting advertisement that creates a sense of urgency and motivates someone to act. The main goal of these advertisements is to create a sense of trust in the consumers' minds; some of the best ways of doing so are by creating a sense of vulnerability and developing a connection with the consumer (Pardham, 2015). Emotional advertisements are a powerful tool that can build brand trust and recognition.

Knowing how to catalyze emotion from advertisements is crucial, especially to advertisers and brands seeking to cater to a target audience. In today's world of expansive media presences from millions of different companies across the globe, making a brand's target audience feel emotions, trust, and recognition in the brand is more important than ever. For new brands entering competitive markets, this type of connection with an audience could be what sets them apart and defines their success.

Many researchers have explored how emotional advertisements have impacted one's ability to retain information about a brand, influence trust in a brand, and even how the effects of emotional advertisements differed between males and females. A number of the studies focused on one emotion from an advertisement, rather than studying the role and distinction of numerous emotions. This study will compare the level of trust and recognition in a brand between men and women, but it will also investigate how these factors are impacted by three distinct emotions.

II. Literature Review

Emotional advertising is the practice of promoting a brand or product through the use of emotions in order to connect with a client. The study of psychological research to support advertising strategies is a fairly recent practice. A few emotional advertising strategies include telling a story that consumers can connect with, creating a movement or community, inspiring people to do what they think is impossible, and projecting an ideal image (Decker, 2018). These strategies help elicit various emotions depending on the type of advertisement and the brand.

The study is underpinned through the theory of symbolic interactionism, which suggests that media can influence people's emotions and actions through the meanings they find in images. Those studying symbolic interactionism examine "how narratives, connected to systems of discourse, represent experience. These representational practices are narrative constructions. The meanings and forms of everyday experience are always given in narrative representations," (Flick, Kardorff and Steinke, 2010, p. 85). The aspect of experience could serve as a way for people to connect with the ad or brand. If one's memory of an experience is represented through an advertisement, their inclination to trust in the brand could dramatically increase due to their emotional connection to the experience.

Numerous scholars have studied how emotions may affect consumer preferences for types of advertisements. One such study explored how the type of advertisement and product impacted a consumer's "brand love," defined as a reciprocal relationship between a brand and consumers, with three key factors that include brand passion, commitment, and intimacy. The researchers determined that rational advertising was more effective for utilitarian-value products, while emotional advertising was more effective for services and hedonic-value products (Pang, Keh & Peng, 2009).

Through a psychology-based lens, Friestad and Thorson explored how semantic and episodic processing played into memory and attitude toward a brand. The authors discovered that emotional messages resulted in stronger memory and more positive judgements. Stronger memory was more common in the episodic processing group, while judgements were more positive in the semantic processing group (Friestad & Thorson, 1986).

Another interesting study focused on how emotion toward an advertisement differed among genders. However, an additional component examined how watching an advertisement in the presence of someone else impacted one's emotions and gender stereotypes. Results showed that females portrayed no change if they viewed the advertisements on their own or with someone else, while males experienced a significant drop in viewing pleasure and emotion when viewing with someone else. However, when alone, males showed around the same level of emotion as the females who viewed the ads on their own (Fisher & Dubè, 2005).

Additional research has examined the levels of emotions between males and females after exposure to advertisements. Moore discovered that females rated themselves as more emotional for emotional ads than men, but there was no significant difference between genders for neutral ads. One reason for this was that all the emotional ads in the study dealt with cases of missing and abused children. Moore suggested that females would relate more with these ads and cause them to be more emotional due to a motherly instinct (Moore, 2007).

A study in Japan specifically focused on acceptance of the advertisement. Four dependent variables that played into this acceptance included ad assimilation, trust, attitude toward the ad, and attitude toward the brand. The study concluded that females were more likely to perceive stronger trust, attitude toward an ad, and attitude toward a brand more than males. In addition, the results showed women having a stronger ad assimilation than men (Okazaki, 2007).

Research Questions
This study will focus on the following questions:

RQ1: How do varying types of emotions impact brand recognition and attitude among genders?

RQ2: What type of emotion exuded from an advertisement is the most effective in terms of ad assimilation and connection with the ad?

III. Methods

The researcher conducted a mixed-method approach, including both quantitative and qualitative research in the form of a survey*.* Thirty students in two classes at Elon University served as the sample for the research. Prior to beginning the survey, participants were notified that their answers were confidential and that they may back out of the survey at any point.

Students viewed three ads, one for each of the following emotional categories: sad, humorous, disconcerting. The sad advertisement was from Edeka, a German supermarket, that represented an older man going years without a family dinner with his kids and grandkids. This ad was chosen because of the lack of participant knowledge of the brand, and the level of sadness portrayed from the ad. The humorous advertisement came from Le Trefle toilet paper company, which related the use of tablets and phones to paper in an amusing way. The ad was chosen because of the lack of participant knowledge of the brand, as well as the connection of technology to the younger audience completing the survey. The disconcerting advertisement was a texting and driving PSA from AT&T that involved a younger woman getting into an accident because of texting. Although AT&T is a popular brand, the company's products and logo are not presented in the ad.

After each video ended, students rated their answers to questions on a 7-point Likert Scale concerning four areas drawn from past scholarship: brand trust, attitude toward the brand, attitude toward the ad, and ad assimilation. In addition, two open-ended questions were asked. "How would you describe the brand presented in the ad?" was presented for each ad to elicit qualitative data related to brand trust. At the end of the survey, students were asked "Which ad did you enjoy the most or find most memorable, and why?"

Data Analysis

Quantitative data were analyzed using Survey Monkey. Open-ended answers were sorted by male or female participants, then analyzed qualitatively for positive, negative, or neutral tone about the advertisement and the brand.

IV. Findings

Advertisement 1- Sad

Overall, women responded more positively to the sad advertisement in terms of attitude and trust toward the brand. On a seven-point scale, there was little difference in the level of interest toward the advertisement between men and women, but there was a large difference in terms of brand trust (6.3 for women, 5.4 for men). There was also a pronounced difference in terms of the level of enjoyment felt toward the sad advertisement (5.6 for women, 4.8 for men). Men indicated a slightly higher understanding of the ad (6.0 vs. 5.53 for women).

Open-ended responses to how the brand was presented in the sad advertisement notably differed among men and women. Women typically responded positively, mentioning that the brand seemed, "Personable," "Caring toward their clients," and "Intelligently appeals to emotions." However, the average male participant used less in-depth descriptions, labeling the brand as, "Depressing," and, "Likely to make me cry." Interestingly, the sad advertisement was chosen as the most favorable and memorable ad by both men and women.

Advertisement 2- Humorous

Overall, the humorous advertisement saw the lowest scores in almost every category. Male scores were higher than female scores on each measure. Men rated their level of enjoyment and interest in the advertisement as 4.8 for both categories, compared with 3.7 and 3.2, respectively, in each category for women. Brand trust measures were the lowest overall of any category in the survey, but they were even worse for women (2.3) than for men (3.6). There also were considerable differences in the levels of advertisement assimilation between men and women. Men's attention toward the advertisement was rated at 5.2 and their understanding of the advertisement at 4.8. Women evaluated their attention at 3.8 and their understanding at 2.6, the second-lowest score on the survey.

Open-ended responses to the humorous ad also differed between men and women. Men tended to describe the ad as, "Light-hearted and entertaining," "Funny, but catering toward a more specific audience," and, "Easy-going with a fun product." Conversely, women responded negatively and labeled the brand as, "Tacky and not so professional," with one female participant simply stating, "Weird." Two out of the ten men said the second advertisement was their favorite, and only one woman viewed it as her favorite.

Advertisement 3- Disconcerting

The third ad elicited mostly similar responses from men and women. Men averaged a rating of 5.0 for interest in the ad, and 4.0 for enjoyment. Women assessed the ad at 5.6 for interest and 3.93 for enjoyment. Although enjoyment levels were relatively low, ratings of brand trust received the highest scores for both men (6.0) and women (6.27) out of all three advertisements. Men reported a high 6.3 rating for attention, while women responded with 5.33. However, comprehension of the advertisement was the highest-rated category for both men (6.7) and women (6.67) out of the entire survey.

In open-ended responses, men described the brand as, "Concerned for the well-being of others," and, "Worried about not just their customers, but everyone." Female participants noted, "The brand establishes an emotional connection to the audience," and, "An informative brand that cares about real issues." Most answers for this section related to the company's ability to connect with and care about the consumers.

V. Discussion

Some of the results of this study are confounding. For instance, the sad advertisement was voted as both the most memorable and most favored. However, the disconcerting advertisement received higher scores in almost every single category. Even the open-ended responses portrayed the brand in the disconcerting advertisement as all-around more positive and caring for customers. One explanation could be the content in the videos. As previously mentioned, symbolic interactionism involves the study of experiences through narratives. Texting and driving PSAs include narratives that people tend to see on a fairly regular basis. That provides a large population of people with a mediated experience of the topic. This could account for the relatively low ratings of enjoyment for the texting advertisement, but also the higher rated brand trust and connection with the ad.

Exploring the trends within each specific advertisement uncovers useful information about how men and women sometimes react to emotions differently. The sad advertisement was included to see how men would react, since past research suggests women are more trusting and attentive to the sad and emotional connection. Men on the other hand, are pressured with stereotypes to appear strong and unemotional during sad experiences. This research aligns with past studies, as male scores of attitude and brand trust were lower with the sad advertisement. Additionally, the short, non-elaborate male responses on the open-ended question suggested men's inability to outwardly express sadness. However, men's attentiveness scores for the advertisement were higher than women's, and half of the men chose the ad as their favorite. So, although men may want to seem emotionally strong externally, they were still very attentive toward the ad internally.

The humorous ad was unpopular overall, perhaps due to the type of humor. Men rated the ad higher in every category and described the brand in more positive terms than did women. Even though men were more comfortable expressing themselves for this kind of emotion, they still gave relatively low assimilation and brand trust ratings. What mattered was that the advertisement and the brand were unable to connect

with the audience, as suggested through the open-ended responses and lower scores on audience attention. Again, a different kind of humor or stronger punch line may have grabbed the participants' attention differently.

Finally, the disconcerting advertisement exhibited higher assimilation than attitude ratings, as well as high brand trust scores. This could be because the type of emotion. It is safe to say that many people do not enjoy being scared or watching others get hurt. But those events are memorable and, on a larger scale, newsworthy. So, even though the participants may not have enjoyed being scared, the advertisement was able to connect with the audience about a realistic and tragic event. However, these types of advertisements can be difficult to work with. Scaring the audience without providing a solution or showing how the company cares about it can deter the audience rather than draw them in. The brand in the third advertisement succeeds in providing the necessary solution and care, as seen by the positive open-ended responses.

VI. Conclusion

Higher levels of ad enjoyment do not necessarily lead to a better or more memorable brand. The data presented from the survey suggest that emotional connection and assimilation play a major role in brand trust and favorability. Across all three advertisements, men and women typically rated ads as either having high brand trust with high assimilation, or low brand trust with low assimilation. There is also a possibility that emotional connection could motivate attentiveness and assimilation.

Measures of recognition and attitude resulted in similar trends. There was not one emotion that clearly stuck out as by far the most effective, although humor appeared to be not successful with women. Sad and scary emotions were both effective in gaining audience attention, but attitude toward that ad varied between men and women.

Timing, funding, and number of participants were all limitations for the researcher. With more of each, the researcher could have expanded the survey by adding two or three advertisements per emotion. Future studies could also include a deeper look at symbolic interactionism and experience in relation to advertisement connection. Finally, with more control and number of participants, creating a more even distribution of men to women could also improve the findings of the survey.

Acknowledgments

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Ecotourism Blogging: Strategies that Develop Trust Online and Transform Travel Behaviors

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Abstract

Sustainable travel bloggers have the power to alter perceptions of a location, enhance cultural tourism, and transform the way audiences explore different locations. To analyze how these blogs enhance ecotourism efforts while building their own credibility, a content analysis was executed to identify key strategies among ten different travel blogs. Among the most noteworthy findings was the importance of the bloggers' travel experiences and expertise, the strategic use of keywords and hyperlinks, and an honest disclosure of sponsorships and affiliate partners. A successful ecotourism travel blog must align content with its brand and values while showcasing its unique niche within the travel industry. This study will help sustainable bloggers employ effective strategies to enhance their online credibility and make a positive impact on the ecotourism industry.

I. Introduction

Cutting through the deafening noise of the digital world can be a daunting task. Travel bloggers in particular face the challenge of becoming the go-to resource for online travelers – something that will only become more challenging as this sector continues to grow. In order for ecotourism bloggers to make a lasting impression on the travel industry, they must develop and maintain their credibility, create a user-friendly website, and in most cases, monetize their platform in a way that does not diminish their online believability. This content analysis identifies key patterns that contribute to ecotourism bloggers' online success, which align with both the Source Credibility Theory and the Technology Acceptance Model. The results of this study will help current and future bloggers transform the way people travel and build increased trust with their audience. Even more broadly, it will provide insight into creating consumer-generated content that people trust, whether it be on social media or a personal website.

II. Literature Review

The ambiguously defined concept of ecotourism is widely considered to be the largest and fastest growing facet of the tourism industry (Dowling & Fennell, 2003). Mexican environmentalist Hector Ceballos-Lascuráin originally coined the term "ecotourism" in the early 1980s. He described it as "traveling to relatively

undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas." (Fennell, 2015).

It is important to note that ecotourism had been in practice long before its coining, and other academics had already conducted extensive research on similar topics. In 1965, Claus-Dieter (Nick) Hetzer crafted the four pillars for responsible tourism: minimum environmental impact; minimum impact on – and maximum respect for – host cultures; maximum economic benefits to the host country's grassroots; and maximum "recreational" satisfaction to participating tourists (Fennell, 2015). Fennell defines ecotourism is "a form of nature-based tourism" with a "primary interest in the natural history of a destination" that emphasizes "learning, sustainability, and ethical planning, development and management."

Donohoe and Needham (2006) developed a conceptual framework for eco-tourism based on six fundamental themes in the literature: (1) nature-based; (2) preservation; (3) education; (4) sustainability; (5) distribution of benefits; and (6) ethics/responsibility. These themes are practiced in some of the most iconic ecotourism destinations, such as Costa Rica, Ecuador, and the Great Barrier Reef. Today's scholars are turning their attention to the rapid increase and proliferation of ecotourism holidays and activities across the world.

The rapid growth in ecotourism-related activities, coupled with more than two billion social media users, makes for a complex relationship. Review sites and blogs help ecotourism operators in the promotion of ecotourism products and services. Consumers view blogs and review sites as more reliable sources of travel information than traditional marketing techniques such as brochures, and they enjoy the virtual interaction that these sites provide (Bindu, 2018). However, Bindu also notes that while this surge in online marketing is contributing to the ecotourism industry's growth, tourists are still relatively unaware of the key objectives of ecotourism. According to Lai and Schafer (2005), ecotourism operators often fail to express key principles of ecotourism, such as sustainability, in their online marketing tactics, leaving so-called ecotourists without a clear understanding of the fundamental purpose of these activities.

Travel Blogging and its Effects

Travel blogging is a powerful tool that can alter perceptions of a location, enhance cultural tourism, and transform the way travel and hospitality firms communicate with stakeholders (Minazzi, 2016). According to Azariah (2017), travel blogs as those have regular updates, personal stories or opinion, hyperlinks, and the ability for readers to comment. These personalized websites usually consist of a mixture of "organic images" – stemming from unbiased personal experiences – and "induced images" – created to sell a certain product or service (Tasci & Gartner, 2007). The wide variety of topics, personal experiences, and bloggers' knowledge bases provide a varied source of information for all things travel.

However, the portrayal of the same location can vary among different blogs. One study focusing on visitors' perceptions and impressions of Stratford, Canada, concluded that travel blogs provide valuable insight (Banyai, 2012), but bloggers can manipulate a destination's image and description to increase the adoption of certain products, which can falsely alter a potential tourist's perception of a place (Tasci & Gartner, 2007). The dichotomy between a destination's portrayal on travel blogs versus visitors' experiences in real life raise concerns regarding the effects that blogging could have on the travel industry.

Another study analyzing the economic, sociological and cultural aspect of online marketing on Iran's ecotourism industry found that these online portrayals had a positive effect on the country's cultural tourism and hospitality industries (Riasi & Pourmir, 2015). A comprehensive survey sent to a variety of tourism and hospitality workers found that many Iranian ecotourism sites promoting traditional music, food and drink, ceremonial events and other cultural attractions in rural Iran significantly enhanced the popularity of these activities and therefore improved Iran's ecotourism industry as a whole. Additionally, the level of trust that consumers have in a certain blog or review site is highly influenced by the reliability and expertise of the author (Ayeh, 2015). Online travelers are much more likely to trust and use information created by an experienced traveler.

Travelers' Trust in Consumer-Generated Media

Consumer-Generated Media (CGM) is described as "media impressions created by consumers, typically informed by relevant experience, and archived or shared online for easy access by other impressionable consumers" (Gretzel, 2008). This rapidly growing media is often described as a new form of

word-of-mouth marketing and encompasses a vast array of online platforms including reviews and ratings, pictures on photo sharing sites, and blogs and podcasts. The first-hand experiential nature of CGM is largely appealing to the everyday consumer, especially those looking for detailed and honest accounts of travel experiences. More than 50 percent of consumers consult CGM sources before purchasing a travel-related product or service (Gretzel, 2008).

Ayeh (2015) used two well-established models to better understand consumer trust and acceptance of CGM. The Technology Acceptance Model, originally proposed by Fred D. Davis in 1986, holds that an individual's acceptance of certain information is based on two cognitive factors: perceptions of usefulness, and ease of use. Ayeh found that if travelers perceive a certain type of CGM as useful, they are likely to adopt that information. Additionally, the amount of effort required to access and absorb CGM information while travel planning shapes attitudes toward the content and its perceived level of usefulness. The Source Credibility Theory holds that the knowledge and expertise of the author, as well as the type of position or occupation the author holds, are keys to developing trust and believability online. In addition, the level of perceived bias also affects the credibility of the source, and supports the idea that more objectivity leads to a higher level of source credibility (Pallavicini, 2017).

Each of these models and studies serve as a strong foundation for how travel bloggers can establish trust and rapport with consumers in the increasingly saturated digital landscape. While there have been several studies examining the usability and trustworthiness of travel-related CGM, this research will focus specifically on how ecotourism blogs are developing a loyal following and altering travel behavior through trustworthy and objective content, ease of use, and the author's credibility. The Source Credibility Model and the Technology Acceptance Model will serve as guiding theoretical models in this analysis.

III. Methods

Ten ecotourism blogs were selected for content analysis, drawn from recommendations by prominent travel bloggers and sustainable travel organizations. Each of the blogs analyzed (Table 1) met the following criteria:

- The blog and/ or bloggers have a mission statement and a social media presence.
- There is content specifically about ecotourism and/ or sustainable travel. Either the entire blog or a specific section on the blog is dedicated to this topic.
- The bloggers themselves are experienced travelers.
- The individual blog posts meet the necessary criteria outlined in the literature review, which include being topical, having anecdotal/ descriptive commentary, using hyperlinks, offering a comment section, and including relevant images.
- The blogs are monetized.

Table 1

Blogs selected for analysis
Soul Travel
Charlie on Travel
Don't Forget to Move
Two Wandering Souls
Miss Filatelista
Verdemode
The Uprooted Rose
The Green Pick
The Invisible Tourist
Green Suitcase Travel

The analysis first focused on the backgrounds of the bloggers, overall use of social media, and purpose of the blog. In particular, the analysis recorded:

- Blogger's occupation (e.g. full-time traveler, ecotourism expert, journalist)
- Use of social media/ third-party platforms
- Linked social media accounts
- How many followers blogger has on each platform
- The types of media mentions, if any, received
- The industry niche of the blog, if it has one

Second, for each of the blogs, the research analyzed two published articles: one that was about sustainable travel in general (referred to as the "all-encompassing post"), and one that wrote about a niche topic specific to that blog. Each post was analyzed under the following criteria:

- Length of posts
- Frequently used words or phrases relating to ecotourism
- Use of expert quotes and scholarly research
- Use of anecdotes and/ or opinions when making a claim or recommendation
- Frequency and quality of images used
- Number and destination of the hyperlinks in each post
- Number and sentiment of the comments on each post

Third, the blogs were analyzed for how they make money. This section is important because the way in which blogs are monetized can strongly impact consumer trust. From the types of ads on a blog post, to the products or companies affiliated with a website, these elements have a large impact the perceived level of bias and reliability of a blog. Some ways of monetization include affiliate marketing, ads on a Cost-Per-Click (CPC) or cost per 1,000 impressions (CPM) basis, sponsored posts, and sales of products and/ or services. The analysis noted company partners and how the blogger disclosed relationships with those partners.

IV. Findings

Three specific patterns emerged among the authors of each blog. The most common trait was that the bloggers are either full-time globetrotters or have traveled the world extensively. Each of these bloggers wrote about their years of travel in the "About" section of their website to help establish themselves as a credible source. Additionally, each blog provided a clear mission statement that explains why and how they are writing about a specific topic. Lastly, the majority of these blogs have a niche focus within the realm of responsible travel. Whether it be a specific destination or a unique style of travel, many of the bloggers have claimed a certain topic as their own to become an expert in.

For example, Australian-based Alyse from the Invisible Tourist writes about her gap year in which her "continuous adventure around the world" led her through "48 cities, 18 countries, 3 continents and almost 60,000kms." In total, she's visited 31 countries and more than 240 cities, and dives into each country specifically in at least one blog post. Miss Filatelista also highlights her diverse list of journeys, but instead of writing it out in a traditional text-based formula, she created a world map on her homepage that highlights each country that she has visited.

The second way that ecotourism travel bloggers develop credibility is through their current or previous professional occupation – a key factor in determining how consumers perceive Consumer Generated Media. Some of the common employment histories were journalism, tourism and hospitality. Linda McCormick of Verdemode, for example, had already been writing about sustainability and eco issues for a decade while running a website that provided people with sustainable travel guides for eight years. In a similar manner, Lola of Miss Filatelista describes herself as "a published travel journalist and has written travel articles for CNN, Lonely Planet, Atlas Obscura, Matador Network, and more."

These eco-travel bloggers encapsulated their overarching purpose and objective through a simple mission statement. While some bloggers referred to their mission with different terms (such as "goal," "vision," and "purpose"), they all clearly expressed their mission and placed it in an easily identifiable location. For example, Ellie and Ravi of Soul Travel put their "why" statement at the very top of their "About" page with an unmistakable label: "Our Mission." In contrast, the Don't Forget to Move blog placed a blurb on the bottom of each page with a header reading "About the Blog." The accompanying text proclaims its mission is to "help promote and inspire adventurous, authentic and responsible travel around the world."

After traveling the world and writing about a range of sustainability topics, many bloggers find a specific area that appeals to them the most. This varies in specificity, ranging from a specific destination to a particular type of travel. Regardless, establishing oneself as an expert in a specific area adds another layer of credibility to the blogger. Take The Invisible Tourist as an example. The blog has a section with extensive travel guides to six different Japanese cities, a Japanese etiquette rulebook, Japanese travel tips and tricks, and dozens of other blog posts describing her experience traveling responsibly in Japan. The trust she has developed with her readers is evident in the comments of each post. In her "2 Weeks in Japan Itinerary," there are 44 comments where readers thank her for the detailed post and ask follow-up questions – all of which she thoughtfully answers. This pattern persists in the majority of her Japan posts, specifically her "Overtourism in Japan" piece that combines her love for the country with her passion for sustainability. This post garnered some intense discussions in the comments, with both foreign travelers and Japanese locals writing 2-3 paragraphs about the negative impacts of overtourism. Alyse responds to each comment with the same level of depth and care which showcases her passion for this topic and develops a relationship between her and her readers.

The All-Encompassing Blog Post

Seven out of the 10 blogs in the research sample had one overarching blog post dedicated entirely to the meaning and significance of responsible travel. These were typically longer than normal blog posts, ranging from 1,300-2,800 words, and included many of the same industry-specific keywords such as "local," "sustainable," and "environment." Among these posts, three key features emerged: strategic keyword usage, copious hyperlinks, and unsponsored content. Among all the regularly-used keywords in each blog post, three stood out in terms of frequency.

1. **"Local" –** Each post in the sample used the word "local" at least three times – some used it upwards of 40 times – which came out to a total of 169 uses. The posts that used this term the most within the body text ranked higher in the Google search engine, but none used this term in their title.

2. **"Sustainable" –** Used a total of 93 times, 33 of which was within the phrase "sustainable travel." Three of the titles included the phrase "sustainable travel" or "sustainable tourism," and each were ranked among the top three search engine results.

3. **"Responsible" –** Used a total of 72 times, "responsible" was included in both the titles of the all-encompassing posts and within phrases such as "responsible travel" and "responsible tourism" in the body text. Two titles used this word, with one called "How to Travel Responsibly" and the other "What Exactly is Responsible Travel Anyway?" However, these two titles did not rank particularly well; the first one didn't show up until the end of the third page of search results.

According to Google's Search Console Help, two key tips for ranking higher in search engines are "unique, accurate page titles" and popular keywords throughout the body text – both of which are reflected in the majority of the sample. When the phrase "what is sustainable travel" was searched on Google, Charlie on Travel's post entitled "What is Sustainable Travel? (And How to be a Sustainable Traveller)" ranked number one. This ranking, in part, could be attributed to the strategic use of keywords. This specific post used "local" 47 times, "sustainable" 44 times and "sustainable travel" 21 times, and the word "sustainable" was used twice in the title alone. However, when the phrase "what is responsible travel" was searched on Google, none of the sampled blogs came up until the end of the third page. This could indicate that "sustainable travel" is a more powerful phrase that a higher number of people are searching for. It's also a more industry-specific term than "responsible."

Another key feature of the all-encompassing blog posts is an extensive use of hyperlinks. This tool allows readers to click on a highlighted word or phrase that will bring them to a new page such as a website, document or video to learn more about a specific subject. In the 10 all-encompassing blog posts studied for this research, there were 131 total hyperlinks. The frequency of hyperlinks in each post varied: Half of the blogs used between 18 and 31, while others used only eight or less. Additionally, each blog post linked to various pages based on the topic and objective of the post. The most common link categories are below, in order of frequency:

1. **Own blog posts (42) –** This refers to blog posts that the author has already published on his or her own blog. It is essentially a form of self-promotion.

2. **Affiliate links (30) –** These links often lead to sites related to travel organizations, hotels, and product pages. Usually the blogger receives a small commission if their reader clicks the link and buys something on the site.

3. **News articles (17) –** These are typically linked to background stories or statistics, and range from international to industry-specific publications.

4. **Other travel blogs (10) –** These links recommend or give credit to another blog, typically within a related niche.

The last major characteristic of these all-encompassing blog posts is that the majority are unsponsored, which may indicate that the blogger wrote the post for purely informative purposes with little to no monetary incentive. The next section will discuss sponsored posts in greater depth, but it is essentially an advertising tactic in which a company or brand pays a blogger to write and publish a blog post on their platform about a particular product or service. Nine out of the ten all-encompassing blog posts were unsponsored; the only compensation received would have been from banner ads on the sidebars and/ or affiliate links within the body text.

Conscious Monetization

Each ecotourism blog in the sample is monetized in one way or another. All of the bloggers in this sample consider blogging to be part of their careers, and as with any business, there must be a monetary component involved. However, in order to build an easy-to-use platform and maintain consumer trust, the way in which a blog is monetized must align with the blog's brand while continuing to provide readers with valuable content. Four levels of monetization emerged in this analysis: affiliate marketing, a merchandise store, sponsored posts, and freelancing services. Some blogs use only one of these methods, while others utilize all four, but one theme that remains constant is that the method of monetization aligns with each blog's purpose.

One way that blogs can make money is through affiliate marketing, where blogs get a commission for selling a product. Every blogger in this sample places affiliate links throughout all types of blog posts, but some have an entire page dedicated to promoting ethical and sustainable products that the blogger recommends, which is often called an "EcoTravel Store." For example, Two Wandering Soles offers a "Complete Packing List for Your Next Trip" with a comprehensive range of products from travel gear to clothing to women's toiletries, most of which are through the Amazon affiliate program. However, the very first post on this page promotes a socially-conscious company called "Banana Backpackers" that sells travel backpacks at an affordable price.

The second way that ecotourism blogs make money is through sponsored blog posts, when a company or brand pays a blogger to write about a product or service, which in turn exposes the brand to a specific demographic. Out of the seven sponsored posts in the sample, five explicitly state that the content was sponsored; the other two do not make it clear. The analysis also suggests that niche posts are more likely to be sponsored than the broad overarching pieces. Some blogs include a disclosure statement at the beginning or end of each post. For example, one post on Don't Forget to Move included "This trip and article was in collaboration with LifeStraw, a company that we've always supported and purchased products from, years before we worked with them. All opinions and thoughts are our own."

Additionally, seven out of the 10 blogs have an entire page disclosing their work with other brands and companies, often diving into the logistics of sponsored content and affiliate links, all in an effort to remain transparent and honest in the eyes of the consumer. For example, Soul Travel included the following statement

in bold on its disclosure page: "Regardless of whether content has been sponsored or not, our experiences, thoughts and words are always my own and we will provide the reader with our honest opinion about a place to stay, a destination, or a product."

Finally, a blogger can make money through freelance services. Four of the sampled blogs offer digital marketing and content creation services on a "Work With Us" page. From there, the blogs offer services including campaign strategy, social media marketing, and event planning.

V. Discussion & Conclusion

The three patterns that emerged among all the bloggers were rich travel experiences, a carefully crafted mission statement, and a specific niche or specialty within the industry. This aligns with past studies that indicate travel experience is a key aspect of building credibility with tourism blogs. Once this foundation has been established, another key feature that may strengthen a travel blogger's credibility is expertise – or niche – within the realm of sustainable travel.

Among the sampled blogs, the ones that promoted a specific niche displayed two distinguishing features. The first was that the niche posts garnered an intense amount of discussion, most of which were thoughtful comments by people equally as passionate about the topic. This may indicate that finding and writing about a niche topic could lead to a deeper and more loyal following. Another important finding is that niche posts are often sponsored. Since most of the niche posts were written by a credible source who was both passionate and knowledgeable about the topic, the readers still seemed to trust that this content was helpful and reliable, even though it was sponsored.

One tactic that further contributes to the believability of sponsored content is a clear disclosure statement. Seven out of the 10 blogs studied had an entire page dedicated to disclosing affiliate work, and out of the seven sponsored posts in the sample, five of the bloggers explicitly stated that it was sponsored. They did not try to hide the motivation behind a certain post, instead, they explained their personal relationship or experience with the brand or travel experience at hand, giving their readers context for why they are writing about it. This combination of expert knowledge on a subject and a transparent relationship with readers may lead to an increased acceptance of sponsored niche posts.

A majority of the selected blogs had an all-encompassing blog post that described the meaning and significance of sustainable travel, as well as the bloggers' personal connection to this type of travel. Not only do these all-encompassing blog posts provide a strategic outlet for self-promotion through hyperlinks to related posts, but they also set a tone by showcasing the blogger's deep knowledge and passion for the subject. Additionally, these all-encompassing blog posts use many hyperlinks that represent a mixture of self-promotion, education, and marketing, which when done correctly can enhance the user experience by introducing readers to helpful resources and information.

The final noteworthy aspect of the sampled blogs was the way in which they were monetized. It is clear that the three most popular ways to make money from a blog is through affiliate marketing, sponsored content and freelancing services, but these must be executed in a careful manner to maintain trust and believability with readers. With sponsored posts in particular, the blogger must be transparent with the audience about who they are writing for and why. In order to provide value and retain trust, sponsored content must align with the blog's brand and prove to be a helpful resource for the audience.

Limitations

With only 10 ecotourism blogs in the sample, it is difficult to determine how representative this study is of all such sites. Future studies could analyze a more comprehensive group of travel blogs, which leads to the second major limitation: the homogeneity of the sample. Approximately half of the sampled blogs were from either the United States or the United Kingdom. Future studies could employ a form of stratified random sampling to ensure that all demographics in the travel blogging industry are represented. Another important area that this study did not cover is social media strategy. Future studies should identify the branding techniques and promotional tactics employed by bloggers that enhance or diminish success.

Acknowledgements

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An Analysis of Mission Statements of University Journalism and Communications Schools in the United States

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Abstract

Mission statements are considered a staple for higher education institutions and are used to express the values and purpose of the university to various stakeholders. This research specifically looks at university journalism and communications programs in the United States and their use of mission statements. Qualitative content analysis was used to identify the prevalence of certain themes in 68 different mission statements. Findings indicated that more often than not, mission statements by communications schools merely scratched the surface when discussing elements included within. The findings suggest a possible shift in the priority that universities place on their mission statements to communicate their values and purpose to external stakeholders, especially with increasingly more information being made available on their websites.

I. Introduction

Mission statements have been employed by organizations for decades, showcasing their values and their purpose to both internal and external stakeholders. The prevalence of mission statements is unquestionable, being an almost mandatory element for organizations' websites, but their impact is often questioned. Nevertheless, a mission statement reflects the image an organization wishes to project, a form of reputation management. Analyzing mission statements therefore allows the self-concept of an organization to be examined, as well as the principles and values it holds to be important.

This study aims to analyze the website mission statements of schools and departments of journalism and communications in the United States. Past studies have focused on the content of mission statements in higher education institutions, but there have been no similar studies that particularly look at specific programs of journalism and communications within these institutions. With the rapidly changing media landscape, the role of professional journalists is more important than ever. This analysis of the mission statements of the programs that help shape these future professionals will reveal valuable information as to what principles are being emphasized and prioritized. In addition, universities operate in a competitive landscape, so analyzing how they differentiate and prove their value to stakeholders will yield valuable insights into their approaches to reputation management.

II. Literature Review

Mission Statements

Although the effectiveness of mission statements is often debated, there is a general consensus among scholars as to what mission statements are. Pearce (1982) writes that a company mission statement "reveals the image the company seeks to project, reflects the firm's self-concept, and indicates the principal product or service areas and the primary customer needs the company will attempt to satisfy" (p. 15). Similarly, Bart and Tabone (1998) define a mission statement as a "written, formal document that attempts to capture an organization's unique and enduring purpose and practices" (p. 55). Morphew and Hartley (2006) outline the main benefits that are offered by mission statements: they help dictate and instruct to members of the organization what activities align with the institution's goals, they can motivate those within an organization by rallying them around a shared purpose, and they communicate the organization's key values and purpose to external stakeholders. Common themes throughout these definitions suggest that mission statements seek to establish an institution's purpose and means of achieving it.

Past studies have supported the assertion that mission statements offer these benefits and serve a real purpose. Baetz (1998) studied 136 large Canadian organizations and determined that firms whose managers said they were satisfied with their mission statements were more likely to have strong sales growth, and employees were more likely to cite the influence of the mission statement on their work. This implies that in order for mission statements to impact firm performance, they must be crafted in a way that resonates with employees. Similarly, Davis, Ruhe, Lee and Rajadhyak (2017) sampled senior business students at 16 universities in order to determine if content in their institutions' mission statements had an impact on their behavior. Their research found that students whose universities' mission statements placed strong emphases on ethics had stronger ethical values than did students at other universities (Davis et al., 2017).

Mission statements can also impact public perception. Lin and Ryan (2016) determined that there was a positive relationship between an airline's mission statement and their passengers' perceived trust in the airline. However, mission statements still fall under heavy scrutiny. Ran and Duimering (2007) suggest that the nature of mission statements themselves and their role in casting the organization in a positive light diminishes their purpose. They write that mission statements are, "likely to include only categories that make the organization look good and to define boundaries and internal structures of identity categories in ways that suit the interests of the organization" (Ran and Duimering, 2007, p. 179).

Mission Statements in Higher Education Institutions

Mission statements are a cornerstone of higher education, from the institutional level down through individual programs. Morphew and Hartley (2006) note that "accreditation agencies demand them, strategic planning is predicated on their formulation, and virtually every college and university has one available for review" (p. 456). Mission statements at higher education institutions should identify how the organization is positioned within the larger educational market, and they "will explain the purpose of the organization, its direction and the ends to which it will function" (Davis et al., 2007, p. 101). Mission statements serve as a type of identity claim that is part of the reputation management function for these institutions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Therefore, a mission statement posted on a university website may project the image of the institution in a different way than, say, an advertisement for the university.

Some scholars argue that mission statements are generic and rarely reflect the unique organization. Newsom and Hayes, studying mission statements of 114 colleges and universities in the United States, found they were, "amazingly vague, vapid, evasive, or rhetorical, lacking specificity or clear purpose ... full of honorable verbiage signifying nothing" (Newsom and Hayes, 1991, p. 29). Similarly, a study of the top 50 schools of social work in the United States found mission statements were "written and framed in ways that reflected their own political or institutional needs" (Holosko, Winkel and Briggs, 2015, p. 232). Morphew and Hartley (2006) suggest that mission statements for higher education institutions should include elements that are commonly understood by people to be foundational to the mission of higher education. This could lead to commonalities appearing in mission statements that could make them hard to distinguish from each other, a common critique of mission statements in general.

The Changing Media Landscape

The field of media has been undergoing massive change, particularly in the case of journalists. With the rise of the Internet, the way people access information looks vastly different than it used to. With the media landscape being transformed by new technologies, new challenges have arisen that media professionals must tackle, which, according to Kaul (2012), include "new relations with audiences (Interactivity), new languages (Multimedia) and a new grammar (Hypertext)" (p. 1). According to Hayes, Singer and Ceppos (2007), "new mass media technologies have evolved to challenge the print and broadcast industries' control over gatekeeping, framing, agenda setting, and other traditional media roles. In doing so, they have redefined conventional notions of news and the types of individuals who gather, edit, and report it" (p. 263).

Although the exact definition of journalists' roles and the way they function is in flux, "The overall goal remains what it has always been: to provide credible information that citizens in a democracy need to be free and self-governing" (Hayes, Singer and Ceppos, 2007, p. 275).

However, one threat to the current role of journalism professionals is the lack of trust American citizens have in the media industry. According to a 2016 Gallup poll, only 32% of Americans said that they had a great deal or a fair amount of trust in the media (Swift, 2016). Grappling with the implications of this loss of trust is something emerging and established journalists will have to address, and therefore the manner in which programs educating future journalists tackle this issue will be important. With public trust falling, a renewed emphasis on ethics in journalism may be more important than ever before.

Research Questions

This study fills a gap in knowledge of how universities are dealing with these changes in the industry, as signified by their mission statements, by proposing the following research questions:

RQ1: What main themes are present in the mission statements of schools of journalism and mass communication?

RQ2: Do the mission statements of schools of journalism and mass communication reflect the changing nature of the media industry?

RQ3: To what extent are ethics emphasized in the mission statements of schools of journalism and mass communication?

This study aims to address the nature of mission statements from schools of journalism and mass communication. Most studies on mission statements of higher education institutions have only focused on the primary institution itself, not individual programs within it, making this study distinct. This study seeks to determine how the programs tasked with shaping the next generation of journalism professionals are preparing to do so as reflected in their mission statements.

III. Methods

This study used a content analysis to examine the mission statements of 68 schools or departments of journalism and communications in the United States, as they appeared on their respective websites. The sample of universities selected for this analysis were taken from a list of fully accredited schools by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC). This is the organization that reviews and evaluates professional journalism and mass communications programs in colleges and universities. The council ensures that the programs meet rigorous educational standards and places an emphasis on the importance of innovation within the programs.

There are currently 112 fully accredited schools by ACEJMC, and 101 of these are in the United States. For the purpose of this study, the mission statement of every third U.S. school on the list was analyzed. Upon gathering this data, it was determined that a larger sample would benefit the study. Therefore, from the list of remaining schools, every other listing was chosen for analysis, resulting in a final total of 68. These schools and their respective programs are listed in Appendix A. The mission statements were

accessed online through the university program's website. If the mission statement could not be found directly on the website, its absence was noted.

The mission statements for these schools were coded to determine the main types of content and themes present. Due to the lack of previous literature on mission statements of schools of journalism and communications, a pilot review of the mission statements of schools and departments accredited by the ACEJMC, but not selected for analysis in this research, was performed in order to aid in the development of coding. Along with this pilot review, the World Journalism Economic Council's Declaration of Principles was consulted. This declaration outlines principles that set the standard for journalism education worldwide ("Declaration of Principles", n.d.). Relevant content coded for included: the mention of ethics, internships, research, the role or purpose of journalism in society, content skills, technology skills, the changing media landscape, and diversity.

It is helpful to further define some of these elements. Research refers to opportunities for students to conduct formal undergraduate research within their program. The role or purpose of journalism in society refers to aspects of the free exchange of ideas and the right to freedom of speech. Content skills refer to information gathering, analyzing, writing, editing, presenting and producing. Technology skills refer to software and hardware skills used for capturing and editing information in print, online and electronic media. The changing media landscape refers to new and emerging trends within the field of journalism and mass communications, as well as references to the rapid change within the media environment. Diversity refers to diversity both within the program of study and within society and how it relates to journalism.

A second coding sheet particularly looks at how ethics are included in the mission statements. Specific ethical principles, taken from the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) Code of Ethics, were coded for. The SPJ's Code of Ethics outlines four pillars that serve as an ethical guide for journalists. It is important to note that this SPJ Code of Ethics is not enforced by any law, it merely serves as a guide. These four pillars are: "Seek Truth and Report It," "Minimize Harm," "Act Independently," and lastly, "Be Accountable and Transparent" ("SPJ Code of Ethics," 2014). Each of these pillars serves as an umbrella for more specific ethical principles such as accuracy, fairness, truth, respect, accountability and transparency. Mission statements that included a reference to one or more of these ethical principles, or one of the four pillars, was classified as mentioning specific ethical principles.

IV. Findings

For this study, the mission statements were accessed online through the department or school's website. In order for the mission statement to be counted as present, it had to appear directly on the website for the university department or school, and also be explicitly labeled as a mission statement. This meant that mission statements included in documents such as strategic plans that had to be downloaded were not included, and statements found on the site but were not labeled as mission statements were not included. Out of the 68 schools and departments analyzed for this study, 39 of them (57.35%) included their mission statements on their respective websites. The schools and departments that included their mission statements on their respective websites have asterisks next to their names, found in Appendix A.

Once the presence of the mission statement was determined, each was examined for the presence of specific elements, as outlined in the methods section. The presence of these elements is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1 : Presence of Specific Elements Within School Mission Statements (N=39)

	Mention of Ethics	Mention of Internships	Mention of Role/ Purpose of Journalism in Society	Mention of Specific Skills	Mention of Research	Mention of Technology	Mention of Changing Media Landscape	Mention of Diversity
Count	25	5	11	27	16	11	10	20
Percentage of 39 schools	64.10%	12.82%	28.21%	69.23%	41.03%	28.21%	25.64%	51.28%

The element that was included the most often (27 schools, or 69% of total) in these mission statements was the mention of specific skills that students would be taught and leave with. Skills that were mentioned included writing, verbal and visual communication, storytelling, gathering, analyzing, and processing information, and media literacy. One skill that was mentioned in 22 out of the 27 mission statements that included specific skills was the ability to think critically. Here is one example of specific skills mentioned in a mission statement:

> By the time of graduation, mass communication majors will be able to gather, organize and process information; conduct interviews; write in a professional style to a professional level of competence; and edit and produce in printed, broadcast or digital form. (Winthrop University, Department of Mass Communication)

The second most common element included in these mission statements was the mention of ethics (64%). The degree to which ethics were emphasized within these mission statements varied, with some only mentioning it briefly, and others mentioning it more than once and expanding on specifics. Out of these 25 mission statements, 14 (56%) actually mentioned specific ethical principles. Examples of a mission statement that only mentioned ethics and one that mentioned specific ethical principles are here:

> We teach students to be engaged citizens and nimble, ethical professionals. (University of Iowa)

> The department will graduate students who, having received a comprehensive liberal arts education, are intellectually curious, possess skills to compete in the global marketplace, and are able to react and adapt to changes in the industry while maintaining the highest ethical standards of fairness, truth and accuracy.
> (University of Wisconsin Oshkosh)

As outlined in the methods section, when a mission statement did include a reference to ethics, it was then analyzed for the presence of specific ethical principles that are included in the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) Code of Ethics. Table 2 displays the prevalence of each of the four ethical pillars within these mission statements.

Table 2: Presence of Specific Principles Within Mission Statements Addressing Ethics (N=14)

	Seek Truth and Report It (accuracy, fairness, truth)	Minimize Harm	Act Independently (serve the public)	Be Accountable and Transparent (accountability, transparency)
Count	10	5	6	2
Percentage of subtotal (14)	71.43%	36%	42.86%	14.29%

When a mission statement did include specific ethical principles, the pillar "Seek Truth and Report It" was by far the most frequently referenced (71.43%). Ethical principles that were included in this pillar were accuracy, fairness, integrity, truth, honesty and balance. The pillar "Act Independently was mentioned in 6 (42.86%) of these mission statements. The ethical principles that were included under this pillar were serving the public and independence, with the idea of serving the public being the dominant principle mentioned. Five mission statements mentioned the pillar "Minimize Harm," which included principles such as sensitivity and respect.

After ethics, the next most frequent element was diversity, included in 20 of the 39 mission statements (51.28%). References to diversity primarily took two different forms: the importance of diversity as it relates to a profession in journalism, and the role diversity plays within the actual school or department. Here are two examples of diversity mentioned in a mission statement:

> Demonstrate an understanding of gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and, as appropriate, other forms of diversity in domestic society in relation to mass communications. (Murray State University, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications)

> Provide a welcoming and nurturing learning and mentorship environment that supports the diversity and richness of expression of our student body and offer educational and professional resources that equip our students, many first-generation college students, for meaningful and productive journalism and strategic media careers. (University of Memphis, Department of Journalism and Strategic Media)

These mission statements more frequently mentioned diversity in regards to its role in a professional setting and not the role or importance it played in the program itself. Different types of diversity that were touched on in these mission statements include race and ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious cultures and disability.

Eleven of the 39 mission statements (28.21%) mentioned the role or purpose that journalism plays in society. Common themes within these statements of purpose include the idea of journalism shaping public discourse, helping to uphold the First Amendment, and most commonly, fostering democracy:

> As the eyes and ears of society, journalism seeks to discover what is going on in the world beyond people's doors and tells them about it. In doing so, journalism strives to reflect and transmit society's values. The best journalism promotes public accountability of the powerful and encourages a well-informed citizenry. (University of Texas at Austin, School of Journalism)

The changing media landscape was addressed in 10 (25.64%) of these mission statements; six also included references to technology:

> We must be future-oriented and keep abreast of new technologies pertinent to the production and consumption of news, anticipating and evaluating their uses and social impacts. In particular, the digitization of news and information has posed both opportunities and challenges for news organizations and audiences. We help our students master these technologies through hands-on practices and encourage them to make sense of the digital revolution through critical thinking. (University of Texas at Austin, School of Journalism)

Most of the 10 statements addressing the changing media environment, only gave it a passing reference, not elaborating on how it has changed or what implications that has for those in the journalism profession. Here is a representative example:

Prepare students for careers in journalism, communication, advanced studies and other professional opportunities in an ever-shifting media environment. (Middle Tennessee State University, School of Journalism and Strategic Media)

Opportunities that the school or department provides students to prepare them for their careers were also mentioned in many of the 39 mission statements. Opportunities to conduct research were mentioned in 16 (41.03%) of mission statements, and internship opportunities were mentioned in 5 (12.82%) of mission statements. Examples of a mission statement that mentioned research and one that mentioned internships are:

To foster the development of exemplary communicators as industry leaders, scholars, professionals and educators through innovative curricula, research, practice and opportunities. (South Dakota State University, School of Communication and Journalism)

The Department of Journalism + Media is the place to position one's self among professionals and scholars with networks and experiences that help students gain internships, produce meaningful messages, and prepare for innovative and advanced careers in building the next generation of media. (Florida International University, School of Communication + Journalism).

V. Discussion

Presence of Mission Statements on Websites

Of the 68 schools and departments analyzed for this study, 39 of them (57.35%) included their mission statements on their respective websites. Although more than half, this number was surprising considering their status as a practically mandatory element in higher education. When the mission statement was included on the website, it was seldom displayed on the main page; when it was, it was usually not the main focus. Some websites house the program's mission statement under a dedicated tab labeled with tags such as "Mission," "Purpose," "Goals," or a combination of these. Locating these mission statements was often difficult due to the lack of consistency.

It is important to note that for the 29 schools and departments that did not include mission statements on their websites, the message was often just communicated in a different way. One way that some schools and departments decided to share their mission was through a letter from the dean of the school or department, communicating information that would typically be included in a mission statement in the form of a personal letter.

In general, websites communicated virtually everything that was coded for in this study, even if they were not crafted as mission statements. For example, while internships were seldom mentioned in the mission statements, they were discussed on every school or department website. Similarly, while diversity might have only been mentioned briefly in the mission statement of a school or department, there usually was an entire section of the website dedicated to the diversity plan. This leads to an interesting interpretation: as the websites of schools and departments get more detailed and are able to communicate a multitude of information in varying forms (including photography and video), there may be less priority placed on the mission statement. Perhaps the mission statement will become increasingly used internally, to help direct strategic functions of schools and departments, and will be shared less frequently with external stakeholders.

Themes and Trends Within Mission Statements

After analyzing the content of these 39 mission statements, a clearer picture of what schools and departments of journalism and communications prioritize emerges. More often than not, the concept of acting ethically and responsibly was mentioned but never expanded on in mission statements. Ethical behavior is a rather abstract concept that benefits from a more refined definition, something that the majority of these mission statements lacked. It seemed that these schools and departments were merely checking ethics off

a list of things they were supposed to reference when crafting their mission statements. This same trend occurred across multiple other elements that were included in these mission statements, namely diversity and the changing media landscape. Few mission statements went beyond the surface of these topics, merely mentioning the importance of recognizing and fostering diversity, and adapting to a rapidly changing industry. No specifics were provided in how the schools approach either of these factors, leaving the mission statements often feeling vague and hollow.

When discussing the themes and content included in the mission statements, the length of these statements should also be considered. The average length of the mission statements was 138 words, roughly a paragraph. However, the lengths varied greatly - the mission statement of Western Kentucky University's School of Journalism and Broadcasting was only 15 words, while the mission statement of the University of Texas at Austin's School of Journalism was 539 words. This inconsistency might help explain why some schools were able to either include more elements or explore these elements in further depth.

VI. Conclusion

The study aimed to analyze the mission statements included on websites of schools and departments of journalism and communications in the United States. This study called into question the emphasis and priority that schools and departments of journalism and communications are placing on mission statements, in an age where websites offer a plethora of information to stakeholders. The results showed that although important topics such as diversity, ethics, the changing media landscape were included in mission statements, they were rarely expanded on beyond a passing mention.

This study has implications for those responsible for crafting or editing the mission statements of programs within higher education institutions. This analysis shows that there is little differentiation between the mission statements of these schools/departments of journalism and communications, leaving vast room for improvement and an opportunity for programs to stand out from competitors in the eyes of stakeholders.

There are two limitations to note in this study both concerning the sample. The first is the sample size, with only 68 schools and departments analyzed. With only a little more than half of the programs having mission statements present on their website, this limited the content available for analysis. It is also worth noting that the sample of schools and departments were all accredited by the ACEJMC. This is notable because the ACEJMC is selective in recognizing schools and departments that meet their standards as outlined in the methods section. This sample therefore most likely represents the premier schools and departments of journalism and communications in the nation, and may not be a representative sample for the rest of the country.

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Appendix A

1. **University of North Alabama,** Department of Communications
2. **Arkansas State University,** School of Media and Journalism,
3. **California State University,** Fullerton, Department of Communications,
4. **San Diego State University,** School of Journalism and Media Studies,
5. **University of Southern California,** Annenberg School of Journalism,
6. **University of Connecticut,** Department of Journalism,
7. **Florida International University,** School of Communication + Journalism
8. **University of South Florida St. Petersburg,** Department of Journalism and Digital Communication,
9. **University of Idaho,** School of Journalism and Mass Media,
10. **Southern Illinois University,** Edwardsville, Department of Mass Communications,
11. **Indiana University,** Journalism,
12. **University of Iowa,** School of Journalism and Mass Communication,
13. **Murray State University,** Department of Journalism and Mass Communications,
14. **Louisiana State University,** Manship School of Mass Communication,
15. **University of Louisiana at Lafayette,** Department of Communication,
16. **Michigan State University,** School of Journalism,
17. **University of Mississippi,** School of Journalism and New Media,
18. **University of Missouri,** School of Journalism,
19. **University of Nevada, Reno,** Donald W. Reynolds School of Journalism and Center for Advanced Media Studies,
20. **Hofstra University,** Department of Journalism, Media Studies, and Public Relations,

21. **St. Bonaventure University,** Jandoli School of Communication,
22. **Syracuse University,** S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications,
23. **University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,** Hussman School of Journalism and Media,
24. **Ohio University,** E.W. Scripps School of Journalism,
25. **University of Oregon,** School of Journalism and Communication,
26. **Temple University,** Department of Journalism,
27. **South Dakota State University,** School of Communication and Journalism,
28. **University of Memphis,** Department of Journalism and Strategic Media,
29. **University of Tennessee at Martin,** Department of Communications,
30. **Texas Christian University,** Department of Journalism,
31. **University of Texas at Austin,** School of Journalism,
32. **Norfolk State University,** Department of Mass Communications and Journalism,
33. **Marshall University,** W. Page Pitt School of Journalism and Mass Communications,
34. **University of Wisconsin Oshkosh,** Department of Journalism
35. **University of Alabama**, College of Communication & Information Sciences,
36. **University of Arizona**, School of Journalism,
37. **California State University, Chico**, Department of Journalism and Public Relations,
38. **California State University, Northridge**, Department of Journalism,
39. **San Jose State University**, School of Journalism and Mass Communications,
40. **University of Colorado**, Department of Journalism,
41. **Howard University**, Cathy Hughes School of Communications,
42. **University of North Florida**, School of Communication,
43. **University of Georgia**, Henry W. Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication,
44. *** Southern Illinois University Carbondale**, School of Journalism,
45. **Ball State University**, Department of Journalism,
46. **Iowa State University of Science and Technology**, Greenlee School of Journalism and Communication,
47. **University of Kansas**, William Allen White School of Journalism and Mass Communications,
48. **Western Kentucky University**, School of Journalism and Broadcasting,
49. **Nicholls State University**, Department of Mass Communication,
50. **Central Michigan University**, Department of Journalism,
51. **University of Minnesota**, School of Journalism and Mass Communication,
52. **Southeast Missouri State University**, Department of Mass Media,
53. **University of Nebraska-Lincoln** College of Journalism and Mass Communications,
54. **Columbia University**, Graduate School of Journalism,
55. **New York University**, Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute,
56. **SUNY Buffalo State**, Communication Department,
57. **North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University**, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication,
58. **Kent State University**, School of Journalism and Mass Communication,
59. **University of Oklahoma**, Gaylord College,
60. **Shippensburg University**, Department of Communication/Journalism,
61. **Winthrop University**, Department of Mass Communication,
62. **Middle Tennessee State University**, School of Journalism and Strategic Media,
63. **University of Tennessee at Chattanooga**, Department of Communication,
64. **Baylor University**, Department of Journalism, Public Relations & New Media,
65. **University of North Texas**, Frank W. and Sue Mayborn School of Journalism, Frank W. Mayborn Graduate Institute of Journalism,
66. **Hampton University**, The Scripps Howard School of Journalism and Communications,
67. **University of Washington**, Department of Communication,
68. **University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire**, Department of Communication and Journalism

Breaking Down the Wall: An Analysis of How Journalists Interview Children Impacted by Immigration Policies

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements in
an undergraduate senior capstone course in communications

Abstract

Journalists have interviewed children and teenagers for stories such as school shootings, child abuse cases, and issues related to immigration. There are few ethical guidelines regarding how minors should be interviewed by journalists, or if they should be interviewed at all. This study examines how journalists covered immigration-related issues between November 2016 to October 2019 and how children were interviewed for those stories. Based on this examination, ethical guidelines for journalists approaching migrant children, or children of migrants, will be suggested to ensure their safety and privacy, while still allowing for their perspectives in news stories.

I. Introduction

The Society of Professional Journalists created a set of guidelines in 1909 about the ethics of practicing honest and accurate journalism. The major components of the SPJ Code of Ethics are to seek truth and report it, minimize harm, act independently, and be accountable and transparent (SPJ, 2014).

"Minimizing harm" is the only subhead that mentions dealing with juveniles. The code of ethics has seen several revisions, most recently in 2014. Revisions include the mention of taking special care when dealing with juveniles and sources who are inexperienced or unable to give consent. Journalism professor Karen Slattery (2016) noted that the code moves away from the terminology of a "journalist with ethics" to "ethical journalism," which she sees as problematic in the sense that it can shift the weight of the issue away from a specific journalist to journalism as a medium overall (p. 7). Journalists must be held accountable, Slattery maintains, and keep their sources safe.

Immigration policy in the United States is a major issue affecting migrant children or the children of migrants. Migrant children are those that came to the United States with their parents, while children of migrants are those that were born in the United States to parents who immigrated here. President Donald Trump and his administration's anti-immigration rhetoric has caused a great deal of fear and anxiety among many Latinx youth (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Throughout his first term, Trump noted that he wants to build a southern border wall to prevent more people from coming into the United States illegally. There has been wide news coverage of his policies as well as raids conducted by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). One study found that many Latinx youth pay attention to what is happening in the world around them,

despite a notion that youth in general are uninterested in the news (Andrade, 2017).

This study was inspired by a young 11-year-old girl whose nationality is unknown, Magdalena Gomez Gregorio, who sobbed as she was interviewed by a CBS News reporter following a large raid in 2019 by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in Mississippi. Magdalena begged on camera for her father to be freed and said that he was not a criminal (CBS News, 2019). This study analyzes immigration coverage and how journalists conduct interviews with victims of tragedy who suffer from trauma, followed by suggested guidelines for ethical interviewing of minors.

II. Literature Review

This literature review will discuss research on the impact news has on various parties: the journalist, the audience, and the persons being interviewed. There is little research on the impact on children of migrants or migrant children being interviewed by reporters. Therefore, this literature review will examine other instances of tragedy in which children and teenagers have been used as sources. It will also analyze psychological impacts that may follow an interview.

Tragedy has always been widely covered in the news media, and with tragedy comes trauma. Trauma is anything that a reporter may find "emotionally difficult" to cover as it can deal with tragic injury or loss of any sort (Maxson, 2000, p. 81). There is research available on how journalists covering these tragic and traumatizing events have an impact on journalists themselves, as they become susceptible to secondary traumatic stress disorder. This means that journalists can suffer traumatic stress as they are often the first eyewitnesses of death and injury (Ochberg, 1996). As tragedy is a daily occurrence, it will always be covered in the news, especially since surveys have demonstrated that news about crime is the second most popular topic for people who watch local news (Dworznik, 2007).

Agenda setting theory states that news organizations do not tell people what to think, but they tell them what to think about through selection and prominence of stories (Rosenberry and Vicker, 2017). Therefore, when local newspapers or television news stations give special attention to crime stories, people become more concerned about the topic. Audiences care more about crime news because it grabs their attention with elements of conflict and tension (Yanich, 2004).

Communities are often affected by local news coverage. When the news media covered the death of 16-year-old Shanna Poissant from a small town on the Quebec-U.S. border, researchers noted that the impact was detrimental as residents felt anger, intrusion of processing grief, and triggered old feelings of loss (Kay et al., 2010). Journalists must take into consideration the implications their extensive coverage can have on communities.

After traumatic events, the voices of children and teenagers matter, especially when they are the victims. A reporter noted in a documentary about the 1999 Columbine school shooting in Colorado that he would rather cover a war zone than a school shooting. Romayne Smith Fullerton (2004) discussed the importance of interviewing minors with various anecdotes, such as the story of a child living with cystic fibrosis. When Fullerton addressed the importance of talking about how cystic fibrosis affected this child, and how the journalist spoke to the child directly, it had a larger impact because the journalist took the time to observe the child and ask him questions. Mackay (2008) raises ethical concerns about using children and teenagers as sources for stories, primarily when it comes to their privacy and the inability to recognize the ramifications of having their name attached to a story and the potential consequences. If a child is quoted about something negative or is misquoted, then he or she risks being bullied and called out in school.

Revictimization follows when victims may feel like they are being victimized a second time by the news media. Children who were victims of a tragic event may be asked to speak about the event to a reporter. Whether or not they agree to the interview, simply being asked about the situation can bring back emotions and memories of the event. When they see themselves on the news, they may feel vulnerable to being seen as a victim once more, or even for being a hero in some cases for their willingness to speak about the topic (Haravouri et al., 2011). The idea of being a hero can be detrimental to the person, who may begin to feel pressure regarding the heroic act, which then reminds the person again of the traumatic event.

Many journalism industry publications incorporate trauma training or guidelines on covering tragedy (Rentschler, 2010). There are efforts being made by universities and colleges that teach journalism to

integrate trauma training by introducing simulations (Maxson, 2000). However, very few address situations involving children in either process. Many journalists that go through trauma training note that while the training can be useful, no amount of preparation ultimately helps once they are actually covering a tragic event.

Fullerton (2004) wants to ensure the privacy and wellbeing of children are at the forefront, and that children fully grasp that a journalist is going to write a story on them, and they are able to withdraw from the interview at any point. Most research points to the privacy and protection of children in order to ultimately minimize harm, which is one of the most essential aspects of journalism. There is also a case being made for sending in journalists that have more experience to cover tragedy and talk to children. Many news organizations tend to send their less experienced journalists to cover local stories involving children but having a more experienced and sympathetic reporter can lend to a better story that will minimize harm (Maxson, 2000).

Immigration Policies and their Effects on Children/Teenagers

Wendy Cervantes, Rebecca Ullrich, and Hannah Matthews (2018) conducted interviews with 150 educators and parents in six states: California, Georgia, Illinois, New Mexico, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. They noticed reports on President Trump's immigration policies were affecting children under the age of eight. Their key findings noted that children were in constant fear that their parents would be taken away from them, even those with parents who had legal status were concerned since they were not fully aware of whether their parents would also be affected by the policies.

The Trump administration has also threatened to end the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program and the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for El Salvadorians who have been living in the United States for more than two decades (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program was established under former President Barack Obama's administration in 2012, and it allows eligible undocumented youth to be granted a two-year reprieval from deportation, and it also grants work authorization. However, it does not provide a path to citizenship, it can be taken away at any time, and a recipient must reapply every two years (Patler and Cabrera, 2015). Temporary Protected Status (TPS) is provided by the Secretary of Homeland Security to nationals from countries where the conditions of said country may prevent them from returning, or in certain circumstances where the country cannot adequately handle the return of nationals. Some examples of those conditions are ongoing armed conflict or an environmental disaster. El Salvador and Honduras are two of the countries under TPS (USCIS, 2015).

Following both of these policies, Latinx activists took it upon themselves to defend both the DACA program and TPS policy. Andrade (2017) interviewed undocumented college students, most of whom identified as Latinx, and many said they feared for themselves and family. They turned to activism and protest to feel like they were doing something and to cope with their emotions. Another study interviewed 562 teenagers from Southern California and found that of the 224 who gave a response related to immigration, 96% were critical of Trump's rhetoric about immigration. Many said they experienced anxiety, anger, recognized and experienced racism, and increased their civic engagement (Wray-Lake et al., 2018).

The policies have an effect on families who have mixed status, meaning some are documented and others are not, as well as completely undocumented families (Dreby, 2012). Lauren Gulbas and Luis Zayas (2017) developed a framework to conceptualize the factors that children who are citizens experience when facing the possibility of a parent's deportation. They found that the children's mental and emotional status, levels of stress, social and material well-being, sense of identity and belonging, as well as academic performance were all impacted by the threat of deportation and separation of their family. News reports on these and related policies – such as repeated calls to build a wall on the United States and Mexico border – is likely to have effects on children and teenagers as they become sources or are subjected to witnessing the news of families being separated.

Reporters sometimes play a role in traumatizing children with their repeated coverage on the issue of immigration and by interviewing them. Therefore, a review and expansion of existing ethical guidelines by the Dart Center and Poynter Institute will be the basis of this study and tied to the immigration crisis and its impact on children.

RQ1: In what ways are reporters disregarding established ethical codes from institutions such as the Dart Center and Poynter Institute, and how should they go about adhering to the codes when interviewing immigrant children?

III. Methods

The following research examined two broadcast news outlets – CNN and the Latinx show *Primer Impacto*. CNN content was located using Nexis Uni, a database that provides a way to search for various news publications and narrow a search through keywords, timeframe, geographic location, and other factors. The timeframe ranged from November 1, 2016 to October 1, 2019, spanning the timeframe since the 2016 U.S. presidential election. The keywords used to narrow the results were "children," "immigration," and "deportation." For the Latinx show *Primer Impacto*, a different method was used since there were no records of the show on Nexis Uni. Using the show's YouTube channel, three videos were randomly chosen that featured children being interviewed or spoken about during the same timeframe. A Spanish-speaking broadcast was selected to see if there was any difference in the way children were interviewed.

IV. Findings

Once three transcripts and videos were selected for each news organization, they were analyzed for the following: identification by name, age, location; if their parents or other guardians were nearby; and if they were spoken to directly or simply shown and mentioned in the video. The context of each story was analyzed, and if there were any signs of the journalist comforting sources or showing empathy, that was also noted. The names of journalists were identified. Following the discussion, this research will offer an expansion on existing guidelines and new guidelines on how journalists should handle interviewing children and teenagers when reporting stories of immigration issues.

CNN

CNN had 45 results in the indicated time frame for stories regarding immigration, children and deportation. The reason for using NexisUni was to find CNN stories that featured the keywords to narrow the search, even though a child was not always interviewed in the story. Then, from there, the searches were scanned to see which not only mentioned how children are impacted by immigration, but if they were interviewed by the reporter.

The first story transcript chosen was from March 7, 2017. A video of the interview was posted to CNN's YouTube channel. The video on YouTube was titled, "Mom faces expulsion after 18 years in US" (CNN, 2019). The mom in question was identified as Francisca Lino, and she had four children who all were born in the United States. She had initially arrived in the United States using a fake visa, when she went to apply for a green card, it was discovered that her visa was phony, and she was detained. She was released after 28 days under the condition that she "check in with ICE regularly."

The journalist on the story was Rosa Flores, and she interviewed one of the daughters, Britzy Lino, whose age is not given but she appears to be 12 to 14 years old. During one of Lino's routine visits to ICE, Flores accompanied the family in the car to downtown Chicago. Initially, Francisca exited her visit with ICE to announce on camera that she was allowed to stay another year. Then, she is called in again and is told she has to leave back to Mexico by July and that she needs to bring proof of a one-way plane ticket to the next meeting. Britzy is interviewed by Flores after hearing the news, and she looks at Flores directly and sniffles and answers her questions while Flores has a hand on her back and maintains eye contact with her. All identification factors except the age of the interviewed child are present.

The second story details ICE raids in Morton, Mississippi. The journalist was Diane Gallagher. The transcript was posted on August 8, 2019 and the video was posted to CNN's YouTube channel the following day, titled: "Their first day of school turned into a nightmare after record immigration raids" (CNN, 2019). The video begins with a clip of a young girl whose face is out of focus intentionally, and is saying, "Please, can I just see my mother please?" Someone else mentions that the girl's mother is her only guardian.

Diane Gallagher interviews someone – only the back of the head can be seen – and the subject is not identified by name or age, although the person may identify as a girl and seems to sound of high school age. She has purple and blue hair saying that she was told that there was a website where they could find people who were detained, but she has not found anyone from her family. The rest of the clip features another interview with a woman whose identity is also protected, and she speaks of her 5-year-old son who keeps

asking for his father, but he is not seen. The remainder of the video gives more details about the raid and how it had been planned for months.

The third CNN transcript and video chosen were posted on June 29, 2018. The video is titled "Watch separated mom and son reunite," and the reporter is Polo Sandoval (CNN, 2018). The video shows the reunion of a 25-year-old El Salvadoran woman with her 7-year-old son who she had not seen in a month, and they are at Dulles International Airport in Virginia. They crossed the border illegally together, and the mother was detained and taken to Colorado and then to the Washington, DC area, while the boy was detained and taken to Florida. Sandoval tells the context of what happened and then they allow viewers to witness the two hug and interact. The video showed their reunion, and Sandoval spoke about how rare it is that reunification with family happens, according to immigration lawyers. The child was shown and can be heard speaking in Spanish to his mother, but he is not interviewed, and was identified by age and location, but his name was not mentioned.

Primer Impacto

Primer Impacto, which is part of Univision, was analyzed since it is a Spanish-speaking broadcast, and immigration coverage occurs more often. Its YouTube channel has a playlist with more than 500 videos about immigration. Three were chosen from August and September of 2019.

The first video selected was posted on September 17, 2019 and was titled, "Vive refugiada en una iglesia y acaba de recibir una multa de ICE de más de 300,000 dólares," which roughly translates to, "She lives in refuge in a church and she just received a fine from ICE of more than 300,000 dollars" (Primer Impacto, 2019). The story follows a mother identified as Hilda Ramirez, and her 12-year-old son, Ivan, as they sought sanctuary to escape the violence and poverty of Guatemala. They were fined by ICE for entering the country illegally, and the document they received was shown on screen with their address blurred, but the location was San Antonio, Texas.

Ivan Ramirez was interviewed, and he said he was scared and was wondering if they were going to send him back to Guatemala. He said he understood what the fine meant and knew that there would be consequences for not paying it. Towards the end, he sat next to his mother as he said that his mother means everything to him, and how much she has taught him to value what they have. The video shows Ivan playing soccer, attending school and he explains he has aspirations to be a medic to help people who cannot afford help. The journalist was Martha Flores.

The next video from *Primer Impacto* was titled, "'Quiero a mamá': tres hermanos se quedaron solos tras arresto de su madre en redada de Mississippi," which means, "I want my mom,': three siblings are left alone following the arrest of their mother in the Mississippi raids" (Primer Impacto, 2019). The video was posted on August 9, 2019. The three siblings are all identified with their names and ages: Esau, 5; Diego, 6; and Cynthia, 9. Their mom, Angelica Sarat, was among those arrested in the mass ICE raid in Mississippi. The children were shown sleeping in a bed together. Diego was the child that was interviewed after he woke up from a nap, and the first words he said were, "I want my mom." The journalist asks him if he has not seen her, to which he responds that she went to jail. He is being held by his aunt, Nery Josue, whose husband was also arrested by ICE and has six children of her own.

Cynthia was said to have suffered the most from her mother being arrested as the camera shows her hiding under the covers which she had been doing all day along with crying. The journalist can then be heard asking Diego, "What happened to your mom?" and he responds with "They stole her." The journalist was Salvador Duran.

The third video from *Primer Impacto* was titled, "La redada de ICE en Mississippi dejó a decenas de niños sin sus padres," which means that the ICE raid in Mississippi left dozens of children without their parents (Primer Impacto, 2019). The video was posted on August 8, 2019. The journalist, Salvador Duran, began by saying that he was in a church and talking about the raids, where he then said he wanted the audience to see the faces of the victims of these raids. The camera pans down to a woman holding a small girl who appears to be asleep. The video then shifts to another family, with three siblings holding onto one another, Genesis, which seems to be the name of the oldest girl but there were no lower thirds clarifying how to spell her name, and her two brothers, Edward (2) and Esteban (13) embraced. Their mom, Esmeralda, had been arrested. Genesis was interviewed and said she could not believe it and did not want to, and she started to cry. She said she needed to be strong for her siblings and did not want them to see her cry because she is

the oldest. Genesis was told her mother would return. She talked about seeing her get off a bus and begins to say she felt, and the clip continues with Esteban finishing the sentence saying he felt joy.

The journalist repeated his statement back to him and asked him if he hugged her. He replied saying yes and the rest was unintelligible as he mumbled. Esmeralda was reunited with her children, but she did not send them to school the next day out of fear. She said that if it were just her by herself, then she would have left back to her country, but she had to think about her kids. The reporter, in a voice over, talks about how this ICE raid affected many children, and it continues to show clips of children whose parents had been arrested. This interview contrasts to others, where the same clips of the children at school are shown, but *Primer Impacto* blurred the children's faces. The story ends with the same girl from the beginning in the arms of a family friend, her first name is given, and they still do not know what will be happening to her mother.

Guidelines and Suggestions

Based on the interviews selected for this research, the following suggestions are offered to guide journalists when they feel that interviewing a child for a story on immigration has value and will advance the story. Each suggestion is based on different tactics and language observed throughout the various interviews with explanations. The purpose is to overall minimize harm as well as avoid revictimization of those traumatized in these situations. Many of the guidelines are inspired by John Woodrow Cox of the Dart Center's "Essential Tips for Interviewing Children," but are provided in the specific context of immigration and children (Cox, 2018).

Kelly McBride of the Poynter Institute states that the journalist's obligation first and foremost is to their audience and the truth. The subject comes second, but they must also be taken care of, so when a child is interviewed, patience is needed as well as being on their level physically and asking them open ended questions (K. McBride, personal communication, October 25, 2019).

1. Establish comfort and familiarity for the interview (Cox, 2018).

   a. The child may have just experienced something traumatizing or had a family member go through a traumatizing event, so they need to feel comfortable talking about what happened. They need to also be briefed on what the job of the journalist entails, and the journalist should be very clear with their intentions of what the story is about.

2. Ensure that privacy and protection is rewarded when necessary or move on (Cox, 2018)

   a. Immigrant children or children of immigrants require much more protection than any other child because they could be put into a risky situation, which could result in deportation. If children are willing to speak about their situation regarding immigration, then the question of whether they would like aspects of their identity to be protected must be asked.

3. Allow subjects time to process their feelings and respect their privacy (Cox, 2018)

   a. This guideline goes along the lines of establishing comfort, but it adds the extra step of allowing children the time to process their feelings throughout the interview. In a moment of reunification or when emotions become overwhelming, ask the child if they would appreciate some privacy and to meet you in another room when they are ready to speak again.

4. A person should not be called illegal unless it is an attributed quote

   a. The AP Stylebook 2019's "immigration" entry states: "Except in direct quotes essential to the story, use *illegal* only to refer to an action, not a person: *illegal immigration*, but not *illegal immigrant*." It also notes: "Do not use the terms *alien, an illegal, illegals,* or *undocumented* (except when quoting people or government documents that use these terms." If needed, it is best to just specify how it is that the person is currently in the country illegally, whether it be by overstaying a visa or crossing the border, and where they came from to provide clear context (Froke et al., 2019, p. 144).

5. Get consent and assent (Cox, 2018)

   a. A child, by the age of five, may be able to start to grasp the concept of consent and be able to give it. It is important to make sure the adult that is responsible for them also understands the implications of sharing their story with a news organization. They must also give consent for the child to be interviewed.

6. Allow children to be children. Let them know they can stop the interview if needed.

   a. Children have varying personalities, so it is important to understand the specific child that is being interviewed and allow them to act however they need to and let their parent(s) address any out of control situations. If the interview needs to be stopped and picked up at another time, and the deadline is flexible, then come back another time. If not, it may be worth it to stick around and wait until any situation is handled.

7. Keep questions simple, but open-ended. Avoid yes or no questions.

   a. Ask children simple questions, and make sure to pay attention to the types of questions the children themselves, such as if they ask about the possibility of deportation and what it means.

8. Allow children to be vulnerable, but do not take advantage of their tears.

   a. Avoid asking children questions when they are crying or are too shocked to speak. If a child is crying, but willing to be interviewed and can still articulate themselves through their tears, it can make for a powerful story.

V. Conclusion

Clarity, nuance, and empathy drive storytelling. Readers need to be able to understand the story and it allows them to hear other people's stories to connect with them somehow (McBride et al., 2014). Allowing children and teenagers input in stories is valuable because they offer a different perspective. Immigration as an issue is something that all journalists should be willing and able to cover. Latinx journalists are a minority in the newsroom, but that does not mean they are required to cover such topics. A Latino reporter made note that he had covered immigration before, but that he always remembers that he is there to do a job and report the facts (Nishikawa et al., 2009).

The topic of immigration is often hard to cover, but journalists must be aware that they are dealing with children who live in constant fear that they may be taken away from the only home they know or that their parents may be taken away from them. It can be difficult when an interview is done on the spot, so journalists must decide for themselves whether the ethical dilemmas and causing harm to one person may be in the interest of the general public (Amend et al., 2012).

This research had limitations such as timeframe, and it is encouraged that vigilance concerning the ethics of interviewing in instances of trauma and tragedy, specifically within immigration issues, remain strong. For both CNN and *Primer Impacto*, only three interviews were analyzed for each. The interviews inspired the guidelines and served the purpose of the research which was to analyze how journalists interact with youth impacted by immigration and if they were ethical throughout the process. These interviews had an element of each guideline, whether it was followed well or not. This research can be expanded by diving deeper into other news outlets to analyze how they interview children, such as Fox News and MSNBC. The inclusion of online and print media is also encouraged. The research can also be expanded to include a wider timeframe before the election of President Donald Trump. Finally, expansion and further suggestions and examples for the guidelines would be welcome as others review the topic in the future.

Acknowledgements

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Rhetorical Strategies of Forbes' 2019 Most Valuable Brands

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an undergraduate senior capstone course in communications

Abstract

The use of social media has become an integral part of the branding strategies by today's major brands. By using Aristotle's theory of rhetoric as a theoretical foundation, this study examined how major brands use rhetorical elements to engage with consumers on social media. A content analysis was performed on 72 Instagram posts from four major brands. The four brands – Coca-Cola, Nike, John Deere, and Nivea – were chosen from Forbes' list of the 2019 world's most valuable brands. To determine which rhetorical elements are used in the Instagram captions of each brand, the researcher coded each post by its use of Logos, Ethos, and Pathos. This study found that each brand utilizes rhetorical elements, but the use of Logos, Ethos, or Pathos does not appear to directly affect consumer engagement. Furthermore, this study observed that one rhetorical element did not hold more influence than the others and the use of multiple rhetorical elements together did not improve engagement. Instead, it is found that brands consistently use similar rhetorical elements, consequently creating a consistent brand voice on Instagram.

I. Introduction

It's been said that a picture is worth a thousand words, but it's often the words beneath the visuals that make the impact. With the rise of social media and its emphasis on photography and video, the importance of persuasive word choice is often forgotten. The use of social media strategies has become ubiquitous in the field of communications (Myrick, Holton, Himelboim, & Love, 2016). It is integral for organizations to know how to use social media to persuade and engage audiences (Eyrich, Padman, & Sweetser, 2008).

Over two millennia ago, Aristotle proposed his theory of rhetoric that uses language as an instrument for persuasion (Mshvenieradze, 2013). Aristotle claims that persuasive speech must embody three elements: Logos, Ethos, and Pathos. This study explores if, in a world of social media, these ancient principles still apply. According to Aristotle, the message must be clear, genuine, and emotional in order to be persuasive and effective (Aristotle & Roberts, 2004).

Scholars have studied the use of Aristotle's theory of rhetoric on language-centered platforms, like Twitter and Facebook (Myrick, Holton, Himelboim, & Love, 2010). There is little to no research, however, that employs Aristotle's theory of rhetoric in order to examine Instagram. This study will examine the use of Aristotle's rhetorical elements, Logos, Ethos, and Pathos, on the photo and video-based platform Instagram.

This study will examine the power of the written word through a content analysis of Instagram posts from Coca-Cola, Nike, John Deere, and Nivea. The goal of the study is to investigate if word choice and rhetoric impact consumer engagement.

This study will contribute to the field of communications because the ability to create persuasive content on social media is essential to the success of any brand. Findings from this study can help brands enhance their linguistic content. As more companies are relying on multimedia content to promote their brand, more research needs to done about the importance of effective writing.

II. Literature Review

Social media has become an integral tool for practitioners working in the field of communications. It has changed the way brands promote themselves and connect with their target audiences. While the visual nature of social media fosters the perception that photos and videos are the most effective marketing tools, the enduring need for written content remains an important consideration.

Social media

Social media is one of the fastest growing industries in the world (Musonera, 2018). In its beginning phases, social media was used as a socialization tool; it allowed users to communicate with other similar users (Kapoor et al., 2018). As social media experienced a steep rise in popularity, however, companies began to utilize it as a marketing tool. Consequently, social media transformed into a communication service that fosters relationships between diverse users (Kapoor et al., 2018). Companies could now communicate with their audiences in a way that felt more natural. Before social media, companies traditionally marketed themselves through mass media advertising. Producing print and television advertisements, however, was expensive. So, when social media emerged, it gave companies a low-cost solution to marketing. Companies started creating accounts across multiple social media platforms, such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, or YouTube, to promote their products and services for free. Companies with social media could now interact with their audiences more frequently and on a personal level, as opposed to traditional advertising (Tang et al., 2012). Social media revolutionized marketing strategies and ultimately changed the industry (Kapoor et al., 2018).

Today, companies all around the world define social media as a necessary part of their marketing strategies and tactics (Alalwan, Rana, Dwivedi, & Algharabat, 2017). Researchers have analyzed corporate social media policies to understand the trends of social media use in the professional world and shown that social media has become integrated as a pervasive tool. Organizations are now expected to engage with audiences on social media and implement campaign strategies on multiple platforms (Stohl, Etter, Banghart, & Woo, 2017).

One of the social platforms dominating the industry today is Instagram. In 2010, Instagram was launched as a photo-sharing application. Today, Instagram has over 1 billion active users around the world and has become a powerful tool for businesses and consumers alike (Musonera, 2018). Over 80 percent of users follow at least one business or brand account. Additionally, over 70 percent of users use the platform to find information about a particular brand or company. Instagram facilitates a unique relationship between brands and individual users that encourages a two-way conversation between the business and the consumer (Suciu, 2019).

Past research has looked at how brands communicate to their target audiences on Instagram. In one study, the researcher used a content analysis to examine how leading food brands market themselves through engaging visual content. Ginsberg found that food brands use Instagram as a way to portray brand personality (Ginsberg, 2015). Portraying a strong brand personality allows these food brands to connect with their audiences on a more personal level.

Another study examined the social media strategies of Google's Instagram campaign, *Made with Code,* applying Aristotle's theory of rhetoric to understand what drives engagement. The analysis found that using rhetorical appeals in Instagram captions positively impact social engagement (Saahko, 2017). This study will also expand on Saahko's findings by examining the rhetorical strategies of four major brands. By examining a sample of four brands, this study will explain how today's major brands employ language to

encourage brand success.

Social media is powerful because it allows brands to foster strong relationships with target audiences (Kapoor et al., 2018). Alalwan et al. (2017) defines social media marketing as a dialogue between consumers and businesses. While social media is mainly comprised of photo and video-based platforms, companies still must support this dialogue with written words. One study discovered a link between the quality of language and consumer perceptions, finding that when consumers engage with written content associated with a specific product, they evaluate both the product and the larger brand based on what they have read (Pedraz-Delhaes, Aljukhadar, & Sénécal, 2010). Ultimately, the language used in advertisements and other marketing materials influences consumer attitudes and buying behavior. Companies must not only create great visual content but also great writing in order to be successful (Pedraz-Delhaes, Aljukhadar, & Sénécal, 2010).

Overall though, there is surprisingly little research on the impact of written content on consumer perceptions through social media, even though it is rapidly becoming a primary communication channel for consumers and businesses (Manikonda, Hu, & Kambhampati, 2014). This study will attempt to advance the conversation of writing impact on Instagram.

Consumer engagement

When consumers interact with companies on Instagram through likes, comments, shares, and messages, they are actively engaging with that company. Brands that build relationships on social media generate trust and loyalty. When consumers develop brand loyalty, it impacts their engagement with the brand, buying behavior, and individual free promotion of the brand, all of which increase a brand's overall value (Kapoor et al., 2018). Past research has measured a brand's ability to successfully market itself on social media through consumer engagement (Barger et al., 2016; Rahman et al., 2016).

Researchers though have had inconsistent definitions of consumer engagement on social media. One study measures consumer engagement by the number of likes, comments, and shares each sample post received (Rahman et al., 2016). Researchers Lou, Tan, and Chen (2019), comparing influencer advertisements and brand-promoted advertisements posted on Instagram, measured consumer engagement by recording the number of likes and number of comments.

Aristotle's theory of rhetoric

Aristotle's theory explains how language can be used as a means to persuade (Aristotle & Roberts, 2004). In his work, "Rhetorica," Aristotle explains that the ability to be persuasive in any kind of speech is dependent on rhetoric. Aristotle defines three rhetorical elements that can be used in persuasive speech: Logos, Ethos, and Pathos (Mshvenieradze, 2013). Aristotle proposes that when all three elements are employed, the speaker has the power to be compelling, engaging, and effective (Aristotle & Roberts, 2004).

This study defines Logos, Ethos, and Pathos as follows:

1. *Logos*: The use of logic to persuade. Aristotle defines Logos as rational and logical speech (Mshvenieradze, 2013).

2. *Ethos*: The use of credibility to persuade. Ethos is a style of speech that allows the speaker to appear credible and trustworthy by the listener. Ethos ties back to Logos because in order to be trusted, the speaker must be intelligible and logical (Mshvenieradze, 2013).

3. *Pathos*: The use of emotion to persuade. By engaging Pathos, the speaker's words have the power to influence an audience towards a favorable feeling (Mshvenieradze, 2013).

Aristotle's theory of rhetoric has been used to study a number of modern-day communications phenomena. Mshvenieradze found that U.S. presidential candidates used all three of Aristotle's elements of persuasion in their political discourse and each element strengthened their arguments (Mshvenieradze, 2013). Another analyzed the linguistic characteristics of Instagram posts by young adult cancer patients to measure which type of content is most effective for gaining social support. One important finding from this study was that the patients who used emotional language, appealing to Pathos, received the most support and engagement (Warner, Ellington, Kirchhoff, & Cloyes, 2018). Another study, examining how nonprofits use rhetorical techniques on Twitter to gain support and influence audiences, operationalized Logos with subcategories such as fact and statistics; Ethos with celebrity and public figure, and Pathos with motivation, humor, and love (Auger, 2014).

This study will expand on previous research by examining written content produced for Instagram. Since Instagram was launched in 2010, it has become the most popular photo-sharing platform (Manikonda, Hu, & Kambhampati, 2014). There is a lack of research, however, when it comes to specifically examining Instagram in terms of written language. This study will add value to the existing literature by conducting a content analysis of the written content produced for Instagram by four of today's major brands.

This study will examine two brands near the top of Forbes' list of the 100 most valuable brands of 2019, and two brands near the bottom of the list (The World's Most Valuable Brands, 2019). Coca-Cola and Nike were named the sixth and fourteenth most valuable brands, Coca-Cola with a brand value of $59.2 billion, and Nike with a brand value of $36.8 billion. Nivea and John Deere were named the ninety-second and ninety-eighth most valuable brands, both with a brand value of $8 billion (The World's Most Valuable Brands, 2019). For the annual ranking, Forbes measures brand value by a brand's financial strength and consumer perceptions. Forbes' measurement of the perception of Coca-Cola, Nike, John Deere, and Nivea is applicable to the study because, according to Forbes, successful brand perception is a direct reflection of the content that brands produce (The World's Most Valuable Brands, 2019).

Research questions

RQ1: Which element of Aristotle's theory of rhetoric - Logos, Ethos, or Pathos - is most prevalent within the social media communications of each brand?

RQ2: Which subcategories of each theory appear most often in the Instagram posts of each brand?

RQ3: What is the overall impact of rhetorical element use on consumer engagement?

III. Methods

Unit of analysis for this study is a single post on Instagram. The captions written for each single post are analyzed to study the use of rhetorical elements and their subcategories, respectively (RQs 1 and 2). The number of comments and likes each post receives are counted to understand consumer engagement (RQ 3).

Four major brands including Coca-Cola, Nike, John Deere, and Nivea were chosen for the sample. The researcher proposed that because all four brands sell products directly to consumers, they may be trying to reach consumers in similar ways. The researcher reasoned that brands in non-direct-to-consumer industries would have different strategic goals and therefore, would not be easily comparable. Choosing brands with similar audiences allows the researcher to more easily examine the data for rhetorical elements.

Coca-Cola is a global company known all around the world for its iconic soft drink. Since Coca-Cola was first introduced into the market in 1886, it has been a part of everyday life. It transformed the non-alcoholic beverage industry and became a symbol of creativity, happiness, and fun ("Mission, Vision & Values"). Nike is a popular sports apparel brand with a strong identity. Nike's mission is to inspire its audience of athletes to be the best version of themselves ("Read Nike's Mission"). John Deere is a longstanding manufacturer of heavy equipment. Founded in 1837, John Deere sells products for agriculture, forestry, and construction ("Deere & Company"). Lastly, Nivea is a skin care products company committed to supplying high quality products for all skin types ("About Us").

The researcher first collected the total number of posts published within the timeframe of May 22 to November 22, 2019, resulting in a total of 157 (Nike=46, John Deere=38, Nivea=61, and Coca-Cola=12). Then, the researcher calculated the average number of posts published by each brand within the timeframe (40 posts), then chose half that number for analysis. The author assigned an ID number to each post and then used a random number generator to select the 20 posts for each brand. However, because Coca-Cola only published twelve posts within the timeframe, all of Coca-Cola's posts were analyzed. For the analysis, the researcher looked at a total of 72 Instagram posts from the four brands.

This study operationalized two main variables – rhetorical strategies and consumer engagement. The researcher coded for the rhetorical strategies by applying the coding categories listed below (see Table 1). The researcher coded for consumer engagement by measuring the number of likes and comments each post received.

In order to determine whether a post utilized Logos, Ethos, and Pathos, the researcher established seven identifying appeals for each element, building off the findings of numerous past related studies (Auger, 2014; Charland, Huang, Li, & Li, 2017; Mshvenieradze, 2013; Myrick, Holton, Himelboim, & Love, 2010). For Logos, the researcher looked for appeals to logic. The subcategories used to measure logic include efficiency, productivity, quality, utility, facts, statistics, and surveys For Ethos, the researcher looked for appeals to credibility, which include trustworthiness, competence, honesty, respect, expertise, celebrities, and public figures. For Pathos, the researcher looked for appeals to emotion, which include love, happiness, passion, nostalgia, motivation, sadness, and humor. To operationalize consumer engagement, the researcher used the number of likes and comments recorded from each post (Ashley, & Tuten, 2014).

Table 1. Subcategories for each rhetorical element

Logos (Logic)	Ethos (Credibility)	Pathos (Emotion)
Efficiency	Trustworthiness	Love
Productivity	Competence	Happiness
Quality	Honesty	Passion
Utility	Respect	Nostalgia
Facts	Expertise	Motivation
Statistics	Celebrity	Sadness
Survey	Public Figure	Humor

Data Analysis Procedures

A quantitative content analysis was used to analyze the sample of Instagram posts. The posts were first coded using a content analysis to answer which element of Aristotle's theory of rhetoric is most prevalent within the social media communications of each brand. The Instagram posts were categorized as one of the three variables, Logos, Ethos, or Pathos, based on if they exemplified any of the subcategories in Table 1. Once the data was collected, the researcher measured the frequency of each rhetorical element used in the Instagram posts.

The posts were then analyzed using a quantitative content analysis to answer how the use of rhetorical elements impact consumer engagement. The researcher measured the number of likes and comments for each Instagram post. The frequency of each rhetorical element was then compared to the number of likes and comments.

IV. Findings

RQ1: Rhetorical element use by brand

The first research question asked which rhetorical elements were most frequently used on Instagram by the brands. For each post analyzed, the researcher counted the number of times at least one subcategory of Logos, Ethos, or Pathos were used. Then, that number was used to calculate how often each brand used each of the three elements. The total number of times one particular element was used (n) was divided by the sample number of posts per brand and multiplied by 10 to find the percentage (%). Table 2 demonstrates how often each brand used Logos, Ethos, or Pathos, at least once, in Instagram posts. Three brands, Coca-Cola, Nike, and John Deere, mostly used Pathos (66.7%, 100%, and 85% respectively), while Nivea mostly used Logos (70%).

The study found that when Pathos is the most used rhetorical element, Logos is the least used. Coca-Coca, Nike, and John Deere, which favored Pathos in most of their posts, used Logos in the least amount of their posts (0%, 70%, and 40% respectively). Nivea, which mainly used Logos, used Ethos the least often (20%).

Table 2. Rhetorical elements used at least once by brand

Brand	Logos	Ethos	Pathos
Coca-Cola	(n=0, 0%)	(n=2, 16.7%)	(n=8, 66.7%)
Nike	(n=14, 70%)	(n=17, 85%)	(n=20, 100%)
John Deere	(n=8, 40%)	(n=13, 65%)	(n=17, 85%)
Nivea	(n=14, 70%)	(n=4, 20%)	(n=11, 55%)

RQ2: Sub-element use by brand

The study coded for seven subcategories for each rhetorical element by brand. The researcher calculated the number of times each subcategory appeared in a single post. Then, that number was used to calculate how often each brand used a particular subcategory. The researcher took the number of times each subcategory was used (n), divided it by the number of sample posts analyzed per brand, and then multiplied that number by 10 to find the percentage. These findings help the researcher determine which subcategories of Logos, Ethos, and Pathos each brand favored.

Table 3 highlights the subcategories used most by each brand. Coca-Cola did not use Logos in any of its posts, but when it used Ethos, honesty was incorporated into 16.7% of posts. When Coca-Cola used Pathos, nostalgia was incorporated into 33.3% of posts. Nike used facts (Logos) in 35% of its posts, mentioned celebrities (Ethos) in 20%, and incorporated motivation in 95%. John Deere used facts in 35% of its posts, employed trustworthiness (Ethos) and respect (Ethos) in 20%, respectively, and incorporated love into 40%. Finally, Nivea used facts (Logos) in 60% of posts, trustworthiness (Ethos) in 15% of posts, and happiness (Pathos) in 30% of posts.

Table 3. Rhetorical sub-element usage by brand

Rhetorical subelements	Coca-Cola	Nike	John Deere	Nivea
Logos	No Logos used (n=0, 0%)	Facts (n=11, 55%)	Facts (n=7, 35%)	Facts (n=12, 60%)
Ethos	Honesty (n=2, 16.7%)	Celebrity (n=12, 20%)	Trustworthiness and Respect (n=4, 20%, respectively)	Trustworthiness (n=3, 15%)
Pathos	Nostalgia (n=4, 33.3%)	Motivation (n=19, 95%)	Love (n=8, 40%)	Happiness (n=6, 30%)

RQ3: Overall impact of rhetorical element use on consumer engagement

The third research question asked how the use of rhetorical elements impacts consumer engagement on Instagram. Based on the data, there appears to be no relationship between rhetorical strategy and consumer engagement. The study examined the number of likes and comments that each post received to measure engagement by brand. The researcher then compared the number of subcategories used in each post to measure overall use of rhetoric with engagement. Table 4 highlights the level of engagement for posts with the highest and lowest number of rhetorical elements, by brand.

Table 4. Number of rhetorical elements used and consumer engagement by brand

	Total	Logos	Ethos	Pathos	#Likes	#Comments
Coca-Cola						
Highest	5	0	1	4	14,298	1,136
Lowest	0	0	0	0	49,990	158
Nike						
Highest	9	2	3	4	455,044	1,803
Lowest	2	1	0	1	504,484	3,147
John Deere						
Highest	5	1	2	2	8,397	9
Lowest	1	0	1	0	89,389	45
Nivea						
Highest	11	1	3	7	719	0
Lowest	1	1	0	0	533	9

V. Discussion

Three brands – Coca-Cola, Nike, and John Deere – mostly used Pathos, while Nivea mostly used Logos. The strong prevalence of one rhetorical element over the others indicates a connection between rhetoric and brand identity. Each brand chose to utilize specific persuasive elements in social media content because they portray the company's brand and brand values.

When looking at the core values of each brand, there is an apparent connection between brand values and rhetorical strategies used. Coca-Cola's core values include "leadership, collaboration, integrity, accountability, passion, diversity, and quality" ("Mission, Vision & Values"). These values are directly connected to the rhetorical element Pathos. Nike's core values of "inspiration, innovation, every athlete in the world, authentic, connected, and distinctive" are also closely related to the subcategories used to code for Pathos, like motivation and passion ("Read Nike's Mission"). John Deere's core values of "integrity, quality, commitment, and innovation," also appeal to Pathos ("John Deere"). Lastly, Nivea's core values include reliability and quality, connecting Nivea to the subcategories that make up Logos, such as quality and utility ("About Us").

The study also found that when Pathos is the most used rhetorical element, Logos is the least used. Within the three elements, Pathos and Logos are opposites. Pathos uses emotion while Logos uses logic. The brands studied did not concurrently utilize Pathos and Logos in most of their posts because the contrasting ideas would not create a cohesive message.

This finding contributes to the literature on persuasive writing by presenting a new definition of persuasion for social media. While Aristotle's theory of rhetoric argues that a well-rounded persuasive argument incorporates all three elements, the data suggests that Instagram is an exception to the rule. Instagram is a different medium than traditional writing and therefore, requires different guidelines for creating effective and compelling written messages.

When the brands utilized Logos, Ethos, and Pathos in captions, each brand consistently incorporated the same subcategories. For example, when Coca-Cola used Pathos in captions, it most often incorporated nostalgia. When Nike used Ethos, it mentioned celebrities in captions. When John Deere used Pathos, it referred to love, and when Nivea used Logos, it included facts in their captions.

The data shows that each brand consistently used the same rhetorical subcategories in Instagram captions. The findings suggest that the rhetorical strategies used are dependent on brand identity and brand values. Companies may favor using a limited variety of rhetorical strategies, instead of creating well-rounded arguments, because sticking to one or two of the rhetorical elements might help them solidify brand identity over time. These findings speak to the importance of crafting a strong and memorable brand identity.

Brands may want to decide which rhetorical strategies align best with their brand and utilize those persuasive strategies to strengthen their existing brand identity.

Based on the data, rhetorical strategy does not appear to directly affect engagement. The findings suggest that other elements have a deeper effect on engagement than the specific rhetorical elements used. Researchers Manikonda, Hu, and Kambhampati (2014) conducted a study that analyzed the defining characteristics of Instagram. According to their study, frequency of posting, photos used, comments, filters, hashtags, and geolocations affect consumer engagement on Instagram.

VI. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the use of Aristotle's theory of rhetoric on social media and its connection to consumer engagement. This study analyzed the rhetorical strategies of four major brands to understand how successful companies utilize written content on photo-based platforms and adds to the literature by applying Aristotle's theory of rhetoric to the study of Instagram.

This study is limited by its sample selection process. The process of selecting the four major brands to be analyzed was limited to Forbes' list of the top 100 most valuable brands. Similarly, the study was limited by the sample size. Instagram's privacy policy prevents researchers from scraping content from any account owned by a different source. The researcher had to collect and code the data by hand, limiting the sample size. Due to the small sample size, it will be difficult to generalize the findings to the entire industry.

The second limitation is that only Instagram captions were analyzed for this study. There are many aspects of Instagram that can affect consumer engagement, however, this study did not examine any of these additional characteristics. Instagram is different from other social media platforms because it is a visually based application used to share high-quality photos. The visual nature of Instagram influences how different aspects of the platform impact engagement. The third limitation is that this study was coded by only one researcher, so the coding scheme could not be validated by intercoder reliability.

For future studies, researchers may want to select their sample from a more representative source. Future researchers may want to choose their sample using Harris Fombrun's Corporate Reputation Quotient, a comprehensive tool for measuring brand reputation. Fombrun's model may give researchers a more accurate list of top brands with the strongest overall consumer perceptions (Fombrun, 2005).

Future researchers may also want to increase the amount of sample posts analyzed in order to better understand the characteristics of each brand. Similarly, researchers may want to increase the timeframe from which the posts are selected to create a more cohesive picture of each brand.

Acknowledgements

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Influencing Audience Perceptions: How Fox News, CNN & MSNBC Portray Climate Change in 2019

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Abstract

Since more Americans tend to trust cable news sources more than local and network television stations, Fox News, MSNBC, and CNN can play a significant role in shaping audience opinions and Americans' perceptions of topical issues. This study analyzes cable news coverage of climate change through qualitative and quantitative methods, identifying aspects of media framing and agenda setting. Thirty videos each from Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC were selected from July 1 to October 31, 2019. This time frame includes cable news coverage from hurricane season, the UN General Assembly, the Democratic presidential primary debate, climate protests, and Amazon wildfires. The study identifies the number of news stories dealing with climate change that were aired on each network over the course of four months and reveals different media frames, or angles, in which climate change is covered. The study discovers that coverage of climate change reflects the political affiliation of each channel's viewership. Both agenda setting and framing theories shed light on why cable news viewers may believe what do about climate change today.

I. Introduction

A number of concepts help explain how media outlets influence audience views of climate change. It is a common perception that political conservatives are often skeptical of issues related to climate change, while liberals tend to stress the urgency of solving climate issues. According to a 2017 Pew Research survey, 95% of "Solid Liberals" believe human activity to be the main cause of climate change. However, among "Core Conservatives," the survey found that less than a quarter believed climate change to be real, and only 5% of those believed human activity to be a cause ("Political typology: Environmental attitudes," 2017). These statistics can help explain the nature of climate change coverage on each of the "big three" cable news outlets, which collectively serve as the main source of news for 29% of Americans, according to a 2004 Pew Research survey (Morris, 2007).

Considering these statistics, this study examines the ways in which Fox News, CNN and MSNBC influence audience opinions of climate change in 2019. This study's hypothesis is that the reporting and opinions broadcast on Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC concerning climate cater toward their respective viewers' political affiliations.

II. Literature Review

Since nearly a third of Americans acquire their news from Fox News, CNN and MSNBC, reporters, broadcasters and producers play a substantial role in shaping public opinion. Jacquette Dale, author of *Journalistic Ethics,* explains the breadth of responsibility that comes with this role: "The potential consequences for their telling or not telling the truth, the mass uptake of the information they distribute, the amount of respect they command as authorities about the state of the world, and the far-reaching ways in which people rely on the kind of information they report for their own decision making, gives [journalists] a higher degree of responsibility for honesty in their professional work than applies to the general public" (Dale, 2016, p. 9-10).

In order for people to form opinions on any given issue, they must first be informed about it. The public's knowledge level in current events and current issues stems from the media, and, in the case of news platforms, journalists. Killenberg argues that journalists should be the "ultimate *public servants*" (Killenberg, 2008, p. XV). "News 'for the people' acknowledges that journalism, at its best and truest, arms citizens with the knowledge to govern themselves" (Killenberg, 2008, p. xvi). This implies that, for people to govern themselves, they must acquire the necessary facts to form their opinions, which is where the press comes into play.

To illustrate his point, Killenberg cites journalism scholar James Carey: "The press should not present itself as a seer, but simply as doing the best it can to figure out today what is going on" (Killesberg, 2008, p. 6). Carey's statement implies that journalists have the responsibility to report the facts and to interpret "what is going on," rather than reporting through their own lens. This requires journalists to recognize any biases misconceptions, or "blind spots" they may have as a result of their upbringings or cultural norms.

The "big three," – Fox News, MSNBC and CNN – are the main sources of news on cable television, and they are gaining popularity. According to the Pew Research Center's 2019 Cable News Fact Sheet, the combined number of cable news viewers across Fox News, MSNBC and CNN increased by 8% during prime time (8 p.m. to 11 p.m.) in 2018. Although cable news is an increasingly popular method of obtaining news, more Americans watch local and network television than they do cable television, according to a 2018 Washington Post Fact-Checker Poll. Ironically, the poll also revealed that people trust cable news sources, specially Fox News, MSNBC and CNN, more than they do local and network television stations (Guskin, 2018).

The audience demographics for Fox News, MSNBC and CNN vary in terms of location, political affiliation, age, education level, socio-economic class, race and gender. As of September 2019, Fox News was the most-watched network for the previous three years, with 1,364,000 daytime viewers. MSNBC came in second with 880,000 daytime viewers, and CNN was third with 624,000 daytime viewers (Watson, 2019). As of February 2019, the majority of CNN's viewers were located on either the east or west coasts, whereas the majority of Fox News' viewers were in the South (Semeraro, 2018). Additionally, according to a Public Opinion Strategies survey from February 2019, 53% of Fox News' audience identified as Republican and 55% identified as conservative, which is a stark contrast to its Democratic audience of 23% and liberal audience of 12%. For MSNBC, the same study indicates that only 17% of audience members are Republican and 22% are conservative, whereas 62% are Democrats and 37% are liberals (Wilson, 2019). As of 2017, 68% of CNN viewers identified as Democrats and 37% identified as Republican ("Morning Consult," 2017).

Since its founding in 1996, Fox News has acquired a substantial Republican audience. Content analysis studies have identified instances of biased reporting on Fox News (Morris, 2007). One study indicated that Fox News allotted more airtime for floor speeches for Republican National Convention than of the Democratic National Convention. Additional research concluded that Democratic nominee John Kerry was portrayed more negatively on Fox News, whereas Republican nominee George Bush was portrayed more positively. Initially, MSNBC did not lean neither left nor right. However, MSNBC tested out a new business tactic by adopting a more liberal, progressive slant in 2006 (Martin & Yurukoglu, 2017). CNN started operating in 1980, making it one of the very first cable networks available. By 1998, CNN became the most widely-available cable news channel.

Media Coverage of Climate Change

Climate change experts tend to view the media portrayal of climate change as inaccurate and

sensationalized. One study indicated that 22 out of 27 members of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) "consider that the way in which the media communicate the arguments around which there is scientific consensus to public opinion is inappropriate" (González Cortés, 2014, p. 43). Members of the IPCC cited the lack of journalists specializing in climate change, a lack of communication between scientists and journalists, irregularity of climate change stories, and over-dramatized stories. According to the group, media misconceptions include, but are not limited to, the idea that implementing renewable resources is expensive and undesirable, the belief that the main reason why the sea level is rising is due to glaciers melting, and the belief that all extreme natural disasters are a result of climate change (González Cortés, 2014).

In 2012, a study indicated that conservative news sources consistently portrayed the idea that there is a lack of scientific evidence that climate change exists. Additionally, the same study found Fox News aired significantly more stories that question the existence of "human-caused climate change" (Hmielowski, et al., 2012, p. 5). In addition, those consuming "non-conservative media" are more likely to be certain that global warming is real (Hmielowski et al., 2012, p. 6).

Theoretical Framework

To explain why and how there are differences in climate change portrayals across Fox News, CNN and MSNBC, this present study draws from several communications theories including framing theory, selective exposure, and agenda setting. The *Handbook of Mass Media and Communication Theory* states that "framing theory focuses on both how the media present news stories and how people make sense of the stories they find in the media." Media "frames," or angles of the story, "define the problems, diagnose the causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies through the media's use of certain phrases, pictures, sources, and examples in a certain manner" (Fortner & Fackler, 2018, p. 98).

Framing theory can help shed light on how media coverage effects climate change perceptions. Nisbet suggests that it is the media's responsibility to frame the most important issues in an urgent narrative. Nisbet suggests that conservative-leaning news outlets frame the issue of climate change differently than liberal-leaning news outlets by questioning human influence on climate change and presenting perceived economic consequences of implementing environmental solutions (Nisbet, 2009).

The agenda-setting hypothesis indicates that people gauge the importance of an event based on the amount of emphasis news outlets give it and the amount of news coverage it receives. McCombs and Shaw observed that "most of what people know comes to them 'second' or 'third' hand from the mass media or from other people" (McCombs, Shaw, 1972, p. 176). Information that people derive "second" or "third" hand solely from mass media can be categorized as *unobtrusive* issues, whereas information that people acquire firsthand falls under the category of *obtrusive* issues (Johnson & McCombs, 2013).

Johnson and McCombs argue that agenda setting is more prevalent in the reporting of unobtrusive issues. Because the general public has no experience or prior knowledge of them, unobtrusive issues can be linked to Need For Orientation (NFO), an agenda setting factor that determines the audience's trust in a particular news story. If a public lacks prior knowledge of the story, then it is more likely to believe the media's orientation of the story to be true (Johnson & McCombs, 2013). Because of its intangible nature, the issue of climate change falls under the category of unobtrusive issues. For the most part, climate change does not have a direct, immediate impact on the day-to-day lives of the public. Therefore, the public has a prominent need for orientation, giving the media the power to set the agenda and ultimately influence the public's beliefs on climate change.

This agenda-setting power makes media accuracy extremely important, but in the case of climate change, researchers suggest journalism has come up short. As one example, scientific experts indicated that the media misrepresented the opposition to climate change. They concluded that "the issue is often presented as an opposition between those in favor and those against the theory of climate change, treating it as a counter-balanced position [half/half], but there is a great degree of unanimity and consensus amongst scientists," (González Cortés, 2014, p. 44). Media portrayals suggesting a lack of scientific consensus on climate change signifies a lack of adherence to Killensberg's definition of "journalistic responsibility," which requires journalists to decipher what is going on while recognizing any potential for personal biases that result in "blind spots," or missing information (Killensberg, 2008). In this case, González Cortés argues, an emphasis on climate change controversy is a type of media agenda setting that exaggerates controversy as a way of sensationalizing a story, or "enhancing its news value" (González Cortés, 2014, p. 44).

III. Methods

To determine how climate change was presented on Fox News, CNN and MSNBC, data was collected from stories posted on all three news outlet websites. Stories in the sample had a centralized focus on climate change, climate catastrophes, debates about climate change, claims about climate change, or covered protest movements about climate change. The sample of online content collected from the three networks spanned from July 1 to October 30, 2019. This is an information-rich time period in terms of climate change-related events, including hurricane season, California wildfires, the burning of the Amazon rainforest, the UN General Assembly and Climate Caucus, Greta Thunberg's movement and other climate protests, the Democratic presidential campaign, the Green New Deal, among others.

Stories were found by searching "climate change" on each organization's website and limiting the results to cable news coverage by selecting "Video" under the "Filter" or "Advanced Search" options. Fox News' and MSNBC's websites have a time-filtering feature, which was used to eliminate news stories that were aired before July 1 or after October 31. The study used a sample of 30 broadcast news stories per cable news outlet (90 in total). A stratified sampling method was used to ensure that each of the four months received as equal representation as possible. Initially, this study intended to sample from seven to eight climate change stories per month. However, because the frequency of climate change stories varied considerably from one month to the next and among each of the three networks, the stratified sampling method was altered so that the sample from each month had a proportional number of climate change stories.

This study used both quantitative and qualitative data analysis to identify trends in climate change coverage. Quantitative data was gathered by counting the number of stories about climate change that appeared on each platform for July, August, September, and October. Qualitative data was collected from each sampled video using a coding sheet that recorded the network, date, headline, chyron, anchors/reporters, interviewed sources, theme of the story, view of climate change and any additional notes. After filling out the coding sheets for 90 stories, a constant comparative method was executed. This method of data analysis was used to identify trends or themes in the qualitative research. The process required identifying common events, topics, claims, types of sources and mannerisms of the reporters and anchors.

It is important to recognize that climate change could be alluded to without the term appearing in the stories, so it is possible to miss a story. It is also important to note that the lack of climate change coverage is just as telling because it signifies a lack of acknowledgement of its existence and lack of presentation as an urgent issue. Since it is the responsibility of journalists to sculpt an informed, self-governing population, the lack of coverage indicates that the news outlet does not perceive the issue as necessary information.

IV. Findings

The agenda-setting hypothesis indicates that people gauge the importance of an event based on the amount of emphasis news outlets give it and the amount of news coverage it receives (Johnson & McCombs, 2013). The differentiation among each of the networks in the amount of total climate change coverage, or the number of results yielded from searching "climate change," could be linked to the level of emphasis each outlet places on the subject. For example, Fox News yielded only 91 results when searching for "climate change," while CNN yielded approximately 163 and MSNBC yielded 172. Considering that, as of February 2019, 53% of Fox News' audience identified as Republican, and that less than a quarter of Republicans in 2017 believed climate change to be real, it can be inferred that the lack of climate change coverage could be linked to Republican beliefs about climate change (Wilson, 2019; "Political typology: Environmental attitudes," 2017). Conversely, the reason why MSNBC could be the leader in climate change coverage could be attributed to the fact that 62% of its audience is Democratic and 95% of Democrats in 2017 believed in climate change.

Table 1 displays the total number of videos that appeared per month, across each of the three platforms. Fox News' and MSNBC's websites revealed the number of search results within any allotted time frame, which yielded the exact number of videos with "climate change" in the title or in the description. However, CNN did not reveal the number of search results and did not provide the ability to filter results by time frame. CNN provided the option to sort the results by date, but the results were not displayed in an exact chronological order and stories from several years ago appeared on the first and second results pages. If entered into Google

videos and filtered by CNN.com and the target time frame, the term "climate change," yielded slightly more specified results. Nevertheless, several duplicate stories appeared, and the number of search results was not listed. In the end, this study used manual estimations of the numbers of CNN "climate change" stories per month, calculated by counting the number of Google search result CNN pages that contained relevant climate change stories and subtracting any duplicate stories. Therefore, it is important to note that the CNN result values in Table 1 are estimates, and human error should be taken into account when considering them.

Table 2 shows the sample sizes of videos studied from each network per month. Although not directly proportional, the sample size values per month are intended to loosely mimic the search result values displayed in Table 1. For Fox News' sample from July, an extra story that did not appear in the initial search results was added to the sample. In an attempt to generate more search results, the term, "climate crisis," was searched.

Table 1: "Climate change" video Search Results

	July	August	September	October	**Total**
Fox News	2	18	66	5	91
CNN	~11	~41	~90	~21	~163
MSNBC	21	44	100	7	172
Total	~34	~103	~256	~33	**~426**

Table 2: Monthly sample size "climate change" Videos

	July	August	September	October	**Total**
Fox News	3	6	19	2	30
CNN	6	9	8	7	30
MSNBC	6	8	9	7	30
Total	15	23	36	16	**90**

V. Discussion

The qualitative research reveals a range of media frames used in each cable news segment or show that was studied. When combined with the quantitative results, the findings indicate that MSNBC and CNN emphasize the severity of climate change, while Fox News tends to downplay it.

The discrepancies in the number of climate change stories between the three platforms supported the hypothesis that the amount of climate change coverage would be reflective of the climate change beliefs of the majority political affiliation of each network's viewer base. Fox News, the platform with the predominantly Republican viewer base, aired the fewest number of stories pertaining to climate change, which can be attributed to the widely-held belief among Republicans and conservatives that human-caused climate change is not real. Alternatively, the hypothesis was supported in that the network with the most amount of Democratic and liberal viewers, MSNBC, aired the greatest amount of climate change stories.

The qualitative research revealed numerous media frames, or angles, through which climate change was portrayed. CNN and MSNBC produced stories and used b-roll that depicted a visible impact of climate change on the environment. Both CNN and MSNBC had six of their stories demonstrate the visible impact of climate change. CNN stories provided imagery that was directly attributed to climate change, including the rapid melting of ice in Alaska, the warming water temperatures in Greenland and the extreme flooding in Iowa. All of these natural occurrences could be directly attributed to climate change, which was a central focus of the news stories. MSNBC implemented the same technique of using imagery to illustrate the impact of climate change by showing graphs of predicted sea-level rise, melting ice, climate refugees being displaced from their homes, flooding in New Orleans and people mourning of the loss of an iconic glacier in Iceland.

MSNBC not only portrayed the visible toll that climate change has already had on the environment,

but also the visible impact it has had on people. Framing climate change as something that not only affects nature, but also human beings, could be a media framing mechanism that MSNBC uses to inspire people to act. Furthermore, the language in MSNBC's headlines and in the anchors' closing statements frame climate change in a grim manner that suggests there is little hope. CNN used different, yet equally effective tactics to demonstrate the severity of climate change. It was evident that CNN reporters ventured to the sites of the natural disasters with the intent of showing audiences the impact of climate change. CNN even has a designated "Climate Crisis" reporter, Bill Weir, which is a clear indication that the network seeks to validate the existence of climate change and instill a sense of urgency in its audience. Since a significant amount of the influence of climate change perceptions stem from an understanding of science or a lack of science, featuring scientists as sources is a key indicator as to whether or not a network validates or invalidates the existence of climate change.

Additionally, the different types of discourse surrounding climate change across the three platforms are key examples of media framing. For example, Fox News sometimes describes climate change as a "Leftist political agenda," "the religion of the Left," something that should not be prioritized, or something that Democrats are addressing the wrong way. In the sample of climate change stories from Fox News, the political commentators and interviewed sources often attributed Democrats' proposals for urgent climate action to be a scare tactic used for political leverage. Fox News journalists, opinion hosts and sources used for the segment described the Democrats' proposals to solve climate change as "socialist," "immoral" and "fear-mongering." This type of discourse also appears in Fox News' headlines and chryons, such as: "2020 Democrats vow to take aggressive action on climate change," "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez makes a stark prediction about climate change" and "Gutfeld on Elizabeth Warren's apocalyptic climate change hysteria." The terms "aggressive action," "stark prediction," and "apocalyptic climate change hysteria" suggest that there is a problem with the Democrats' climate change depictions and proposals. Fox News, in particular, used humor in their description of climate change activists or Democrats in support of climate change initiatives.

Alternatively, MSNBC and CNN reporters, anchors, political commentators and sources tend to use grim, urgent discourse to emphasize the severity of climate change. For example, CNN refers to climate change exclusively as the "climate crisis." The term, "climate crisis" appears in seven out of 30 of the sample headlines. Replacing "change" with "crisis" is an example of a media frame intended to convey urgency and severity. CNN reporter Chad Myers ended his story, "What you can actually do to slow the climate crisis," with the statement: "your grandchildren are depending on you." MSNBC anchor Stephanie Ruhle ended her story, "One More Thing: Rising seas could floor major cities by 2050," by saying: "We cannot stop it from happening; we can only slow it down."

Throughout the four-month-long sample of stories about climate change, the "big three" each used humor in its reporting as a framing mechanism. Eleven out of the 30 Fox News stories incorporated humor into the stories, framing climate change activists and Democrats as "ridiculous," "idiotic" and "socialist." Fox News used the most extreme quotes from Democrats, often without providing a complete context, to frame them in a humorous manner. Opinion hosts Tucker Carlson and Greg Gutfeld were the most frequent users of humor as a tactic to belittle and mock Democrats and activists. Carlson used humor in all five of his shows sampled, and Gutfeld used humor in three out of four of his shows in the sample.

Additionally, in the sample of 30 MSNBC stories, two reporters implemented humor as a framing mechanism in two different stories. Chris Hayes and Chris Matthews, both political commentators, used humor to mock Trump's statement about his "environmental leadership." By following Trump's "environmental leadership" speech with a clip of Trump denying climate change on 60 Minutes and the number of environmental regulations that the Trump Administration has rolled back, Chris Matthews positioned Trump as a liar. Using sarcasm, he mocked Trump's sudden realization that the people value the environment. Additionally, following Trump's environmental leadership speech with a clip of trump being dubious about climate change was an intentional way of framing Trump's opinions on climate change as ridiculous.

The sources selected for each story play a pivotal role in framing the story and shaping audience perceptions of climate change. In the Fox News story "Jane Fonda, Sam Waterston arrested for protesting climate change," comedian Michael Loftus called Fonda a "hypocrite" for moving to Washington D.C. to protest climate change, claiming that she was contributing to the carbon footprint by flying in a private jet. Including a comedian as a source for this type of story is a media framing mechanism that subjects Fonda to ridicule and presents climate change as something that is not worth protesting.

Within the sample, CNN had four scientists as guests, MSNBC had three, and Fox News had none. The scientists that appeared on CNN and MSNBC were instrumental in using science to validate climate change's existence and to offer solutions. The majority of Fox News' sources were Republicans, including the RNC Chairwoman, former Florida Congressman Allen West, political commentators, op-ed writers, and editors. When Former Clinton Adviser Richard Goodstein, a Democrat, was a guest on the Tucker Carlson Tonight episode, "2020 Democrats' proposals to curb climate change could cost trillions," he and Carlson ended up yelling at each other about whether or not climate change was worth the expense.

VI. Conclusion

Since more Americans tend to trust cable news sources more than local and network television stations, and since Fox News, MSNBC, and CNN are the most trusted cable news networks, it is clear that the three cable news networks have a share in the responsibility of shaping audience opinions. The media frames surrounding the cable news depictions of climate change could contribute to Americans' perceptions of the issue. As mentioned previously, media frames are intended to "define the problems, diagnose the causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies through the media's use of certain phrases, pictures, sources, and examples in a certain manner" (Fortner & Fackler, 2018, p. 98). Analyzing frames of Fox News, MSNBC, and CNN provides insight into why their audiences' believe what they believe to be true about climate change.

As climate change takes center stage of political discussion, and as the need to act becomes ever more imposing, this insight is more important than ever. Despite scientists' unanimous consensus about the existence and severity of climate change, the U.N. Climate Change Reports and the amount of time that has passed since first learning about it, climate change still remains a threat to life on Earth. The quantitative and qualitative results identify an undeniable trend that reflects and perpetuates existing viewer perceptions of climate change, based on their political affiliations.

Acknowledgements

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Leading Female Characters: Breaking Gender Roles Through *Broad City* and *Veep*

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Abstract

Historically, television has been dominated by male leads, but feminism and the challenges faced by working women are becoming more prominent in recent programming.This study analyzed two comedy television shows with female lead characters, Broad City *and* Veep*, to examine if their main characters break traditional gender roles. In addition, this research studied if* Broad City *portrayed more feminist values than* Veep*, using feminist theory, which examines obvious and subtle gender inequalities. Three episodes from each show were chosen, selected by a ranking website. The coder analyzed three subcategories: behavior, interpersonal relationships, and occupation. This study concluded that both* Broad City *and* Veep *depicted strong female lead characters who broke gender roles continuously through their behavior, relationships, and occupation.* Broad City *depicted more feminist values through their main characters' friendship, empowerment of female sexuality, as well as their beliefs against traditional gender roles. This conclusion sheds light on the fact that women in television, especially female lead characters, do not have to be portrayed in a traditionally feminine way.*

I. Introduction

Society has placed gender roles upon men and women, expecting everyone to conform. These roles derive from "traditional societal roles and power inequalities between men and women" (Prentice & Carranza, 2002, p.1). These stereotypes are often learned through observation, including portrayals in television, film, and other forms of media. Traditionally, challenging stereotypes has been discouraged; recently, however, these gender roles are increasingly being reexamined through entertainment media.

Television has always been dominated by male leads, but feminism and the challenges faced by working women are becoming more prominent in shows such as *Broad City* on Comedy Central and *Veep* on HBO. *Broad City* was created as a web series in 2009 by Ilana Glazer and Abbi Jacobson. The show premiered on Comedy Central in 2014, with Ilana and Abbi as the leading roles. Comedy Central describes *Broad City* as the feminist show that celebrates women, inverts gender stereotypes, and normalizes taboos. *Broad City* follows two women in their twenties living in New York City. (Broad City, 2014).

In comparison to *Broad City*, *Veep* has a narrower storyline. It's an American political satire television series that premiered in 2012. Selina Meyer, played by Julia Louis-Dreyfus, is the Vice President of the United States. *Veep* follows Meyer through her personal life and political career, as well as that of her staff

and others around her. As the series progresses, Selina continues to try and move up in power, running for president in the third season. *Veep* rarely focuses solely on Meyer's gender. For the most part, Selina Meyer is seen as the incompetent vice president who happens to be female; however, there are instances that do address gender stereotypes.

Both of these shows can be considered feminist television shows; however, each show reflects a different wave of feminism, this article argues. *Broad City,* focusing on two young women living in New York City, depicts third-wave feminism, with some aspects of fourth-wave feminism. In contrast, Selina Meyer, a grown woman working in a powerful position, represents the second-wave movement. Both shows have female leading roles, both breaking gender stereotypes in some ways, yet portray feminist values differently. This study examines how *Broad City* and *Veep* contradict traditional gender roles.

II. Literature Review

This literature review will discuss the history of feminism, specifically the four waves of feminism and how each wave has been portrayed on television. Feminist theory will inform the feminist values and transformations that are seen in *Broad City* and *Veep*. This review will also address research on gender stereotypes portrayed in television by discussing stereotypical gender characteristics and traits, including the Bem Sex-Roles Inventory (BSRI) test, and gender stereotypes in a professional setting. In addition, this study will discuss female stereotypes portrayed in television and how they relate to the traditional gender traits identified by the BSRI test.

Different Waves of Feminism

The feminist movement began in 1848 with the first wave. The wave metaphor describes and differentiates the eras and generations of feminism. It is one of the primary tools for understanding the history of feminism in the United States—how it developed and where it came from (Grady, 2018).

The first wave began in 1848 at the Seneca Falls convention in New York, which addressed women's social, civil, and religious rights. The first-wave movement was dedicated to fighting for political equality for women, as well as equal opportunities to education and employment, and the right to own property (Grady, 2018). The greatest achievement of the first wave was the 1920 ratification of the 19th Amendment ("Feminist Movements," 2019).

The second wave did not begin until the 1960s, with the creation of Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. *The Feminine Mystique* was revolutionary in its reach, making its way into the hands of housewives who passed it along to all of their well-educated, middle-class white female friends with nice homes and families (Grady, 2018). Friedan argued that reducing women to only housewives limited their potential and wasted their talents. Second-wavers made clear that they weren't just fighting for political equality, but social equality also. Problems that appeared to be individual and insignificant—about sex, relationships, access to abortions, and domestic labor—were actually systematic and political (Grady, 2018). These issues were crucial to fight for women's equality and went beyond voting and property rights ("Feminist Movements," 2019).

The third-wave movement emerged in the 1990s. Early third-wave activism fought against workplace sexual harassment, as well as increasing the number of women in positions (Grady, 2018). Additionally, the third-wave movement broadened the parameters of feminism, including more diverse groups of women and a more fluid range of sexual and gender identities ("Feminine Movements," 2019). Two important theorists of the '80s had a major influence in the movement. Kimberlé Crenshaw, a scholar of gender and critical race theory, coined the term *intersectionality*, explaining different forms of oppression and the disadvantages caused by them. Judith Butler, a gender theorist, argued that gender and sex are not the same, and that gender is performative (Grady, 2018).

A major difference between the second and third-wave movements was the acceptance of being called *girls* rather than *women.* Second-wavers fought to be called *women*; whereas, third-wavers embraced the world *girls* and saw it as empowering ("Feminist Movements," 2019). The decision to embrace feminine imagery such as lipstick, high heels, and cleavage was a response to the anti-feminist backlash of the 1980s when people referred to feminists as shrill and unfeminine. The "girliness" movement was also born out of

the belief that the *rejection* of "girliness" was misogynistic. Third-wavers argued that it was pointless to punish individual women for doing things, like being feminine, that gave them pleasure (Grady, 2018).

Currently, feminism is in its fourth wave, which began in 2008 and has been shaped by technology and movements, such as #MeToo, Time's Up, and the Women's March that floods Washington every year ("Femininst Movements," 2019). Feminist Jessica Valenti in 2009 mentioned that the fourth wave could be online, given the internet's major presence in society (Grady, 2018). Activists meet and plan events online; feminist discourse takes place online; social media tags, like #MeToo, promote inclusion ("Feminist Movements", 2019).

The fourth wave is also not uniform; different people interpret it in their own ways. Fourth-wave feminism is sex-positive, trans-inclusive, queer, and digitally drive. It also has started a historical movement of holding culture's most powerful men accountable for their behavior, critiquing the systems of power which allow predators to target women (Grady, 2018).

Waves of Feminism in Television

Television is a powerful medium that can have a significant influence on society's views. Progress has been made to increase culture's awareness and recognition of diversity, including race, sex, and ethnicity. The waves of feminism have been portrayed in television as they progressed and shifted throughout history.

The Donna Reed Show was a popular television sitcom, running from 1958 until 1966, that portrayed a wholesome wife and mother, revolving around her mundane family issues and dramas as well as dealing with her children. This one-dimension portrayal of a woman is one of the reasons the second-wave movement began. As the rise of women working in the '60s and '70s increased, the portrayal of nontraditional family lives and female characters also increased on television. *That Girl* (1966) was the first show to portray a young, unmarried girl living on her own (Press, 2009).

Collins defines feminism as a "recognition and critique of patriarchy and sexual politics" (Collins, 1986, p. 214). In the 1990s, television began to reflect third-wave feminist beliefs surrounding sexual and gender identities. *Ellen* was the first show on prime-time television to feature an openly gay woman come out (Press, 2009).

More recently, third-wave feminism can be seen in NBC's television show *Parks and Recreation*, starring Amy Poehler as Leslie Knope, a feminist in all forms. She works for the Parks and Recreation Department, in a leadership position, and is deeply committed to both her job and personal life (Swink, 2017). Her office is covered in framed portraits of Hillary Clinton, Nancy Pelosi, and Margaret Thatcher. She says things such as, "Government isn't just a boys club anymore," and "Women are everywhere. It's a great time to be a woman in politics." Poehler's character depicts a feminist, motivated, and hard-working woman (Bennett, 2013). This is the new era of television with women cast in primary roles and depicting feminist values.

Feminist Theory

Broad City and *Veep* both transform ideologies of stereotypical gender roles on television through their feminist values and strong female leads, similar to *Parks and Recreation*. Feminist theory aims to reveal obvious and subtle gender inequalities and then reduce or eliminate those inequalities. (Martin, 2002). As early as the 19th and early-to mid-20th centuries, feminist theory texts existed; however, it wasn't until the mid-1970s, during the second-wave movement, in which it developed further and became a tool for the feminist movement (Carlson & Ray, 2011).

Feminist theory works towards systematic change and states several concerns, including historical concepts regarding reification and dichotomization, such as examining male and female and rationality and emotionality. An example is the separation between rationality, most often attributed to males, and emotionality, very often attributed to females. This dichotomy has led to valuing rationality through a gender-specific lens, and completely devaluing emotions. Feminists view these dichotomies as socially constructed and misleading (Martin, 2002).

The universalization of sectional interest has been explored by critical theorists in a way that has represented the interests of all employees; however, feminist theories have explored the interests of men and how they've been assumed or asserted to be universal, whereas women's concerns and voices are silenced and ignored. Feminist scholars have repeatedly revealed gendered interests hidden in supposed gender-neutral

language and practices (Martin, 2002).

    Broad City and *Veep* challenge societal structures of gender through their character's personalities, occupations, and relationships. Feminist theory points out a structural change that is visible in *Broad City* and *Veep*. Just as the waves of feminism have evolved through time, feminist theory has too, both influencing the representation of female characters on television and breaking away from stereotypical gender roles.

Bem Sex-Role Inventory Test

    Gender stereotypes are highly prescribed and expected of society. They apply to occupations, daily life, and character traits (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). In 1974, Sandra Bem developed the Bem Sex-Roles Inventory (BSRI) test, which is used to measure different psychological gender traits. The purpose of this test was to "assess the extent to which the culture's definition of desirable female and male attributes are reflected in an individual's self-description" (Hoffman & Borders, 2011, p. 2**)**. It consists of 60 personality characteristics; 20 are stereotypically feminine, 20 are stereotypically masculine, and 20 are considered gender neutral (Hoffman & Borders, 2011).

    Since 1974, however, the scoring procedure has been modified. Critics pointed out that the original interpretations of an individual's score—classification as "feminine," "masculine," and "androgynous"—didn't differentiate between people who scored extremely low on both scales, or those who scored very high. The current procedure now has four distinct groups: feminine, masculine, androgynous, and undifferentiated. Androgynous applies to those who rate high on both dimensions; undifferentiated applies to those who rate low on both dimensions. Sex-typed as either masculine or feminine requires scoring high on one dimension but low on the other (Hoffman & Borders, 2011).

    In addition to transforming the scoring procedure, Bem created a BSRI Short Form test. It contains 30 of the original 60 items. Ten items constitute each of the three scales (masculinity, feminity, and social desirability). The purpose of this development was "to address concerns related to poor item-total correlations with the Masculinity and Feminity scales as well as issues raised by facto analyses" (Hoffman & Borders, 2011, p. 3). The original form remains widely used, however, and is strongly recommended by Bem because of her reasoning that it predicted behavior better than the Short Form (Hoffman & Borders, 2011).

Traditional Gender Stereotypes in Television

    The BSRI test has shifted over time, given how it's not quite defined since Sandra Bem developed the test in 1974. However, studies have found that female characters in television often depict stereotypical occupations and relationships involving romance, family, and friends (Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008). Their personalities consist of feminine traits identified in the BSRI test, such as affectionate, cheerful, gentle, love children, do not use harsh language, and more **(**Hoffman & Borders, 2001**)**.

    Lauzen, Dozier, and Horan (2008) found that female characters on television more often depict roles involving interpersonal actions such as socializing and counseling, instead of political or operational actions which male characters tend to perform. Female characters also perform more communal traits that deal with relationships and the concern of others. These findings correlate with the BSRI test's masculine and feminine traits. Feminine traits include sympathetic, sensitive to others' needs, and compassionate; whereas, masculine traits include assertive, independent, and have leadership abilities (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Similarly, Glascock (2001) found in his study that females were portrayed as less dominant on television, and males, instead, depicted characters who gave more orders as an attempt to show independence. In contrast, females initiated more acts of affection.

    When it comes to the depiction of employment on television, males are more often seen in leadership roles as managers, professionals, or law enforcement officers, following the BSRI's masculine traits of assertive, independent, and having leadership abilities (Hoffman & Borders, 2001); in contrast, women have been portrayed as teachers or nurses, and in lower-paying occupations (Glascock, 2001). Women who are portrayed as strong and competent can be seen as favorable, only if they also portray the stereotypical traits of a female, like being modest and caring. In order to be even seen as competent, women have to perform better than men **(**Prentice & Carranza, 2002**)**. This is especially true in roles of power, like for professional women.

    Rosabeth Moss Kanter identifies four common stereotypes of professional women that relates to stereotypical gender roles and traits found in the BSRI test. The *seductress* or *sex object* refers both to

sex roles and sexuality, and often behaves or speaks in "feminine" ways. The *mother* is viewed as having stereotypical traits such as caring and understanding, which can be taken in a negative light. These "feminine" traits question a "woman's ability to perform a leadership role" (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p. 328). The *mother* is judged for trying to juggle her professional life with her responsibilities as a mother, for which men do not get criticized. The *pet* is seen as weak or naive, and unable to handle a task without a man's help; therefore, this diminishes a woman's ability to complete leadership roles. Lastly, the *iron maiden* is a woman who goes against stereotypes by portraying too many masculine traits (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

In addition to employment, marital status has also been used to portray a stark contrast between female and male roles in the family (Glascock, 2001). Female characters' marital statuses are more likely to be known. They are also seen more in the home, taking care of the family. These are traditional stereotypes that have always been present in society and are depicted on television (Lauzen et al., 2008).

Women have been held to a set of certain character traits they must portray; however, the feminist movements have paved the way for shows like *Broad City* and *Veep,* with leading female roles who portray feminist values as well as break stereotypical gender roles. Researchers have studied gender stereotypes in prime-time television and have identified roles characterized by certain genders. This study intends to fill the gap by examining two recent shows, *Broad City* and *Veep*, and studying how the female characters in the show either adhere to or break traditional stereotypes, through content analysis. This study will also examine the different portrayals of feminism in each show and how the characters depict different waves of feminism.

Research Goal

•   Do both *Broad City* and *Veep* break traditional gender roles, portrayed through the main characters in their occupation status, behavior, and interpersonal relationships?

•   Does *Broad City* promote and display more outwardly feminist values than *Veep*?

III. Methods

This research examines how the female lead characters in *Broad City,* Ilana and Abbi, and the female lead character in *Veep,* Selina Meyer, break gender roles, through qualitative content analysis.

Three episodes from each show were chosen, selected by the ranking website ranker.com. Anyone can vote either up or down on any item of the list. The four primary factors that affect the ranking on a list are: number of up-votes and the ratio of up-votes to down-votes, how often it's ranked, and where it's ranked. For this study, six episodes were analyzed. The coder viewed each episode in the sample using the categories of analysis. The code sheet was used to evaluate three subcategories.

First, the behavior of the three lead female characters was examined. The behavior that was analyzed was physical and verbal. As referenced in the literature review, males are usually portrayed as dominant whereas females are more nurturing (Glascock, 2001). This study examined verbal aggression--negative comments, threats, hostility (shouting and ordering), and physical aggression--overt behavior such as hitting or shooting meant to harm someone else or oneself, altruism, showing affection, and concern for others. These behaviors and traits, like altruism and hostility, are traits identified in the BSRI test, which was used to identify female and male traits.

The next subcategory was interpersonal relationships. This study referenced Lauzen, Dozier, & Horan (2008) and their coding methods. Familial roles were studied such as sister, niece, sister-in-law, and daughter-in-law, mother, and grandmother. Romantic roles were also studied, including wife and girlfriend. Friendship was included in this study as well. Previous literature found that female characters are more likely to have an identifiable marital/relationship status than their male counterparts. Female characters also were more likely to be found in the home and around the family.

The final subcategory was work roles and occupation. This study identified white color, blue-collar, service, and professional work roles, including the four common stereotypes of professional women referenced in previous literature (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). This study noted any roles portraying the seductress or sex object, the mother, the pet, and the iron maiden. Although women have been portrayed in

the workplace, they are often depicted playing domestic and interpersonal roles.

In addition to coding, feminist theory was used to understand the roles of women in these shows, which examines obvious and subtle gender inequalities. This study analyzed which shows depicted more characteristics breaking gender roles, including through behavior, relationships, occupation. The waves of feminism were also used to analyze how feminism, in each show, was portrayed in a different context.

IV. Findings and Discussion

Breaking Gender Roles

Through behavior, interpersonal relationships, and occupation status the main characters in *Broad City* and *Veep* break gender roles. The first category, behavior, depicted the strongest portrayals of breaking gender roles.

Behavior

The coder studied physical and verbal behavior. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) test was used to identify specific feminine, masculine, and neutral traits. Overall, more through verbal behavior, gender roles were broken, depicting masculine traits. Two strong themes were found—aggression and the use of harsh language.

The BSRI test identifies *aggressive* as a masculine trait. Merriam-Webster defines aggression as "hostile, injurious, or destructive behavior or outlook especially when caused by frustration." In both *Broad City* and *Veep*, the female lead characters depict this trait in a variety of scenes, both through verbal and physical behavior. The coder examined and found that all three of the characters acted out behaviors involving hostility, negative comments, threats, and other forms of aggression.

In *Broad City*'s top-rated episode "Knockoffs," Ilana and her mother search the city for the perfect knockoff handbags. They eventually find an entire suitcase worth of knockoffs; however, towards the end of the episode, Ilana's mother's handbags are taken by the police. After having her handbags confiscated, Ilana comforts her mother by hugging her while standing on the sidewalk. A man passes them and curses at them for blocking the sidewalk. They both yell back aggressively. Ilana's shouting is more audible and hostile, and punctuated with curse words. In this scene, Ilana depicts aggression through hostility, shouting, and by making a threat. The tone of her voice is angry. Not only does she scream, but she is posturing towards the man; she is facing towards him with her arms wide open in a defensive, power position. As a result, the man walks in the opposite direction. He most likely expected Ilana to react in a traditional feminine way. This could have been depicted through feminine traits such as being empathetic, speaking softly, and maybe ignoring the man and even apologizing to him. Instead, Ilana screams at the man, uses harsh language, and threatens his life.

In *Veep*'s second-highest-rated episode "Election Night," Selina runs for re-election as President. She and her team grow more and more anxious as each state's result is called. The race comes down to the state of Virginia; if Selina wins, then it would be a tie. This would result in the possibility of her Vice President, Tom James, becoming President. Tom James goes out onto the rally stage, without Selina's permission, in order to energize the crowd. When Selina finds out she becomes aggressive towards her team.

Selina informs her team that she is going to the rally. Kent, her campaign manager, tells her that it is unprecedented. Selina replies back in an aggressive manner. "No, I'll tell you what's unprecedented Kent. A tie is unprecedented. So is becoming the first lady president. So is that jackoff becoming president through the back door. Okay? The rule book's been torn up now and America is wiping its nasty ass with it."

Selina's tone becomes increasingly hostile. As she's facing Kent she points her finger at him. She screams the last sentence with clear rage in her voice and her veins visibly pop out of her neck. Selina's aggression stems from her Vice President undermining her and speaking to the crowd after she specifically told him not to. This aggressive behavior is common and accepted for men in power; however, because Selina is a woman, she is expected to behave differently. In this scene, Selina broke gender roles by choosing to stand up for herself and her position of power.

The next strong theme is the *use of harsh language*. The BSRI test identifies "does not use harsh language" as a feminine character trait. The word "fuck" -- used as variously as a noun, adjective, adverb, verb, and interjection – was specifically coded to measure the use of harsh language. The use of harsh language was consistently found in both *Broad City* and *Veep* by the female lead characters; however, in *Veep*'s episode "Testimony," the use of harsh language was not found. This is due to the fact that the entire episode takes place in a court setting and the use of harsh language is eliminated. The female lead characters both similarly and differently expressed harsh language. Two settings were identified to measure the use of harsh language: an aggressive manner and to describe sexual behavior.

The coder found that in *Veep*, Selina used harsh language solely in an aggressive manner. "Election Night" depicts several examples of this throughout the episode. Selina aggressively yells at Kent, her campaign manager, to "Get the f--- out of here Kent," when he knocks on her door. She then becomes angry with her team for allowing Tom James to go to the rally and says, "Alright, f--- all of you. I'm going to the rally." Her use of harsh language in this context is disrespectful and depicts her uncaring for them. Lastly, when Selina is walking to the rally and discussing how much she dislikes Tom James, she uses harsh language four times within two sentences. "That f---ing guy. His f---ing charm and his f---ing son with his f---king wheelchair and his spine all f---ed up."

In "Wisdom Teeth," Ilana aggressively calls out the government for their poorly regulated distribution of medicine when she's talking to Lincoln, her friend-with-benefits and Abbi's dentist. "You know, Western medicine does stick to a pretty strict schedule. The sooner you take more pills, the sooner you buy more pills. F---ing government regulated, Dr. Drew, all you can eat buffet."

Ilana's aggression towards the government is depicted through her use of harsh language. Even though her intentions are not to be aggressive towards Lincoln, the use of "f---ing" emphasizes her feelings about the government.

In contrast to *Veep*, *Broad City*'s lead female characters use harsh language not only in an aggressive manner, but also to describe sexual behaviors. In the episode of "Knockoffs," Ilana's grandmother has died and she is talking to Abbi about her. Ilana describes her grandmother as outgoing and willing to take risks. For example, Ilana mentions her grandmother's sexual history and tells Abbi that Grandma Esther "f---ed Lil' Richard." Abbi also uses harsh language to describe specific sexual behaviors in the episode.

It's important to note that Selina never uses harsh language to describe sexual behaviors in *Veep*. Abbi and Ilana are significantly younger than Selina; age may play a factor in this comparison, having grown up in different generations with a different culture. Another reason could be Selina's occupation. The people she is surrounded by for the majority of her time are professionals and she is in a position of power. It may not be harsh language that is viewed as inappropriate by Selina, but instead the use of harsh language in the context of discussing sexual behavior.

Relationships

The coder analyzed friendships, and romantic and familial relationships. Three relationships stood out in this study that depicted the female lead characters breaking gender roles; however, also in these relationships, some character traits were seen that correlated to traditional female roles. The association of female characters with interpersonal roles focusing on romance, family, and friendship is not gender-consistent in this study.

Marital status has been used to depict a stark contrast between female and male roles. Women are also seen more in the home taking care of the family. Neither of these hypotheses hold true in this study. Both Abbi and Ilana are not depicted as being married or in an exclusive relationship. The status of Selina's marriage is unknown in two of the episodes; however, she does mention Catherine's father in "Election Night." She and Catherine are looking at photos and Selina speaks of him in a negative light: "Oh, there's daddy. Horrible." This makes it unclear if they are separated or still together.

In *Broad City*'s episode "Knockoffs," Abbi has a romantic relationship with her neighbor Jeremy. It's important to note that their relationship is not exclusive, and they only have one "non-date hangout." During their date they have sex and Abbi suggests they "switch it up" regarding their sexual positions; however, Jeremy takes it one step further and introduces a wearable sex toy into their relationship. He gives it to Abbi and then enthusiastically turns around on the bed on all fours and asks Abbi to put it "right in the butt" before realizing that isn't what Abbi meant. After much consideration, Abbi agrees to put on the sex toy and use it on

Jeremy. This reversal depicts Abbi as dominant, portraying the traditional male character trait.

Veep also shows the reversal of gender roles through Selina and Gary's relationship. Gary is Selina's assistant and bag man. He is loyal and kind to Selina, whereas she is controlling, mean, and abusive to Gary. The show depicts this relationship as humorous, but it's important to note that if their genders were reversed, their relationship would be described as inappropriate and abusive more often.

Selina depicts dominance, a masculine character trait, over Gary in almost every situation. In return, Gary always yields to her, a feminine character trait. In "Helsinki," Selina lands in Finland and immediately wants cigarettes. She asks Gary for them and at first he tries to remind her how bad they are for her and how they negatively affect her. This doesn't stop Selina from demanding a cigarette from him. Throughout the episode, each time she asks for a cigarette, he makes a negative remark; however, Gary yields and retrieves them for her. Selina uses her dominance and power over Gary to get what she wants.

The coder found an example of traditional gender roles in the relationship between Ilana and her mother, Bobbie. Individually, both women depict behaviors that break gender roles, but their relationship correlates with the traditional mother-daughter relationship. Bobbie is nurturing towards her daughter, and in return Ilana does the same for Bobbie. The episode "Knockoffs" depicts their similarities and love for each other.

After Bobbie's knockoff bags have been taken by the police she is in denial and insists they must go back and buy more. Ilana comforts her in a gentle tone and tells her to "let it go." She then hugs Bobbie, but soon after is interrupted by a stranger who tries to pass them and yells at them. It is clear through their similar behaviors that Ilana has learned the behavior of aggression and feminine power from her mother. After Ilana and Bobbie yell back at the stranger they continue to hug and Bobbie tells Ilana she loves her. Ilana reassures her affection and appreciation for her mother: "You are my world. You are my everything. I think about you all day, every day."

Ilana and Bobbie's relationship differs greatly between Selina and her daughter, Catherine. Selina is nurturing towards her daughter; however, she is not nurturing in the typical feminine way. She does the bare minimum. In "Election Night," Catherine, clearly concerned for her mother, suggests that she and Selina have mother-daughter time. Selina apologizes to Catherine for previously breaking up her engagement and acknowledges that her job can be hard on her. She then gives advice to Catherine explaining how all men are horrible, including her father. In addition to this conversation, once Selina comes back to watch the election with her team, she asks someone how long she was gone for. After realizing she was only gone for a few minutes, she responds: "God, it always seems longer with Catherine." Selina's position of power could be a factor for why she does not exhibit nurturing behavior towards her daughter. Instead of nurturing her daughter, it's as if the United States of America is Selina's baby who she has to nurture.

Occupation

Often, female characters are depicted as working in interpersonal actions, like counseling, socializing, and nursing. Powerful, political, and operational actions are depicted by men in order to emphasize their dominance and independence. *Veep* reverses these gender stereotypes by portraying Selina Meyer as the Vice President of the United States and then later in the series as President of the United States. Selina portrays leadership, dominance, and power through her occupation, all masculine character traits.

It's important to note that Selina does not fit any of Rosabeth Moss Kanter's four common stereotypes of women in power. In the episodes studied, the coder did not find any instances in which Selina portrayed the *seductress*, using her sexuality or femininity in her role. Selina also did not depict the *mother* in anyway. Selina's ability to lead was never questioned because of her role as a mother, nor was she ever criticized for trying to juggle her professional life with her responsibilities as a mother. The coder did not find any examples of Selina being portrayed as weak or unable to handle a task without a man's help. Lastly, Selina could not be labeled as an *iron maiden*. The coder did find Selina break stereotypes and portray masculine traits; however, these character traits were never a distraction that made the coder question why Selina, a woman, was holding a position of such power. *Veep* uniquely depicts Selina's occupation by not addressing her gender as a main theme throughout the show; instead, *Veep* tells the story of an incompetent Vice President who happens to be female.

Feminist Values

This study confirmed the second research question—*Broad City* does, in fact, depict more feminist values than *Veep* by rejecting the traditional dichotomies of gender and sexual orientation, critiquing the patriarchy's traditional beliefs on the sexes regarded in terms of power, and therefore eliminates these gender inequalities.

Ilana's love for being a woman, as well as her acceptance and embracement of her body and sexuality epitomizes feminism. In "Wisdom Teeth," the episode begins at Abbi's art class, in which Ilana shows up as the nude model for the class. She is entirely naked and exudes confidence throughout the entire scene. This humorous scene has underlying feminist values, embracing Ilana's feminity, third-wave feminism, and portraying sex-positivity, fourth-wave feminism.

Later in the episode, Ilana is trying to find Abbi after she went missing. Ilana's on the phone with Lincoln, freaking out, and he tells her to calm down. Immediately, Ilana becomes angry and shouts at him: "F--- you. Don't tell me to calm down. I hate when men tell women that." As feminist theory mentioned, feminists aim to reject dichotomies such as the belief that rationality is attributed to males, whereas emotionality is attributed to females, completely devaluing emotions (Martin, 2002).

The empowerment of female sexuality is a strong theme in *Broad City.* Abbi and Ilana constantly empower each other's sexuality and don't refrain from having crude or explicit conversations or behaviors in their episodes. They find a lot of their humor in sexual moments*.* In "Knockoffs," Abbi calls Ilana for advice after Jeremy gives her the sex toy, unsure if she should do it or not. Ilana gets so excited to talk about it with Abbi that she twerks on a wall. Ilana's excitement and openness to discuss such sexually explicit content with Abbi are clear fourth-wave values; Ilana's confidence and love for being a woman are also third-wave feminist ideals. In addition, another episode ("The Last Supper") promotes sex-positivity, a benchmark of fourth-wave feminism. Abbi and Ilana are at an elegant seafood restaurant, celebrating Abbi's birthday. One topic of conversation is their mutual enjoyment of fingers during sexual activity.

The major theme in *Veep* is power. This entails Selina's power within the government, power over those around her, and power in her life. In contrast, Abbi and Ilana's friendship in *Broad City* is the most central part of the show, emphasizing the importance of strong platonic relationships. It's important to note the age gap between the female lead characters in *Broad City* and *Veep*. The different generations depict feminism in different ways. Selina could possibly be portraying her feminism through second-wave feminist notions, like depicting a woman in a powerful position, traditionally portrayed by men. Selina's power in the workplace is an example of the second-wave movement when women fought to end discrimination in the workplace, as opposed to rejecting the traditional dichotomies of sexual orientation and gender.

Overall, the findings of this study confirm that both shows, *Veep* and *Broad City,* portray feminism, but highlight it through different waves. Selina's work ethic and demand for power reflect second-wave feminism. Abbi and Ilana promote third- and fourth-wave feminist values through their friendship, empowerment of one another's sexuality and others around them, and their beliefs against traditional gender roles that they instill in each episode.

V. Conclusion

Previous research found that many female characters on television depicted traditional gender roles through their behavior, relationships, and occupations. Female characters were nurturing and warm, most often found taking care of their family and working in the home; however, those character traits were not often found in this study. The female lead characters did depict nurturing traits in specific situations, but they were not portrayed as having the sole purpose of taking care of their home and family.

Lauzen, Dozier, and Horan (2008) found that female characters on television more often depict roles involving interpersonal actions like counseling, instead of political actions which male characters tend to perform. In addition, Glascock's research in 2001 found that females were portrayed as less dominant and, instead, males depicted characters who gave more orders. Both of these findings contrasted with the results found in this study. The female lead characters all displayed dominant and aggressive behaviors. *Veep*'s portrayal of Selina as the Vice President, a powerful and dominant position, contradicts Glascock's findings.

The female lead characters in *Broad City* and *Veep* break traditional gender roles constantly. In addition, this research found that both shows portray feminism through different waves of feminism. Feminism is outwardly portrayed in *Broad City.* Both of the main characters, Abbi and Ilana, are strong feminists. Episodes often revolve around some topic of feminism or symbolize feminism within the episode. The wave of feminism that *Broad City* reflects is the third-wave movement. In contrast, *Veep* doesn't discuss or promote feminism directly through the main character, Selina. Instead, Selina's position of power, as the Vice President and later President of the United States, is what symbolizes feminism. *Veep* shows that gender is not a factor when it comes to powerful positions. Selina's feminism is a reflection of the second-wave movement when women fought to end gender discrimination in the workplace.

Future research could study how other shows with female lead characters promote feminism in their own ways and break from traditional gender stereotypes, mirroring the changes in culture and society.

One limitation of this research design is that because only three episodes of each show were coded, the behavior, interpersonal relationships, and occupation status may be underestimated. The episodes of *Broad City* did not include any portrayals of occupation status. This study also only analyzed the female leads in each show, limiting this study to only three characters to be examined. Because of these specific limitations, the coder did find gaps in the research.

In order to improve the present study, the sample size could be expanded to increase the number of episodes analyzed. Researchers could then find more data on behaviors, such as physical behaviors involving aggression, or harsher language in *Veep to* describe sexual behaviors. By increasing the sample size, researchers could also observe and study change throughout seasons which could reflect change or movements within the waves of feminism. In addition, researchers could also expand upon the number of characters to code. Instead of only coding the female-lead characters, the research could code how characters surrounding the female leads respond and react to those characters when they do break gender roles. Researchers could examine if this analysis reveals anything about the female lead characters or about society in general.

Overall, this qualitative content analysis offers support for the notion that women in television, especially female lead characters, do not have to be portrayed in a traditionally feminine way. *Broad City* and *Veep* both depicted strong female lead characters who broke gender roles continuously through their behavior, relationships, and occupation. Third- and fourth-wave feminism has caused change in society which is reflected in the media, including in *Broad City*. Although *Veep* and *Broad City* depict feminist values in different ways, both shows offer support for the notion of empowering women and therefore depict their characters breaking gender roles.

Acknowledgements

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The Cinematography of Roger Deakins:
How His Visual Storytelling Reflects His Philosophies

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Abstract

Cinematography is a visual medium that connects the film experience to the viewers. Just like directors and actors, certain names of cinematographers become common in the industry. Roger Deakins, who has a career spanning many decades and popular titles, is regarded as one of the best directors of photography of all time. This qualitative content analysis examines 15 of Deakins' films that were nominated for Best Cinematography category at the Oscars in order to determine what makes his art so memorable. Themes that emerged were his ability to utilize framing and composition, camera mobility, and lighting techniques to naturally tell the story respective of the directors' inputs.

I. Introduction

From director to gaffer, producer to sound mixer, it takes an entire team of dedicated artists to make a movie happen. The camera is the tool that lets the audience see, and directors of photography (DP) handle this particular tool. They provide the best shot by adjusting lights and shadows, deciding what should be in the background and what should be focused, and choosing the angle. One man who has mastered this art form is 15-time Oscar nominated cinematographer Roger Deakins. Since 1995, he has dominated the film industry and award shows, becoming a household name within the cinematography world (Desowitz, 2018). While he has worked on many Coen brothers' movies like *Fargo* (1996) and *No Country for Old Men* (2007), he has also earned award nods with *The Shawshank Redemption* (1994), *Unbroken* (2014), and *Blade Runner 2049* (2017), the latter being his first Academy Award win. As James Chressanthis, another DP on many television productions, describes: "The brilliance of Roger's cinematography lies in something very difficult to achieve: It's completely transparent to the audience because it looks and feels real" ("Cinematographers on Cinematographers," 2011).

However, what exactly does Roger Deakins do, and how is he so successful at it? As mentioned before, a DP's job is to manipulate camera angles and lighting to portray a message. It needs to feel genuine to the moment and context of the scene, as well as evoke a reaction out of the viewers. The story doesn't have to only rely on the writing, because the camera has the ability to depict emotions without explicit dialogue. While Deakins himself says he strips cinematography down to the basics, and that it's "not about pretty images and beautiful compositions, it's about something that just feels right" (Chagollan, 2015b), he still

is widely regarded for his artistic craft. He has masterfully kept a consistent, effective theme throughout his works to become one of the best in the business.

The goal of this research is to understand how Roger Deakins uses a range of techniques from camera movements and angles, "mise en scène," and balance of light and shadows to fully display a variety of emotions in his shots. All these aspects of cinematography naturally arouse the viewer's brain, bringing the director's vision to life.

II. Literature Review

This section examines the techniques of cinematography, highlighting the significance and meaning behind certain choices. It also explains the relationship between directors and cinematographers, and how Deakins has aligned his work to the directors' visions.

Fundamentals of Cinematography

Filmmaking is a multidimensional medium. There are so many pieces that come together to create a movie, and the camera should not be ignored. It is not only just a tool to capture footage, but another way to tell a story. It is the lens of the viewers peering into a scenario like a fly on the wall. When it comes down cinematic elements involving the camera, there are three characteristics: mise en scène, movement, and lighting.

Mise en scène, which literally translates to "staging," is the term for what appears in the frame at any moment. That includes things like actors, props, and costumes. The camera's specific role would be the composition, such as the angle and type of shot. An angle above the subject shows a much different power dynamic than an angle below the subject, same as a wide lens shot feeling much less claustrophobic than a telephoto lens shot (Block, 2008). These all affect the visual arrangement on screen, which implies certain relationships between the elements (Mamer, 2003). Selecting the frame is so vital to filmmaking, as filmmakers must direct the audience's attention (Brown, 2016). It is the most obvious, yet also most subtle, form of persuasion.

A film is never purely static. Camera movements add dynamics to a shot and keep it from getting stale. However, it should not just move for the sake of moving; it must have a purpose. Following a character through trucks and dolly allows a moment of empathy; pans and tilts expose information that were previously hidden (Block, 2008). These elements of filming confirm a sense of natural reality (Bacher, 1978). Staging of the action in the frame, especially in relation with the camera, makes the cameraman "catch" what is "happening" realistically (Bacher, 1978). This adds another layer within the third dimension, instead of a flat profile that static shots typically demonstrate.

Lighting's sole purpose is not to just fill a space and help the eye see, it also can be used in a way to illustrate a tone. Harsh lighting setups that emphasize straight lines and edges on a subject provide an unsettling feeling, while soft lighting that nicely envelopes the subject seems less intense and more angelic (Block, 2008). And the focus should not be just light itself, but the absence of light. Shadows are equally significant since they play a big role in setting the scene, and it looks natural. The painting of light within a frame goes a long way in determining the general character of the image, and what message the filmmakers want to put out for those watching (Mamer, 2003).

Cinematography is not simply something anyone can just pick up a camera and do. It requires lots of planning and careful execution. Motivation should always be in hindsight, and present in a way that includes all required story elements (Lucas, 2011). It can be artistic, contributing a mood or sense of pace, but it must fit. In other words, is it good for the story? The director and DP must negotiate that.

Directors' Philosophies

In terms of creative decisions, the director is essentially in charge, though in collaboration with all the department heads. When a DP maintains a good relationship with the director, the DP is often invited back to work on another project. Such is the case for British director Sam Mendes, who has worked with Deakins on five separate occasions, including the James Bond film *Skyfall* (2012) and the one-take Best Cinematography winning war film *1917* (2019). Denis Villeneuve, a French director who has burst onto the American cinema

scene in recent years, is another frequent collaborator, the two working on *Prisoners* (2013), *Sicario* (2015), and his other Best Cinematography winner *Blade Runner 2049*. However, Deakins' go-to team seems to be Joel Coen and Ethan Coen, better known as the Coen brothers. The directors with eccentric tastes on classic genres have worked with the cinematographer on 12 separate films, starting with *Barton Fink* (1991) and the more recent *Hail, Caesar!* (2016). All these directors have different styles, yet Roger Deakins has managed to fulfill their visions. In the end, it came down to what he does best: keeping it simple.

Simplicity is a philosophy for Sam Mendes. Instead of crazy blockbuster action or over- the-top special effects, he opts for studying the psyche of characters (*Sam Mendes—Behind the Camera*, 2016). *Jarhead* (2005) was the first time Sam Mendes and Deakins worked together as a pair. The story puts an existential spin on a Marine's experiences during the Gulf War (Thomson, 2005). Deakins described how Mendes emphasized that "it wasn't a conventional war story… it's really about these kids being taken somewhere they don't understand, to fight a war they don't understand" (Thomson, 2005). *Revolutionary Road* is about an unhappy marriage in suburban Connecticut. The key, explained by Mendes, lay in staying close to the main characters and having the cinematography reflect that (Bosley, 2009). Roger Deakins was all about reverting to basic rules of camerawork, and a matter of keeping it easy to follow.

For Denis Villeneuve, the naturalist look is the driving force, although still keeping the route of simplicity. During *Prisoners*, a movie about a man trying to find his daughter's kidnapper, they shot during Thanksgiving, using the darker light of fall to convey a more depressing tone that replicated the storyline (Chagollan, 2015a). With *Sicario*, a story about a strike team fighting back against Mexican drug lords, it was the other end of the spectrum. They shot in the Chihuahua Desert in order to capture the harsh, brutal lighting of the sun (Benjamin, 2015). To maintain the state of realism, the pair researched photographs and locations while constantly updating a storyboard until production (Benjamin, 2015).

The Coen brothers' oeuvre is a bit of a wild card. Their films range from a variety of genres, though always in the realm of absurd grittiness, quirky humor, and insightful characters. *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) blends comic hijinks and social commentary (Conard, 2012). A film about a trio of men in pursuit of freedom and treasure, it is a modern satire loosely based on Homer's epic poem in *The Odyssey*. The style evoked old movies and the Depression, utilizing faded earth colors for a full effect (Toscano, 2009). *No Country for Old Men*, on the other hand, is an outlier Coen brothers work. It is not unusual for the directors to take on dark themes, but previous films always had a level of meta-irony, in which the stories were meant to be consumed as a detached reality (Conard, 2012). The plot centers around a cowboy who finds a briefcase full of cash, an escaped sociopathic killer trying to retrieve said briefcase, and a sheriff trying to stop the violence. Deakins decided to play with silhouettes and shadows much more, as if the harshness of the real world was dawning upon everyone. As the DP says, "That is what great filmmaking is – an exploration of ourselves" (King et al., 2009). The camerawork modeled what each character represented in the United States, and what the code of human ethics have become (King et al., 2009).

Deakins' Craft

Roger Deakins does not own a style, rather he alters his style to suit the project that he's on (*The Filmmaker's View*, 2017). His craft is purely based upon the combination of basic cinematography rules and what the director needs. Even after nearly 40 years in the industry, Deakins feels like a newcomer on every set, noting that "any way a film looks is a product of prep on that look, on that film, and how that sort of developed."(*The Filmmaker's View*, 2017). However, what sets him apart from other cinematographers is his instinctual personality and hands-on methodology.

Starting out in documentaries, Deakins learned to think quickly and take a simple approach to his craft. It taught him to have a sixth sense in what is about to happen and what belongs in the frame, where one should position the camera to interpret the scene while working quickly and instinctively (Chagollan, 2015b). That is exactly why, even though the technicality of his shots is elementary, his mind and vision creates the world to fill the space and make it that much more special. He still spends effort and time to perfect a scene so that it leaves a lasting impression (*Roger Deakins: Breaking Down the Master Cinematographer*, 2018).

Roger Deakins is also the type of DP to operate the camera. In Hollywood, the cinematographer sometimes never touches the camera, but leads the visual department in where to set up and how to capture the shot (Kilhefner, 2018). He does not believe in this method, since it can impede on his creative process. "There's so much about the movement of the camera and the composition, you want to be open to the little

things that happen on a set," Deakins explains. "You can't be if you've got to communicate with an operator" (*The Filmmaker's View*, 2017).

In the end, Roger Deakins adds complexion to already known fundamentals. He bases his framing and composition on instinct, then adds on touches of lighting, mise en scène, and movement for artistic purposes. Hardcore film nerds and casual moviegoers alike can relate to his shots. In turn, his name remains present when awards season rolls around.

III. Methods

This study is a qualitative content analysis of the 15 films for which Roger Deakins received an Oscar nomination for Best Cinematography. These films were chosen for nomination because of their exceptional camerawork and critical acclaim, making them a logical way to study his technique. Each movie was examined by its cinematography, specifically how his craft fit the feel of each piece while maintaining certain visual elements and themes to portray a shot. In order to do so, the basic fundamentals of cinematography were considered, such as mise en scène, camera movement, and lighting. The directors' inputs were also studied to better understand Deakins' justification of how to shoot the scene. Table 1 provides the name of the movie, the year it was released, and who the director was.

Table 1. Movie Title, Year, and Director

Movie	Year	Director
The Shawshank Redemption	1995	Frank Darabont
Fargo	1996	Joel Coen, Ethan Coen
Kundun	1997	Martin Scorsese
O Brother, Where Art Thou?	2000	Joel Coen, Ethan Coen
The Man Who Wasn't There	2001	Joel Coen, Ethan Coen
No Country for Old Men	2007	Joel Coen, Ethan Coen
The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford	2007	Andrew Dominik
The Reader	2008	Stephen Daldry
True Grit	2010	Joel Coen, Ethan Coen
Skyfall	2012	Sam Mendes
Prisoners	2013	Denis Villeneuve
Unbroken	2014	Angelina Jolie
Sicario	2015	Denis Villeneuve
Blade Runner 2049	2017	Denis Villeneuve
1917	2019	Sam Mendes

It is important to note that qualitative research is not generalizable, but instead provides insight into how his art is so memorable to critics and audiences worldwide.

Research Questions

The following research revolves around these questions:
RQ1: What are some of the recurring themes in how Deakins effectively frames his shots?

RQ2: How does the way Deakins shoots reflect his philosophy as a cinematographer?

RQ3: How does Deakins craft a film's visual style in respect to the directors' inputs?

IV. Findings

While each film varied in genre, mood, and story, the cinematography remained exceptional and purposeful throughout. Roger Deakins' choices of shots improve the fundamentals of camerawork yet manages to maintain a relationship with the directors' inputs.

Mise en Scène

Of the 15 academy nominated films, five are particularly noted for framing and composition. These include technical aspects such as choice of lens and angles and what they contribute to the story, but it can also include what's within the frame like lines, shapes, and spacing. *The Reader* is about a boy whose romantic relationship with an older woman ends abruptly. He finds out years later that she is on trial for a Nazi war crime. While the story revolves around the setting of the Holocaust, director Stephen Daldry hoped it would not be digested as a Holocaust film, rather about human relationships and consequences (*RT Interview*, 2009). Therefore, Deakins depicts many of the early scenes with intimacy as audiences witness the growing love between the two main characters.

Figure 1

Roger Deakins aids the audience in understanding the bond between Michael and Hanna by framing the two together within the confines of the bathtub (see Figure 1). By employing a wider lens and staying close to the subjects, the claustrophobic environment feels more intimate, as if they were sharing each other's personal space. However, later in the film the framing strays away in distance, and surface division starts to appear.

Figure 2

Surface division is described as dividing the screen into smaller areas for the visual storytelling of disconnect (Block, 2008). In another scene, Michael is recollecting his thoughts upon seeing Hanna again several years later (Figure 2). He does not attend any of his law school parties, instead chooses to observe from a distance. Seeing the different actions in each room shows how Michael does not feel at place in the world anymore. A similar tactic is used in Deakins' first Academy win, *Blade Runner 2049.*

Figure 3

The visually stunning movie revolves around a Los Angeles police officer on a quest to find a former blade runner. As depicted in Figure 3, the steel railing and beams separate Officer K from a giant purple advertisement, reiterating his disconnect from the technological dystopian society he lives in. While one can argue that a futuristic society offers more traditionally gorgeous shots than a historical period piece, Deakins applies similar techniques of cinematography that enhances both narratives, proving his philosophy that visuals must aid the story not overarch it.

Geometric shapes are subtle and common mise en scène tools for eliciting natural reactions (Block, 2008). *Kundun*, a 1997 film directed by Martin Scorsese, recounts the story of the Dalai Lama's early life. As seen in Figure 4, the circular shape of the telescope and human head instinctively places a sense of naturalism in the brain (Renée, 2016). Since the Dalai Lama's story is about his journey to spiritualism, Deakins opted for rounder mise en scène. Viewers are meant to feel at ease and unthreatened as the story moves forward, mirroring the protagonist's arc. In this film, Scorsese stepped away from his usual violent mob dramas and into a story characterized by serenity. He wanted the audience to watch an experience rather than a spectacle (Suton, 2019). With the help of Deakins, a color and shape palette was created among backdrops of luscious scenery. Deakins said the movie was "very much a poem, rather than a traditional narrative film, more of a mood piece than anything else" (Suton, 2019).

Figure 4

Deakins' work in Coen brothers movies demonstrates his varied approach. As for *Fargo*, the Coen brothers were fresh off of the very stylized *Hudsucker Proxy*. The directors wanted to contrast that with a stark style, mirroring the dead, wintry times of North Dakota. Deakins chose to employ dull mise en scène with few landscapes, in which the brothers noted became another form of stylization itself (Burwell, 2017). Following up with *O Brother, Where Art Thou?*, the brothers returned to their stylish roots. Scheduled to shoot in the summer, Deakins had to find ways to desaturate the greens for the look of old, hand-tinted postcards that the directors favored (*Escaping From Chains, p. 1*, n.d.). "The film was also the Coen brothers' first experience shooting in a widescreen format, which Deakins had suggested because of the importance of the landscapes and epic nature of the story" (*Escaping From Chains, p. 2*, n.d.). By stepping back and not letting his cinematic ego take over his mindset, Deakins allows his storyteller brain to activate and produce the best film possible.

Fargo often opts for straight geometric shapes such as squares. A film about a man's attempt to kidnap his wife for ransom money in order to overcome a struggling, mundane life, the shapes within the composition must reflect the plot. The protagonist, Jerry, has financial problems and is trying to invest in the construction of a parking lot for income. After being turned down by his wealthy father-in-law, he angrily walks to his car. The blocks of trees and his angled car are all spaced equally in frame as he walks through the square crossroads of his tire tracks (Figure 5). These shapes represent manmade stability that is often viewed as boring, which is an obstacle the character must overcome (Renée, 2016).

Figure 5

Another technique Deakins utilizes is lines. Lines indicate a direction for viewers to follow, as the human eye is naturally drawn to them (Block, 2008). Figure 6 shows isolation, and a long road to nowhere and uncertainty, a problem the protagonist falls into when conducting his ransom attempt (Figure 6). He does not know what is going to happen next as everything spirals out of his control. Deakins effectively uses a straight line, a basic cinematic technique, to further drive the story in a visual manner.

Figure 6

This contrasts with *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* where Deakins frames lines to show a long journey ahead. The adventure film centers on three escaped inmates travelling through the south in search for treasure. With a line splitting the frame in half down the middle, it provides a deep space shot of rural America, indicating a sense of hope for the characters as they journey through their story (Figure 7).

Figure 7

Camera Movement

The mobility of camera is often practiced in order to give a feel for reality. It can connect moviegoers with the characters, contribute points of view, and reveal hidden objects within the frame (Block, 2008). In a tense highway sequence in *Sicario*, the United States task force and Mexican drug cartels draw their guns at one another, with Deakins providing a helicopter shot from above.

Figure 8

The camera tilts down from a crowded highway of the U.S.-Mexico border to reveal a strike team approaching cars with their guns up (Figure 8). This nerve-wracking moment was emphasized by the use of moving aerial footage, because it feels like a bird's eye view as if it were happening in real time. During shooting, New Mexico was in the midst of monsoon season, so Deakins was worried that much of the aerial cinematography would overtake the film due to vast cloud formations. However, he and Villeneuve adapted with the unexpected changes to paint the landscape as a threatening, oncoming character (Raya, 2016).

Later, within the same scene, the camera operates with more movement, this time from the protagonist Kate Macer's point of view. The FBI agent looks around in horror as the opposing forces open fire, then she realizes a man in the sideview mirror about to shoot her (Figure 9). Deakins thrusts the camera into her viewpoint, as it pans left to right in a panicked manner, mimicking her current mindset. When she sees the man, the audience also sees him in a moment of empathy.

Figure 9

A similar approach can be found in *True Grit.* In this story about a teenage farm girl trying to find her father's killer, the story introduces one of the main characters, a lawman named Rooster Cogburn, through the point of view of the young protagonist. She shuffles through the crowd in the courtroom where he is being tried for shooting and killing criminals instead of detaining them (Figure 10). The slow camera track behind the back of men's heads once again pushes the viewers into the character's eyesight, and they meet Rooster along with her. Deakins adds, "I have an overall kind of approach to cinematography that it should be as simple and as submissive to the script as possible, because I think so much of it is about the relationship between the camera and the actors" (*The Cinematography of True Grit*, 2011).

Figure 10

There are also times when the camera movement can be empathetic without the use of a point of view. *Unbroken*, tells the story of Louis Zamperini, an Olympic runner who gets captured during World War II. There is a scene where he runs the 5,000-meter race in the 1936 Summer Olympics. In the final lap he begins overtaking the other runners as the camera tracks in front of him, capturing his sweat-beaded intensity and determination. It is not a point of view, yet keeping the camera stationed on him throughout the last lap offers another touch of connection (Figure 11). After he sets a record for the fastest lap at 56 seconds, the audience understands his elation as they followed and watched him the entire time. Director Angelina Jolie recounts during preproduction the tendency to include shaky cameras or quick cuts between multiple angles in the shot list to convey energy, only for Deakins to jokingly laugh and say to not do such "tricksy shots" (*Angelina Jolie – Unbroken*, 2014).

Figure 11

The battlefield drama *1917* presented Deakins with a unique challenge: shooting it as if it was one continuous shot for nearly two hours. The film tracks two British soldiers as they race through a carnage-strewn landscape to deliver a message that might save 1,600 lives. In the climax of the film, we see Lieutenant Schofield running perpendicular to the first wave of troops, avoiding explosions and other soldiers (Figure 12).

Figure 12

When director Sam Mendes pitched this idea, the concept of a continuous take had already been done before. Yet, he wanted to take it a step further by keeping it action packed and consistent to real time. "It was fundamentally an emotional choice. I wanted to travel every step with these men – to breathe every breath with them. It needed to be visceral and immersive" (Breznican, 2019). In order to achieve such a technical feat, Deakins operated with Steadicams, drones, motorcycles, cranes, pickup trucks and multiple assistants to keep the camera moving, carefully stitching in places to hide editing cuts (*How "1917" Was Filmed To Look Like One Shot | Movies Insider—YouTube*, 2020). This required a huge amount of preproduction and rehearsals, earning him another accolade for Best Cinematography, his second in three years.

Lastly, movement can yield a refreshing take from an outside source. In *The Shawshank Redemption*, Andy is wrongfully convicted of his wife's murder and sentenced to life in prison. He experiences the brutality of prison life and plots his escape, which leads to an iconic movie shot. After trudging 500 yards through a sewage pipe, Andy escapes prison. Tearing off his dirty shirt, he extends his arms out to the downpour of rain as the camera jibs (a mechanical crane pulls the camera vertically in space) towards the sky (Figure 13). It adds a feeling of a someone answering his prayers, akin a higher being protecting him. According to ScreenRant, this famous shot was originally sequenced for Andy to further trek down the river, cross a field, and board a train, but due to time constraints the DP improvised the same feeling of grace in a shorter version (Jones, 2019). He claims he hates that he "over-lit it," although fans are unlikely to say the same on such a pivotal moment in cinematic history (Jones, 2019).

Figure 13

Given these examples of camera movement, one can understand how highly Roger Deakins believes in maintaining a balanced relationship. His priority is not to compile a list of gorgeous screenshots, it is to boost the director's narrative with every other aspect of filmmaking.

Lighting

Lighting is an essential facet to film, not only because it helps audience see what's happening in the shot, but also because it illustrates specific emotions. Roger Deakins is known to be an expert in lighting various scenarios because of his realism approach (*Roger Deakins: On Lighting—YouTube*, 2018). He likes images to look natural and lit by motivation (NPR, 2009). In *The Man Who Wasn't There*, a noir film about a man, Ed, who blackmails his wife's boss and unveils darker secrets, the black and white footage gave him a chance to accent lights due to high contrast within the grayscale.

Figure 14

Figure 15

When Ed is sentenced to death, he is escorted to an execution chamber (Figure 14). The even lighting within the white room emphasizes the stark contrast on the black suit, chair, and men watching from the window. This imagery, albeit chilling, can be viewed as a heavenly reference. The pure whiteness of the room represents purgatory, and the contradicting blackness are the judgement. In another scene, Deakins plays around with shadows, something he does not shy away from (NPR, 2009). The intense spotlight looks interrogative, as a lawyer is questioning the wife (Figure 15). The shadows present a huge role, foreshadowing the imminent doom of the protagonist. An alternate method for shadows is realism, as the contrast and harshness act as stressors (Block, 2008). This work remains the Coens' first and only foray into black and white, and they trusted Deakins to capture the "noir" style with common lighting techniques (Orr, 2014).

With *The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford*, a dramatized depiction of the true historical story, a train robbery occurs within the first act. Accompanied by a haunting score, this event reproduced a thrilling event set during the night. Tree branches casted ominous shadows on the white masks, while Jesse James' silhouette stands like a ghost in front of the train (Figure 16). Andrew Dominik, the director, had visualized this sequence to be dark and gritty. Thus, the DP lit the scene as if the lanterns and train light were the only sources (Pizzello & Oppenheimer, 2007). This gang of thieves were infamous and talked about like a scary story, and the lighting painted them in that style.

Figure 16
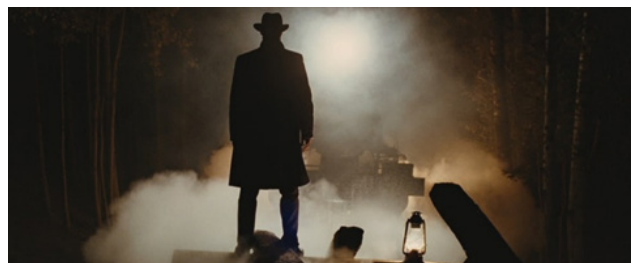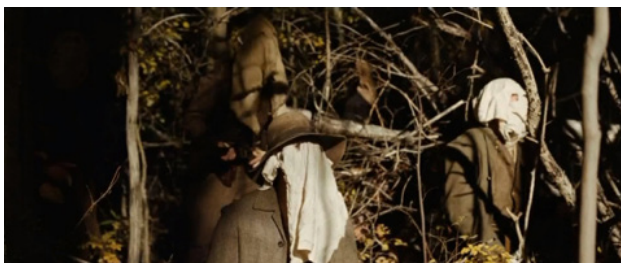
Likewise, Deakins continued his thematic use of lighting in *No Country for Old Men* and *Prisoners*, both films telling the story of harsh reality and character studies. In one scene, the sheriff investigates a motel where a serial killer was staying. While the viewer sees both in sequential order, the two never actually were there together at the same time, though the harsh lighting implicates a possible encounter. Deakins describes the thought process behind shooting that scene the way the Coen brothers intended for it to look, "They were keen that the day exteriors really felt burned and oppressive…contrast the heat of the daylight and the darkness of the night interiors" (*Cinematographer Roger Deakins on shooting the Coen Brothers' No Country for Old Men (2007)*, 2014).

Lighting includes color, too. In *Prisoners*, an officer drives the main character's daughter to the emergency room after an encounter with her kidnappers. The blue glow of the police car siren opposes the red blood on his face, exhibiting the officer's morals and duty, no matter how brutal the situation (Figure 17). The distinction of the two colors highlight his anguish and pain, an insight on his character.

Figure 17

Finally, in the 2012 spy film, *Skyfall,* James Bond is shown in multiple shadows and silhouettes throughout the film, whether it's fighting, running, or investigating. Then, there is a moment of affection when he joins his lover in the shower (Figure 18). The switch from harsh to soft lighting allows Deakins to capture a personal moment between two characters. It is a break from all the action and slows down the pace to give viewers a chance to see the human side of Bond. Sam Mendes once again praises Deakins' ability to assimilate to any genre and create the visuals based on what is on the script page, even if it is a phenomenon like 007 (Lambie, 2012).

Figure 18

These examples, while aesthetically stunning, all feel like they belong to each individual film. He uses lighting to its fullest potential, finding various ways to contribute emotion to any piece. This display of recurring – yet unique – themes in his cinematography proves his ability as an artist. What proves his legitimacy as an artist is his philosophy: having healthy collaborations with directors and faithfulness to the story.

V. Conclusion

This study has some limitations. Deakins is credited as cinematographer on 80 titles, which would be an even bigger sample pool to find consistent thematic elements. A future study could include survey studies with both film fanatics and casual moviegoers, since art is subjective and can be interpreted in multitude of ways.

In this study, it is evident that Roger Deakins can manipulate cinema in a plethora of ways to create something beautiful. With framing and composition, he understands certain techniques, and can alter the perspective to adapt with their respective films. He proves he is a master of his craft by knowing how various storytelling can form the camera's motion. He does not shy away from specific lighting setups and shadows if it feels natural. His masterful eye for the camera has consistently satisfied the style of each individual piece he's worked on because of his philosophy: "I didn't want anything to be a pretty sunset for the sake of a pretty sunset" (Raya, 2016). It is clear that he focuses on complementing the screenplay rather than overshadowing it. At the age of 70 with two straight Oscars under his belt, Deakins continues to connect writing to beautiful aesthetics in this visual medium.

Acknowledgements

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