

The Ambiguous Power of Social Media: Hegemony or Resistance?

Aborisade Philip Olubunmi, Ph.D.

Department of Media and Communication, Afe Babalola University

KM 8.5, Afe Babalola Way, Ado-Ekiti, Ekiti State, Nigeria, PMB 5454, Ado Ekiti

E-mail: aborisade@hotmail.com

Abstract

Recent developments have demonstrated the efficacy and effectiveness of social media as a veritable tool for mobilization and networking. Ordinary citizens rely on the power of social media to mobilize against sit-tight leaders. Oppressed citizens use social media to protest against bad government and anti-people's policies. Based on the findings of a recent research, this article discusses recent protests across the world and how citizens use the new media and social media during the protests to stay connected, plot strategies and circulate news to the rest of the world. The article concluded that; with the new media, citizen-reporters and social media, there is no hiding place or safe haven for sit-tight leaders and anti-people policies as citizens are better empowered than ever by emerging technologies to challenge the status quo. The paper therefore hypothesizes that the ambiguous power of social media has become a tool for resistance movements as well as hegemony as demonstrated at the protest sites around the world such as the 2014 Burkinabé Uprising, Occupy Wall Street, the Arab Spring, the chilean students' protest, the Los Indignados movement, the Québec student's strike and Idle no more in Canada etc., The ambiguous power of the social media has become a major issue in recent years in view of the use of the social media by protester to stay connected during protest to resist authoritarian regimes around the world. The use of the social media as a tool for resistance or hegemony in recent years has brought the issue to the Ambiguous power of the social media to the forefront of academic debate. It therefore becomes imperative to explore the double edge sword nature of the social media to determine its full impact on the society. This will add to our knowledge of social media as a veritable tool for resistance and hegemony.

Keywords: Social Media, New Technology, New media, Citizen Reporters, Democracy, Networking, Hegemony, Resistance.

Introduction

Protests around the world have proved Social Media as a tool for resistance movements with hegemony "objectives put in place by governments or corporations in order to serve their self-interests, which sometimes have detrimental effects on local populations and cultures" Audrey-Anne Desaulniers (September, 2014). People's voices have not been this loud. In Burkina Faso, citizens marched on the government house with their internet-ready phones to network and communicate their mission to the rest of the world via Social Media during protest. They protested and forced their sit-tight leader, Blaise Campaore to resign. Campaore's attempt to amend the constitution of Burkina Faso to extend his 27-year term caused the 2014 Burkinabé uprising which eventually caused him to resign and flee the country.

From the tiniest town that is barely on the map (Time Magazine, December 26 2011 / January 2 2012), people spoke out and the message resonated around the world. As if there is an agreement among the oppressed that the time to speak out is now, they protest spontaneously against poverty, injustice and dictatorship in their countries. Social networks help them stay connected as they protest against bad leadership. Technology helps spread the protests and allows the rest of the world to watch unfolding events from the comfort of their homes. In Tunisia, a 26 year old Tunisian fruit vendor out of frustration set himself on fire in a public square, the news spread around the world with the aid of New Media through Social Media and this led to protests against dictators in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. This scenario rattled regimes in Syria, Yemen and Bahrain and spores Mexicans against the terror of drug cartels to march against unaccountable leaders. Aggrieved Americans occupy public spaces to protest income inequality, and Russian kicked against a corrupt autocracy (Rick, 2011). In United Kingdom, unemployed youths took to the streets in London and vandalized public places and property. The news of these protests was reported first by citizen-journalists through the Social Media with the aid of New Media.

On January 1, 2012, Nigerians flooded the social media with stories of protests around the country against government withdrawal of fuel subsidy in the country. Then, ordinary citizens took to the streets armed with their internet-ready camera phones to protest the government withdrawal of subsidy and report the protest to the local and international media. This development further confirms the findings in the research that new media technology has liberated Nigerians and their media. This is unlike the past when media outlets were closed down illegally by government for publishing reports of protest and ordinary citizens had no tools (particularly internet-ready camera phones) to reach the local and international media to tell their stories as they do with new media technology.



The study captures how ordinary citizens without journalism background use new media technology for news circulation. While some call the new development participatory journalism, some call it citizen journalism, and others dub it 'We Media' or 'Grassroots Journalism (Gillmor, 2004).

The Nigerian situation reported in the research played out in many countries around the world when ordinary citizens mobilize themselves using social media networks and new media technologies to challenge authoritarian regimes and bad government policies. The use of social media like Twitter, Facebook, and Youtube by news organizations and citizens around the world helps the democratization of news gathering, reporting and distribution. These tools provide mainstream media and citizens the opportunity to collaborate in news gathering, reporting, and distribution.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- 1. What are the main technologies used by citizen-reporters?
- 2. What are the impacts of technology on journalism?
- 3. How does the New Media transform news delivery?
- 4. What are the impacts of Social Media on democracy, free speech, and the public sphere?

The study gathers information on the technology and media modalities used for information dissemination and the changes they have brought to information dissemination.

Literature Review

The literature indicates how citizen without any background in media use social media powered by the New Media to network during protest and build movement to resist authoritarian regimes. The literature on how technology transforms news reporting presents divergent views on how technologies and media modalities in digital technologies are shaping news distribution around the world. The body of literature presents a catalogue of advantages and disadvantages offered by the Social Media with the aid of New Media.

The body of literature views the new development in journalism as inevitable, but cautions the traditional journalists to prepare for a new era in journalism or become irrelevant (Gillmor, 2004). Gillmor, in this seminal work, demonstrates how individuals without journalism training can produce news using blogs, chat groups, e-mail, and many other news gathering, reporting, and distribution tools. The author challenges journalists, newsmakers (politicians, business executives, and celebrities), and marketers who promote them (PR flacks) to wake up to the realities of the new media platform and shift from control to engagement.

Theoretical Framework

The Adaptive Structuration Theory" (DeSanctis & Poole, 1994) was adapted by the research to explain how the use of technology and media modalities in digital technologies transform news writing, reporting, and distribution. The theoretical framework by Henry Jenkins, a key theorist of New Media and Media Convergence serves as the basis for the study. Jenkins views the media from the perspective of users and participatory culture. His theory centers on the "transformation of media in early 21st century from a system of mass communication, based on one-to-many message transmission and a structural separation between the producer and consumer of media, to one where both now constitute participants who interact with each other according to a new set of rules that none of us fully understands" (Henry 2006, cited in Flew, 2008, p. 63).

The research further adds to the theoretical framework in this area of study by formulating a theory of the "techno-media Nigerian community". This model explains the emerging technological advancements which allow citizen without journalism training to take advantage of the new media platforms (or emerging media modalities in digital technologies) to gather and circulate Nigerian news. The "techno-media theory" argues that the use of emerging technology and media modalities in the digital technologies to report and distribute Nigerian news creates a news reporting community that takes advantage of emerging technology to do citizen-reporting in support of Nigeria's political struggle, free speech, and to create a news public sphere akin to that of Jurgen Habermas (Flew, 2008)

Methodology

The research is a phenomenological, qualitative study that tapped into the lived experiences of Nigerian journalists, citizen-reporters, and their audiences to determine how technology impacts news delivery in Nigeria. To investigate the impacts of technology on citizen news correspondents in Nigeria, the study used qualitative methods consisting of observations of Nigerian citizen media websites, Nigerian print media online editions, and interviews with Nigerian citizen and print journalists for an in-depth investigation of the topic.

Sample

In line with the Voice of Customer Research by Griffin and Hauser (1993) which supports 20–30 participants as capable of expressing 90% or more of the requirements for new products, the sample for this study was pegged to 30 participants (10 citizen-reporters, 10 print journalists and 10 readers of Nigerian online news). Bock and



Sergeant (2002) also argued in favor of 30 or less participants in a qualitative study designed to generate a list of factors. Each of the participants for the study was interviewed for about one hour, during which each participants relayed their lived experiences with citizen-reporting.

Given the previous scholarly justifications for the number of participants for this study, 30 participants were deemed suitable with the hope that at least 20 participants would produce the desired result. Purposeful sampling was used based on the "assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and, therefore, must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam, 1998, p. 61). Johnson (1990) and Miles and Huberman (1994) stated that dimensional, purposeful sampling involves a well-informed participant that represents the dimensions of variability sought in any given study.

The research was designed to study three dimensions to citizen-reporting in Nigerian-citizen-reporters, traditional reporters, and readers of Nigerian online news. Participants from the three groups were selected by two journalism organizations in Nigeria: Journalists for Democratic Rights (JODER) and International Press Center (IPC). Participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- 1. Print journalists must have not less than 10 years of active journalism practice in Nigeria's print media.
- 2. Citizen-reporters must be involved in citizen-reporting in relation to Nigeria.
- 3. Readers of Nigerian online news must be regular readers of Nigerian online and newspapers.

Instrumentation

The most common data collection instrument is the questionnaire. The researcher made significant effort to ensure questionnaires that elicited the desired responses from participants were crafted. The three-phase instrument design recommended by Cooper and Schindler (2008) was used to craft the questions:

To ensure the study elicited the desired outcome, the questionnaires for the study were pretested. They were sent out to a sample of participants or their surrogates (with characteristics and background similar to those of the desired participants) by e-mail to determine if the questionnaires would elicit the required responses that can adequately address the research questions for the study. This stage is very significant because (a) it increased participant interest in the study; (b) it increased the chances of participants staying through the period of the study; (c) it allowed room to discover problems with question content, wording, and sequence; and (d) it allowed for discovery of target question groups where researcher training is needed, and provided room to improve the overall quality of the survey data (Cooper & Schindler, 2008).

Apart from helping to detect errors, the pretesting stage served as a source of training for the researcher and participants before proceeding to the formal study (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). In order to improve the result of the interviews for study, pretesting of the questionnaires was deemed necessary (Cooper Schindler, 2008).

The process of data collection for this study required a digital tape recorder, interview skills that elicit needed responses from interviewees, functional e-mail, knowledge of a good search engine, and Internet ready laptop with necessary software for downloading multimedia materials and for transcribing the interviews.

Data collection for this study took about a month (each participant was interviewed for about an hour). The greater part of this period was spent conducting interviews. Respondents had the choice to be interviewed either face-to-face or via e-mail. The interviews were in-depth, which enabled the study to effectively explore the phenomenological approach to the study.

Findings and Discussion

The first three phases of data collection for the research (interview with 10 Nigeria citizen-reporters, 10 Nigerian print journalists, and 10 Nigerian news audiences) generated 12 themes (or findings) that vividly capture how technology transforms the journalism business through citizen-reporters in Nigeria. The remaining two phases (review of 10 Nigerian citizen-reporting websites and 10 websites of Nigerian newspapers) confirm some of the findings in the first three phases. The last two phases of data collection for the study, therefore, provided empirical evidences that show how technology transforms the journalism business through citizen-reporters in Nigeria.

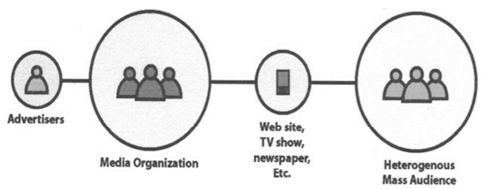
Data collected from interviews with the citizen-reporters and print journalists reveal that the Internet and the World Wide Web, GSM, Facebook, MySpace, Twitter, and YouTube are the most significant technologies used for citizen-reporting in Nigeria. Data from interviews with these three categories of participants pointed out, how lack of access to the Internet, emerging media technologies, and power outages prevent many Nigerians from taking advantage of emerging technologies to be part of the news production process.

The emerging themes from participants in this study support the new paradigm shift in news reporting called the new paradigm shift bottom-up news model or Intercast: bottom-up news or peer-to-peer, social network (Bowman & Willis, 2003). With this model, "participants are peers and their ability to change roles and



news is often unfiltered by a mediator before getting to its audience" (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p. 10). In line with the new paradigm shift, the research confirms that Nigerian citizens without any tie to any media organizations can contribute news items directly to mainstream media using available technologies without going through any gatekeeper.

Figure 1. Top-down Push Model (or transmit push) of News Reporting.



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Figure 2. Intercast Bottom-up New Model (or peer-to-peer, social network).



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The Evolving Media Ecosystem

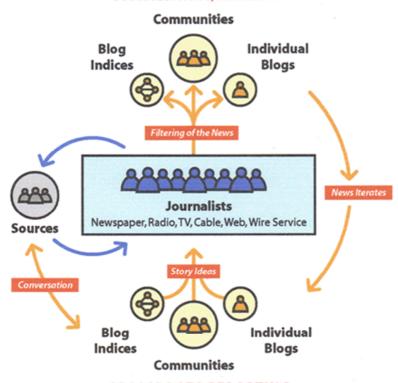
Figure 3 illustrates the emerging Media Ecosystem created by technology through citizen-reporters. The diagram explains how citizen-reporters collaborate with traditional journalists in the process of news gathering, reporting, and distribution. The emerging ecosystem involves news filtering, fact checking commentary, and analysis involving both journalists and non-journalists.



Figure 3. The New Media Ecosystem.

NEWS FILTERING, FACT CHECKING

COMMENTARY, ANALYSIS



GRASSROOTS REPORTING

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This is unlike the standard practice when the mainstream media was almost a closed shop to citizens who wanted to contribute news items to the media. The efficacy of the new paradigm shift is demonstrated on the Nigerian citizen-reporting websites reviewed. These sites provide Nigerians with the opportunity to post news stories unedited. Some Nigerian print publications have also incorporated this approach to their online editions whereby willing Nigerian citizens (with needed technologies) can comment on stories on their sites or contribute news items directly to the websites using open source software or media modalities in digital technologies like digital cameras, cell phones, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and MySpace.

With the Social Media tools available for citizen-reporting in Nigeria identified in this study, the process of news gathering, reporting, and distribution is daily being transformed. It is believed that everyone can be a journalist and that it does not matter whether a journalist is present to cover any breaking news before it is formally reported on.

However, many similarities exist in the ways that technology transforms the journalism business (through citizen-reporters) in Nigeria discussed by the three categories of participants. Out of the 12 themes that emerged from the three categories (30 participants) of the participants in this study, 10 of the themes were common to all the participants interviewed while the remaining two themes were shared by three of the participants. Participants in the citizen-reporters and print journalists categories have a lot in common in terms of their lived experiences, they; however, differed sharply on the issue of ethics. While the citizen-reporters believe they do not have anything to do with journalism ethics since they do not claim to be journalists, the print journalists want anyone reporting the news to abide by the ethics of the journalism profession.

Although the findings of this study indicate that the use of media technologies for citizen-reporting in Nigeria has paved the way for freedom of the press and less control of news by the Nigerian government, there are cases of assassination of journalists by unknown hired assassins believed to be a way of silencing the Nigerian journalists who are critical of the government. Reporters without Borders (2010), a press freedom organization, attested to the jolt on the freedom in Nigeria in a press release on press freedom in Nigeria. The press freedom organization reported 58 cases of abuse of authority and violence against Nigerian journalists in 2009 and about 20 in the first quarter of 2010. In a single day (April 24, 2010), three Nigerian journalists were



killed by unknown gunmen and two foreign journalists were kidnapped on March 1, 2010, in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria (Reporters without Borders, 2010). This and a few cases of harassment of citizen-journalists show that it is not yet time for celebration by the Nigerian media as the news community is not totally free.

To further compound the aforementioned declining press freedom situation in Nigeria, in an unprecedented move to control the freedom of expression in Nigeria, an Islamic court banned the debate on Facebook, Twitter, or any blog regarding the amputation order served on a Nigerian citizen, the first person to be punished by amputation of the hand since the Islamic law (Sharia law) was introduced in 12 northern states of Nigeria (Reporters Without Borders, 2010).

While it may be difficult to enforce this order, the decision of the court to ban the debate of its ruling can cause widespread self-censorship and set a bad precedent in a country that has so far not introduced Internet controls. The ban also shows the mistrust that some Nigerian Islamic fundamentalists have for social media interactivity (Reporters without Borders, 2010).

Summary and Conclusion

As confirmed by the findings of the research and developments around the world, technology and Social Media have colossally strengthened citizen-reporting by giving ordinary citizens the needed tools to circulate information, mobilize and network. As a result of the capabilities provided by technology and social media, the struggle for democracy, good governance, free speech has become very vibrant as demonstrated during protests around the world. However, it remain to be seen whether technology, Social Media and citizen-reporting will truly bring about democracy, good governance and free speech as envisaged or it is just a means to an end.

With the ambiguous power of Social Media towards and resistance and hegemony, it is becoming evident that social media powered by new technology is beginning to change the traditional conception of the media and communication to include the power for resistance, social justice, economic freedom, good governance and democracy. Future researcher in this area of study may have to investigate the efficacy and effectiveness of social media for changing the society for better and as a veritable toll for resistance movements with hegemonistic objectives. Or is it just a mere media modality in digital technology that cannot stand the test of time talk less of achieving the desired objective. Future researchers should also investigate the effect of the power-laden relationships of social media towards resistance and hegemony on local populations and cultures.

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