

FRAMING AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

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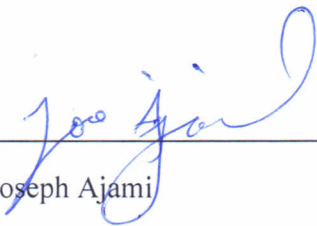
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Abstract

In this study, the role Lebanese television stations generally play in influencing the public opinion by using their promotion department as a tool to inject certain fears and concerns to the public, in favor of their agendas, is to be explored. This paper will specifically study the promos that Future Television produced in 2006, for the first memorial of late prime minister Rafik Hariri, asking the people to participate in a huge gathering; a shout out then against the Syrian regime and all its Lebanese supporters. Such promos and television spots are deliberately produced to influence the public opinion regarding certain issues. The study will analyze the content of the 2006 campaign and whether it succeeded in unleashing certain fears and concerns among the public. Relevant to the study is a review of the structure of the Lebanese television stations and the political parties they serve since the stations' agenda is ultimately related to that of the party to which it belongs.. Finally, this paper suggests that promos and the masterminds behind the content and messages injected in them play a major role in widening the gap between the main Lebanese political parties.

Chapter 1: Introduction

February 14, 2005 is a historical date that the Lebanese people will not forget; it is the date when the then Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri was assassinated. After that date, the political agenda in Lebanon and the Middle East took a drastic turn. Rafik Hariri was the leader of the Sunnis and the Lebanese prime minister for approximately ten years, between 1992 and 1998 and from 2000 to 2004. He was a billionaire tycoon whose main objective was to restore Lebanon from the civil war by reconstructing Beirut (Macdonald, 2010). He created “the Hariri Foundation” – a nonprofit organization - that helped thousands of students pursue their education in the best Universities in Lebanon and abroad, and he helped Lebanon reinforce itself on the international map (The Telegraph, 2005). He was known as “the father of the poor” because he always strove to help those in need of medical care and education. On the political level, his main agenda was to liberate Lebanon from the Israeli and the Syrian occupation (Bkassini, 2009).

On February 18, 2005, and as a reaction to the explosion that led to his death in the central area of Beirut, the opposition launched peaceful demonstrations demanding independence. Thousands of people occupied the central area of Beirut demanding the resignation of then Prime Minister Omar Karami who was known for his loyalty to the Syrians. At that time, in Lebanon, there were approximately ten thousand Syrian soldiers in the country (Reuters, 2012); they had originally entered Lebanon in an attempt to help restore peace after the Lebanese civil war broke in the year 1975 (Pan, 2005). Believing that that the Syrian intelligence was behind the assassination of Prime Minister Hariri, the demonstrators asked that the Syrian troops leave the Lebanese soil. Each day, the demands became louder and the number of protesters grew bigger. Finally, on February 28, 2005 the pro-Syrian government

headed my Omar Karami announced its resignation. After such a victory for the opposition, the demands for the Syrian troops to leave Lebanon became much louder and the participants in the demonstrations grew much bigger.

The fact that the Syrian regime had solid political, and public supporters on the Lebanese grounds, led to dividing the country into two groups; those who were loyal to the Syrians, and those who were against them. With two movements taking different political stances, the country became a playground for the show of forces and a pawn taken from one direction to the other.

During that critical situation, two major Lebanese political coalitions were formed, the 14th of March and the 8th of March. The 14th of March coalition was against - not only the physical presence of the Syrian regime in Lebanon - but also against all Lebanese politicians who were known for their loyalty to Syria. The 8th of March coalition, on the other hand, was against the Syrian regime leaving Lebanon and supported all politicians in favor to Syria.

As a reaction to the protests against the Syrian regime, Hassan Nasrullah, Leader of the Shiite party Hizbullah, asked his supporters and all those who were loyal to the Syrians, to gather in downtown Beirut on March 8, 2005, as an expression of gratitude to Damascus and Syrian President Bashar Al Assad. On that day, around five hundred thousand supporters carrying Hizbullah flags and images for Bachar Al Assad, gathered and shouted out some expressions of gratitude and solidarity to Syria (Now, 2014).

In a response to the 8th of March shout of gratitude to the Syrian regime, anti-Syrian political parties joined forces and called upon the Lebanese people to unite in a mega gathering projecting their rejection for the Syrians occupation. The date set for the gathering, it was the 14th of March 2005, exactly one week after the 8th of March

gratitude to Syria. On that day, more than one million Lebanese gathered in the central area of Beirut, held up the Lebanese flag and demanded independence (Now, 2016).

That day made history; it was the only time, after the Lebanese Civil War, in which approximately all the Lebanese people from all sects, ages, villages and cities formed a giant protest and agreed on one issue. Local and international media described the protest as the biggest that took place in Lebanon as the protesters reached around one million in number (BBC News, 2005), and gathered in the central area of Beirut for one whole day demanding that the Syrian regime leave Lebanon.

While the 8th of March gathering was dominated by the Shiites presence, the 14th of March movement included people from all sects (Totten J, 2012). The 2005 enormous gathering went viral on the international level, and due to that, local and international pressure forced Damascus to comply with the demands of the Lebanese people; finally, on April 30, 2005, the demands of the people were heard and all the Syrian troops left the country (Salhani, 2015).

Since that day, two political coalitions emerged the 8th and the 14th of March. Each of the coalitions was formed of Christian, Muslim and Druze political parties. The March 8 movement was comprised mainly of Hizbullah (Shiite political party, led by Hassan Nasrullah), free Patriotic Movement (mainly Christian political party, led by General Michel Aoun), Marada movement (Christian political party, led by Suleiman Franjeh), Druze Lebanese Democratic Party (led by Talal Erslan) and Omar Karami, a Sunni leader and was the prime minister of Lebanon for two occasions. While the March 14 movement was comprised of Future movement (Sunni political party, led by Saad Hariri), the Lebanese Forces (mainly Christian political party, led by Samir Geagea), Druze Progressive Socialist Party (led by Walid

Jumblat) and Kataeb (Christian political party led by then, Amine Gemayil) (Now, 2016).

At that time, the Lebanese president Emile Lahoud, who still had three years in presidency and who originally became President because the Syrian regime named him for this role, (Mroueh, 2014) was well known for his loyalty and allegiance to Damascus and specifically towards Syrian President Basshar al Assad (Seale, 2005).

Unlike the 8th of March political parties who favored him and wanted him to stay in presidency, the 14th of March coalition was demanding that President Lahoud leave his post and resign, especially that the Syrian troops left Lebanon and there was no reason for their most powerful ally to remain in the presidency. Pressures were set from all sides - with and against - yet nothing changed and President Lahoud remained to complete his term.

In February 2006, preparations for the first commemoration of Rafik Hariri's assassination were under way. The March 14 coalition headed by Rafik Hariri's son, Saad Hariri, and supported by the media he owned (Future Television and Future newspaper), and other media outlets affiliated to the 14th of March movement, were preparing a special agenda to increase the pressure on president Lahoud to force to him leave the presidency - a demand that started in 2005 and lasted till 2006. The agenda resulted in a huge campaign entitled "fill", an Arabic word meaning "Leave." The campaign was set in motion and the rumors that the Syrian regime was planning to get back were being spread all over the media in favor of the 14th of March political parties; the message was that if Emile Lahoud remained president, the Syrian troops would re-occupy the country and that – by doing so – this re-occupation would have an even more devastating outcome on the country as a whole and specifically on the Lebanese people. The intentions were to increase the heat by setting the stage for an

enormous gathering and protest similar to that of 2005. The purpose, this time, however, was to force President Lahoud to resign. The media needed an extremely powerful motif that would inject fear in the hearts of the people to motivate and push them to form a big protest that would unite them all towards the fulfillment of one objective

1.1 Thesis Objective

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the role the media played in February 2006, more specifically, it will look at the role that the promotion department at Future Television, the Hariri-owned television station, had in creating a special political agenda through the production of several promo clips. The purpose was to rally the people of Lebanon against the Syrian regime represented by the Lebanese president Emile Lahoud to pressure him to resign as, he was considered by the 14th of March movement to be “Syria’s remnant in Lebanon” (Mroueh, 2014).

Using framing as its theoretical framework, the study will analyze the many elements involved in putting together these promos. It will, specifically, look at the construction of the promos by dealing with the:

- sound bites
- shot color
- music
- script
- voice over
- sound effects
- editing style
- video shot selection
- broadcast rate and strategies

Most papers and previous studies on the Lebanese and foreign news coverage, agenda setting and framing mainly dealt with print news (Nabi and Oliver, 2009), or the news bulletins in general (Mazzoleni, Barnhurst, Ikeda, Maia and Wesler, 2015) yet, none dealt with “promos” and “political promo” campaigns specifically designed

and broadcast to reach to widest population with the intention of achieving a specific political objective. The power of those campaigns and promo spots lies in the fact that they are short in duration, pre-planned, structured in the way that will target the desired audience in the areas that will affect them the most, are unpaid for, contain all the necessary frames needed for achieving the best results and can be broadcast nearly all day long. Hence, their impact will be far more effective than news bulletins that are broadcast only during specific times of the day.

The main objective behind television promos and campaigns is to sell a certain program, movie, series, or simply an idea to the viewers by emphasizing the most interesting area of the program that will attract the potential viewers and hence, make them actual clients (Wiley, 2010). Some campaigns succeed while others fail. With the right techniques, strong messages, right visuals, market study, creative team and broadcasting frequency, the promo will reach the highest numbers of viewers and will have the desired impact (Beal and Romaniuk, 2009). Moreover, the same promo spot, for the same program, movie, series etc. can be designed and produced to reach the widest viewership depending on their demographic distribution. Yet, not all promos and television campaigns sell entertaining programs only; some are pre-planned, structured and specifically designed to influence the public opinion regarding certain political issues. Hence, a political promo is a television spot that is specifically designed and structured to affect the political viewpoints of a certain target audience for a specific – well defined – objective.

Effectively, well-structured, well-scripted, well-edited and well-designed political promos, framing political incidents and political figures in a certain way, can successfully deliver a pre-planned political objective and achieve the desired impact on the viewers through aggressive targeting and frequency of exposure;. As

previously mentioned, this study investigates the 14th of February 2006 promo campaign produced by Future Television against the Syrian Regime in general - and President Emile Lahoud in specific - by analyzing the spots produced, their content, political objective, structure, design, political messages, frames injected in them, and their target audience using framing techniques in the Agenda Setting Theory.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

A brief overview of the Lebanese political system and the incidents that led to the 2006 demonstration is necessary for the understanding of the political promos produced by Future Television. Exploring the context would help identify what those promos capitalized on to influence a popular movement aiming at the ousting of then President Emile Lahoud.

Even though an extensive amount of literature is available on how media frame their news bulletins; the phenomenon of “political promos” that serve a special agenda remains unexplored. Therefore, in an attempt to understand the reason behind producing such promos, the literature review will cover the political timeline that led to the withdrawal of the Syrians from Lebanon in 2005, the structure of the television stations owned by Lebanese politicians and the reasons behind the birth of the 8th and the 14th of March movements and their political agendas.

2.1 Lebanon: A Brief History

Throughout its history, Lebanon was inhabited by several civilizations that shaped its economy, culture and prosperity. It, therefore, stood out among other Arab countries as the most democratic and civilized in the region. Even though it is one of

the smallest countries in western Asia (LGIC, 2005), Lebanon is the land and home of several ethnic groups and minorities. Christians (Catholics, Maronites, Orthodox and Evangelicals), Muslims (Shiites and Sunnis) Druz and Alawites live together, share the resources and distribute among themselves the political powers of a country that is 10,452 km². However, the fact that Lebanon is geographically bordered by Syria and Israel - Palestine made it the perfect location on which the major Arab-Israeli conflict would manifest itself through war and strategic political plans (LGIC, 2005).

In the year 1970, civilian Palestinians and armed guerillas took Lebanon as their base after they were expelled from Jordan. Heavily armed and living in several Palestinian refugee camps on the Lebanese grounds, they were considered to be extremely dangerous and hostile to the Lebanese government creating violent incidents such as shootings and explosions all over the country (Pike, 2011). Following a Syrian agenda, Palestinian refugee camps had always been a restricted area that prohibits even the Lebanese army from accessing them; they were considered the perfect haven for terrorists and the center of operations for most outlaws in the area (Gambill, 2003). Furthermore, the Syrians – led by their former president Hafez Al Assad – theoretically considered Lebanon to be an extension of their country, explaining that Syria and Lebanon are one and the same yet with two different governments operating separately (Khoury, 2001). Having plans of officially taking over Lebanon, and aiming to weaken the Lebanese government even further by spreading more fear, chaos and terror, the Syrians started supporting militias and several political parties on the Lebanese soil by supplying them with weapons and anything else that would help them achieve their plans (LGIC, 2005).

On the 13th of April 1975, the attempt to assassinate Maronite Christian Phalangist party leader Pierre Gemayel in a church in Achrafieh area ignited the first

civil war that remained for fifteen years. Believing the assassins were Palestinians, the attempt on the life of Pierre Gemayel was met by the Phalangists themselves ambushing and killing 26 Palestinian bus passengers and wounding 29; it was then that civil unrest erupted (Sayigh, 1997). Less than a year after that, in 1976, Syrians were summoned by the Lebanese government, dominated by Maronite ministers, to enter the country and help in restoring peace (Pan, 2005). As a result, thirty thousand Syrian soldiers were sent over to Lebanon (Tristram, 2016) supporting the Lebanese troops in facing domestic threats and potential Israeli invasions (BBC, 2015).

In the year 1990, the Syrians were finally able to fasten their grip on the Lebanese grounds by sending their fighters to attack Baabda palace, the palace of the presidency, to oust General Michel Aoun, prime minister of the interim military government then, and end the second civil war that erupted between the two major Christian forces; the Lebanese forces - headed by Dr. Samir Geagea and the Lebanese army, led by General Michel Aoun (BBC, 2015).

Since then, and for fifteen more years, the Syrians had complete authority on every aspect that had to do with the Lebanese politics - creating governments that were completely loyal to them and assigning key positions in the public sector and military (Gambill, 2003). They eliminated all aspects of democracy which made Lebanon a unique country; they had full control on all the media, the main resources, and they terrorized everyone who tried to oppose them (Khoury, 2001). The country was, then, divided into two groups, those who supported the Syrian occupation and who – at all levels - benefited from their presence on the Lebanese grounds, and another group who opposed them secretly, since their objections were kept hidden and oppressed by the regime itself. In the year 2000, the Israelis withdrew from the South of Lebanon and President Hafiz Al Assad died leaving behind him loud criticisms and

questioning from the Lebanese people regarding the necessity of the Syrian occupation - since all the reasons behind their presence on the Lebanese grounds - were vanished (Gambill, 2001). Yet, nothing happened and the Syrian occupation remained still.

2.2 Rafik Hariri as Prime Minister

Rafik Al Hariri, a billionaire tycoon, had one main plan in mind. One of his most important aims was to stabilize the unstable situation in Lebanon, rebuild what was destroyed by war, enhance the economy, and make Lebanon visible internationally while helping it prosper on all levels. Backed up by having an enormous number of supporters from the Sunnites specifically and all other sects generally, his leadership skills as a prime minister that started in the year 1992 - during the Syrian occupation - and his international strong connections with powerful countries and presidents made Lebanon a safe place to live in. Rafik Hariri's plan was never to clash with the Syrian authorities whom he secretly opposed (Blandford, 2005), he kept quiet about their presence; first, because after the Taef agreement in the 1989 marking the end of the civil war, they still had fourteen thousand soldiers in Lebanon fastening their grip on the major resources (Saghieh, 2011) and second, because his vision was to enhance the economy of Lebanon and - as a result - after several years of prosperity, it would become obvious to the world that the Syrians occupation would no longer be valid and as such, independence would be inevitable (Bkassini, 2009). Moreover, Mr. Hariri was planning on using 2005 Parliamentary elections to add some heat by forcing the execution of the Security Council Resolution 1559 - that was issued in September 2004 - which states that all foreign forces on the Lebanese soil are to leave and that all militias are to be disarmed (Aljazeera, 2007).

2.3 President Emile Lahoud

In the year 1998, the Syrians dictated to their allies in Lebanon that General Emile Lahoud, commander of the Lebanese army then, was the man to be elected president of the Lebanese republic. To do so, they amended article 49 in the Constitution that forbids any grade one employee of becoming president (Mroueh, 2014). His election took place despite the objection of several Lebanese leaders and politicians who knew that Lahoud will be completely loyal to the Syrians offering them and facilitating full control over Lebanon and its vital resources (Gambill, Abdelnour and Endrawos, 2001).

Throughout his six years in office, Emile Lahoud defended the presence of the Syrian troops on the Lebanese soil arguing it was a must in helping Lebanon stand tall in the face of the Israeli threat. Moreover, in November 2004, just when Lahoud's six years presidency term was about to end, the Syrian regime, backed up by its supporters in the Lebanese government, amended the constitution for the second time in a row, and gave Lahoud another three-year extension to his presidency (BBC News, 2004).

After achieving independence in the year 2005, and as the 14th of March movement argued, President Emile Lahoud was supposed to leave his post as head of state for three reasons: First, the three years extension to his presidency was forced by the Syrians disregarding the Lebanese resolution. Second, because there was no valid reason for him to stay after the Syrians - his supporters - had left the country and third, because four of his major allies and high ranking officers: Jamil al-Sayyed, Ali al-Hajj, Mustafa Hamdan and Raymond Azar were imprisoned because they were suspected of being directly involved in the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. As such, President Emile Lahoud lost some of his major backbones and was

struggling with the majority in the parliament (14th of March movement) trying to force him to quit (Mroueh, 2014).

2.4 Lebanese Television Stations: A Brief Overview

Most television stations in Lebanon specifically, and the media in all its form generally, are owned by political parties that favor one movement over the other and support their ideologies on all levels (I.P.I, 2006).

Since the eruption of the civil war, several illegal and unlicensed television stations were launched by political parties and militias justifying their necessity as a means to communicate with their followers and supporters. Those parties argued that the media they owned would give them power over their enemies and would help them with their tactical strategies. Hence, the media in Lebanon existed as a means to deliver a certain political point of view (Dabbous 2010).

In October 1994, the Lebanese Audio-Visual law was issued as to limit the number of illegal stations that popped up during the civil war. As such, many television and Radio stations were forced to shut down because they did not meet the criteria set by the law as to obtain a broadcast license and only a handful of television and radio stations survived, each belonging to one of the powerful political and religious sects in the country. One of the major tasks of the new law was to protect the freedom of expression that was originally protected by article 13 in the Lebanese constitution yet with strict supervision on the broadcast content, especially when it comes to politics and religion, and with strict rules to avoid any monopoly and cross-ownership (Dabbous, 2007).

After the new law was issued and implemented, only nine television stations in Lebanon have licenses and are broadcasting regularly, seven of which are politically affiliated – most of them were originally formed thanks to their alliance

with or belongingness to members of the Lebanese political regime. The channels are politically and religiously divided among the Christian and Moslem sects in Lebanon- each of them therefore supports, both directly and indirectly, a religious faction and the corresponding political party. The Lebanese television stations are distributed as such:

LBCI (Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation International) was established in 1985 by Lebanese Forces. It is mainly a Christian channel. The CEO and owner of the station is the businessman Pierre El Daher who took over LBCI in 1992 after the civil war ended. Pierre El Daher - especially after the imprisonment of Dr. Samir Geagea, leader of the Lebanese Forces - always strived to brand and market the station as not supporting any political party yet, after the assassination of President Hariri, LBCI was viewed as a supporter of the pro-March 14 Alliance.

MTV (Murr TV) established in 1991 by Gabriel El Murr (chairman and CEO), brother of then Minister of Defense, Michel El Murr. It is predominantly a Christian channel. MTV does not have any official political affiliations yet it supports the 14th of March movement.

Al-Manar television was established in the year 1991, it is a Hezbollah-affiliated channel and hence it politically supports the 8th of March movement and is a pure Shiite channel.

FTV (Future Television) was established in 1993 by Rafik Hariri; it was founded for a mere purpose, to support the Future Movement, the political movement founded by Rafik Hariri. After the assassination of President Hariri, FTV itself became a member in the 14th of March movement supporting them at all levels. It is mainly a Sunni channel since Rafik Hariri was Sunni.

NBN (National Broadcasting Network) was established in 1996 by the Lebanese speaker of the parliament Nabih Berri, who also heads the Amal (or Afwaj Al Mouqawama Al Lubnaniya) shiite political party. NBN is affiliated and supports the 8th of March movement.

Al Jadeed (previously known as New TV and now Al Jadeed) was originally established in the early 1990s. In the year 1994 it closed down and after seven years it was re-launched by businessman and CEO Tahsin Khayyat. Al Jadeed supports - and is in favor - for the 8th of March movement.

OTV (Orange TV) was established in 2007 by Michel Aoun. The Christian channel is affiliated to Aoun's political party, the Free Patriotic Movement and is by extension a supporter of the March 8 Movement.

Tele Lumiere is a purely religious channel and is privately owned (Ayoub, 2015)

TL (Tele Liban) was established in 1959 and is owned by the government, TL is politically neutral (Moukeiber, 2005).

The last two channels, Tele Lumiere and Tele Liban, are not politically inclined.

While the first is an initiative of the Catholic Church and targets mainly Christians, the second is the only state run television that speaks to all Lebanese. Tele Liban is weakened thanks to lack of adequate financial and administrative support from the Lebanese government formed of the political parties – each of which have their own television channel as seen above. Tele Liban and Tele Lumiere were therefore impartial and did not enter the political media rivalry.

Following Rafik Hariri's assassination, the Lebanese media unleashed all its powers without any constraints – and depending on their political affiliation - were divided into either supporting and defending the Syrian regime or attacking and blaming it for the huge blast that killed the Prime Minister (I.P.I 2006). The media

became clearly biased in their “live” coverage, news articles and their political talk shows (Dabbous, 2010).

2.5 The 14th of February 2006 Campaign: Framing in Agenda Setting

In the year 2006 - the first commemoration of assassinating Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, Emile Lahoud was still in power as the head of state even though he faced local and international criticism due to the illegal extension of his presidency. He was boycotted by several local parties, western and Arab countries that supported the 14th of March movement (Mroueh, 2014). To take serious action regarding the situation, the 14th of March movement - headed by late Rafik Hariri’s son, Saad Hariri - was preparing a special political agenda with only one objective in mind, forcing President Lahoud to resign. The master plan was to mobilize their media facilities for producing a promo campaign framing Emile Lahoud as the only leeway through which the Syrians will find their way back to Lebanon.

The major objective was to prepare a huge protest, similar in magnitude to that of 2005 which resulted in achieving independence, but this time, instead of independence, demanding the resignation of President Lahoud. The desired scenario was letting the people accomplish on the streets what the 14th of March movement had failed to achieve politically in a whole year (from 2005 till 2006). The agenda Future TV set in motion was a story line - unleashed in a promo campaign – framed to create fear, chaos and worry among the people by reminding them of the days they were under the Syrian occupation, emphasizing them as days of oppression, torture and kidnappings. The campaign also reminded the people of the Lebanese political leaders who always supported the Syrians and the slang language they used to address the people with, as well as the terror of explosions and assassinations.

Throughout the year 2005 – 2006, following the murder of Rafik Hariri and after achieving independence, several attempts on the lives of politicians and media personnel - all in favor of the 14th of March movement - took place. Samir Kassir, a prominent journalist who was known for his harsh criticism of the Syrian regime, and George Hawi, former secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party and who strongly criticized the Syrian interference in Lebanese affairs, were, both killed in car explosions. Elias El Murr, then, Minister of Defense, and May Chidiac, anchor and reporter with LBCI, were severely injured after the attempt on their lives and finally, on December 12, 2005, Gibran Tweini, member of parliament and editor-in-chief of Annahar, one of the prominent Lebanese newspapers that frequently criticized the Syrian politics, was assassinated the moment he secretly arrived to Lebanon (Aljazeera, 2008). Furthermore, several bombings targeting populated areas and civilians took place. Those assassinations and bombings reminded the people about the civil war, days they were eager to put behind and move forward, days of occupation and torture. Moreover, what added to their worry was the promo campaign prepared by Future television.

The promo campaign major agenda was to remind the Lebanese people about the Syrian occupation and to frame the content in such a way that if Lahoud remains to finalize his mandate, the Syrians will be back - a simple message that will achieve the 14th of March movement plan by urging the people to protest against Lahoud pressuring him to quit. Finally, and to raise the heat even further, the plot continued for several weeks after the gathering with a series of promo spots targeting the president directly and demanding his resignation. The idea and strategy behind this campaign was created and supervised by the 14th of March leaders and the execution was supervised directly by Dr. Nadim Munla, Future TV CEO then. Several

departments were mobilized in order to make the campaign a successful one. The major responsibility in the execution of the promos (video production at all its levels) was that of the “Promo department”. The “Programming department” was responsible in making sure that the promos will be distributed and aired in a way that would create awareness in the viewers; and finally, the marketing department was responsible in spreading the campaign all over the print media that were in favor of the 14th of March coalition.

2.6 Political Framing Studies

Having provided the context within which the Future Television political promos of 2006 were formed, it would be beneficial for this study to look at studies on framing that were designed to serve specific political agendas, especially since there are no studies on political promos. The purpose is to uncover how and in what ways the Future Television promos are different and to set a benchmark against which these promos can be analyzed.

The literature review looks at studies that were designed to serve specific political agendas:

The first study is that of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN). The ACORN case that took place in the year 2008 is a fine example of framing set to serve a special political agenda.

ACORN was a nonprofit organization established in the year 1970 in the United States of America; its main objective was to help the poor get jobs and gain control over their communities. It increased their minimum wages, helped them purchase affordable houses and increased voter registration in low income communities. By the year 2009, ACORN community registered more than one million American voters (Nyden, Hossfeld, and Nyden, 2012).

Due to its liberal agenda, ACORN has been a priority target for conservatives. Stanley Kurtz, American conservative commentator, accused ACORN as working "to take the system over from within, rather than futilely try to overthrow it from without" (The Trustworthy Encyclopedia, 2013).

Targeting a political objective, in the 2008 presidential campaign, ACORN was framed by newspapers, magazines, television news and talk shows, radio and social media, as engaging in voter frauds in favor of President Barak Obama. This non-profit organization was accused of filing thousands of fraudulent registration cards for voters that do not exist or are dead (Hoft, 2008). Moreover, they were also accused of pressuring their workers to meet a desired voting target or else they would lose their jobs (Fund, 2009). Republican presidential candidates John McCain and Sarah Palin took advantage of the ACORN community group misconduct by pinpointing and focusing on the allegations they were facing regarding voter frauds. Meanwhile, the media played a very big role as well by stressing on the mentioned allegations - using all their power - without verifying whether the allegations were true or not (Dreier and Martin, 2010).

In the year 2009, ACORN was bombarded by negative publicity as it was accused of producing and publishing sexual oriented videos involving underage girls. The story line was that several low-level ACORN employees were producing illegal prostitute flicks and avoiding paying taxes (Farrell, 2009). In their study on ACORN, Dreier and Martin (2010) showed the way the media set a special agenda in conducting their anti-ACORN campaign in 2009. The study focused on two major issues: First, it analyzed how a little - barely known community became the major story of the news in the US presidential campaign and second it investigated how ACORN misfortune was framed in media coverage. The methodology used was that

of Dennis Chong and James Druckman; it comprised of identifying the issue at hand, analyzing and understanding how framing affects public opinion, identifying a set of frames for the research and finally selecting the content analysis texts. The results affirmed that news shaped public opinion and made a case out of something that was hidden and unknown to the viewers. The news told the people what to think about by giving them specific information regarding the controversy created by members of the ACORN community, and "how to think about it" by framing their news and reports in favor of the republicans by stressing on "Voter Fraud" issues. The media tweaked the truth to obtain a specific result. The media used was primarily internet, network television and newspapers (Dreier and Martin, 2010).

Finally, unfortunately for ACORN, the clearance it got from all the accusations was too late; by that time, thirty state chapters had already been closed and the whole group stated that soon they would be closing for good. On the first hand, all that happened due to the direct interference of the media enforcing pressure and manipulating the public opinion by framing unverified accusations, on the other hand the decision makers made up their minds based on media stories before the facts were all in (The Trustworthy Encyclopedia, 2013).

Another example would be that of February 2003 major conflict in Darfur. Darfur is located in the west of Sudan, with six million people living in it out of the forty million Sudanese populations. In the year 2003, a civil war ignited between the rebels, who were demanding political and social changes, and the central government which tried to oppress them. This conflict that remained for several years resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians. Millions had to leave their villages and many unfortunate incidents took place including torture, rape and kidnapping (Sikainga, 2009). Sikainga (2009) conducted a study on the way the issue was framed

by Sudanese newspapers, owned by the government and the video blogs, produced by NGOs and human rights activists. Several representatives were sent to the area of conflict with the intention of filming and documenting the suffering of the people.

While the international media considered and named the conflict in Darfur as “genocide”, some Sudanese newspapers argued that the Western interest in covering Darfur crisis is just a diversion so they could lay their hands on the oil that is considered one of Darfur’s natural resources.

The causes of the conflict, the responsibility of each side indulged in the incidents and the suggested solutions, were covered differently by two different media. The Sudanese newspapers framed the conflict as a result of an internal rebellion yet, supported by foreign countries as to achieve the agenda of Sudan’s enemies by dividing it into small countries and laying hand on all its natural resources. On the other hand though, the news video blogs framed the conflict as a crime against the black African tribes (non-Arab population) in Darfur committed by the “Janjaweed” – well known Sudanese Arab tribes that belongs to the government.

The study used the frameworks of Agenda Setting, Priming and Entman’s definition of Framing. According to Entman (1993), “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. Using content analysis as a method, the study showed a huge gap between the coverage of both media researched, especially that the main frame they both used and focused on during their coverage was highly contradictory.

The dominant frame in the Western media was that reported in the video blogs, which named the conflict as “genocide. The frame focused on the termination of the

black African tribes in Darfur through highlighting female rape and torture, racism and dictatorship. The main frame used in the newspapers - owned by the government - was the use of the word “responsibility”; they directed and focused their news more on the responsibility of other countries towards the conflict more than focusing on the conflict itself and the reasons behind its emergence in the first place. Moreover, the research found that video blogs tend to express - and to better reveal - the humanitarian crisis more than the newspapers because they (video blogs) included personalized testimonials and focused on expressed emotions rather than just words written in newspapers (Gomaa, 2008).

A third is a study done in the year 2010 regarding the way television news frames Migrants in Germany to obtain specific political goals.

The study was prompted by recent terrorist attacks on western countries. These attacks raised several concerns regarding the minority groups living in those countries and the evaluation of such groups by politicians, citizens and the media were being reconsidered. The study looked at the content of news reports (two hundred and eighty five in total) of four major German television stations and how they framed such groups based on “crime, migration policy, cultural proximity and terrorism risk”, the combination of several frames called clusters would create a pattern in the frame usage that can be split into several categories in the heads of the viewers. Over the year 2003, the prime time news reports were being recorded and analyzed based on the following criteria:

- Reports tackling all types of migration and integration issues
- Reports that included non-celebrity actors with migration background

the results showed that the terrorism frame was only used for Muslim migrants especially after 9/11 attacks on the United States (Sommer and Ruhrmann, 2010).

A fourth example is the study conducted by Abdullah and Elareshi (2015) on Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiyya TV networks to show how both Arab affiliated channels framed terrorism after the 9/11 attacks. The importance of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiyya lies in the fact that they are both well respected sources of news information in the Arab world that broadcast news 24/7. Moreover both channels support the Arab public and “discredit governments”. The researchers argued that the combination of video shots, music, rhythm, tempo and the story line in the reports can have a wider impact on the viewers more than print media as the viewers can identify with the video reports more.

The study relied on the framing theories of Entman and Iyengar to find out whether the two Arabic networks differed in using certain frames with regards to the coverage of the terrorist attacks executed by al Qaeda in Yemen, Iraq and the terrorist attack on the Jewish school in France - Toulouse. The frames examined included reference frames, episodic vs. thematic framing as well as responsibility framing.

Relying on content analysis, on a daily basis, and over the period of five months, a sample of two hundred news stories dealing with terrorism was recorded, one hundred from each channel. The analysis of the news stories showed the differences and similarities in the way both channels framed their content. Interestingly, however, the differences were much deeper and more striking.

While both channels supported the government and official positions in their decision making regarding terrorism, and both disregarded the suffering of the people under terrorist’s attacks, they, nonetheless, framed their stories differently. The military frame, for example, was used by Al-Arabiyya more than Al-Jazeera. “Al-Arabiyya” focused on military information and their slogans included military

terminologies, while Al-Jazeera stressed more on questioning the unidentified reasons behind using military force in Yemen especially the strategic military interference of the United States. Overall, “Al-Jazeera” was trying to be less biased in their news coverage than “Al-Arabiyya”. The study showed that both networks did not use thematic framing in their news stories related to terrorism, on the contrary, both used episodic framing focusing on specific and particular cases that have to do with terrorist attacks more than focusing on the general context of such an attack. Finally, the study also showed that when it comes to responsibility framing, both networks did not try to frame anyone as being held responsible for the terrorist attacks especially government officials (Abdullah and Elareshi, 2015).

A fifth and final example is the study conducted on the Austrian presidential election campaign that took place in the year 2008 and how the media played a significant role in voters mobilization by using two levels of framing: First, news frame exposure and cognitive approach, meaning if the campaign successfully reached the voters the way it was intended to and second, the effect of the campaign on the voters. The study was conducted on two major sources of information, the Austrian newspapers and the television news coverage for the period of six weeks prior to the Election Day. The theoretical framework used in this study was based on “Episodic” and “Conflict” framing addressing the issue of whether or not the both mentioned frames affected the voter’s engagement on the cognitive and behavioral level (Lengauer and Holler, 2012).

Before discussing the methodology used in this study it is important to define what “voter mobilization” means. According to Holler, voter mobilization is not only “about how people approach elections; rather, it is mainly about how elections appear to people” (Lengauer and Holler, 2012).

This study applied a content analysis methodology of six major and most read Austrian newspapers and two TV evening newscasts coverage with extremely high viewership during the final six weeks of the 2008 Austrian election campaign. Moreover, the study focused on a post-election survey of 1,165 eligible voters. The study covered mostly “all news reports, interviews, editorials and letters to the editor on Austrian domestic and foreign politics” with no restrictions whatsoever (Lengauer and Holler, 2012).

The results, during the period of this study, showed that confrontational negativity and episodic game framing dominated the political campaigns in tabloid newspapers and privately owned television stations in contrast to a much lesser level in national newspapers and television stations. The findings proved that news framing and media coverage during election campaigns might act as a mobilizer yet, its effects may vary depending on the levels of persuasion involved. Moreover, confrontational negativity has a direct effect on the cognitive and behavioral level of the voter while episodic game frame is only restricted to effecting the cognitive voter engagement and it also showed that episodic game framing will, most probably, maximize the audience of the involved media.

Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming will be used as analytical tools for the analysis of the political promos which are the subject of this study. It is the use of fear, or the play on cognitive psychology that may have allowed these frames to become more effective.

The study will rely on the Agenda Setting Theory to shed light on how the conflict itself became a major issue for the viewers to follow up on. Priming, on the other hand, will be used to show how viewers were provided with a specific frame of reference and certain standards for judgment and evaluation. Finally, the framing

theory will deal with the elements of content including the language used, tone, video shots, colors and details.

The above five mentioned studies focused on how the media framed their stories. The studies, using framing and Agenda Setting Theories, tackled how such frames, in their different forms, are injected only in the main news segments, newspapers, social media, or during the coverage of certain political events, none of them dealt with what this thesis calls the “political promo” simply because such “Promos” and “Campaigns” do not exist in any country in the world (Al Jack, 2007). Moreover, largest and mostly well known media outlets are universally owned by the government, corporations and private families (Djankov, Mcliesh, Nenova and Shleifer, 2003) and are regulated by extremely powerful and strict rules (Hoffmann-Reim, 1996). The media in Lebanon – on the other hand – are owned by politicians that use them as the most powerful means to transmit their political objectives and agendas. Furthermore, since the media law in Lebanon is not well implemented and reinforced, especially that media owners are politicians and business men who have more power than laws and official institutions (Dajani, 2012), none of the television stations abide by it, especially after the assassination of prime minister Rafik Hariri (Djankov, Mcliesh, Nenova and Shleifer, 2003).

Of course, framing has certain definitions and pattern of use that will affect the target audience depending on several variables, the more the viewers are subjected to the “frames” in the news, the more they will get affected by them (Bradley, 2010). The studies discussed above proved that news reports, newspapers and social media use specific frames successfully, depending on their objective, to achieve a desired output. Yet, Newspapers readers have to consciously decide to read the news in order for them to be subjected to the frames found in any article they decided to read, and to

be affected by its agenda. A social media user has to intentionally click on a “video blog” so that he/she will be subjected to the frame this video blog holds. Last but not least, a person has to decide to watch the news to be affected by its content, segments and reports.

On the other hand, a “political promo” is much more harmful and can achieve the desired effect it holds, in a faster and much more targeted way especially when it holds well structured episodic, threat, cognitive and priming frames. A recent study showed that television promos, in general, are still the most powerful means through which television viewers will build their decision making based on their content (Winslow, 2014). Hence, based on the nature of television, and television viewers, a political promo - as short as five seconds to one minute maximum - can reach anyone watching any type of a television show, anytime of the day, disregarding age group and gender, or disregarding whether the viewers have any political interest regarding the “frame” hidden in the promo or not. Accordingly, a “political promo” will reach the greatest number of viewers in a very short time interval. Moreover, for better effectiveness and wider spread, the promos discussed in this paper were broadcast not only by Future television, but also by several other television channels that supported the 14th of March movement which guarantees that the desired frames hidden in the promos will have a better output (Shimmel, 2012).

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses framing, the theoretical framework used in the analysis of the political promos produced by the campaign initiated by Future Television in 2006. The chapter details the many facets of framing which include episodic and threat framing. It also discusses cognitive psychology and priming in relation to the main theoretical framework of framing. The theories together will form a framework that would help shed light on the intricate details that led to the delivery of a well-defined political agenda.

3.1 Framing Theory Definition

It is commonly argued that the media play a significant role in affecting people's behaviors and attitudes. The media play an important role in telling people what to think about. Agenda-setting, framing and priming are three theories that recognize the importance of media as a major source of information to people and the difference that the manner in which and for which the information is presented can have a difference on understanding that information.

According to Weaver, McCombs and Shaw (2004), the Agenda-setting theory states that the media select a topic that is important to them for a specific reason and shed light on it so that it would become important as well in the minds of the receivers. Priming theory, on the other hand, suggests that the media will later focus on specific frames in the stories of their agenda and disregards others to identify the standards upon which the frame is to be evaluated. Last but not least, framing theory's major task is dealing with issues the media cover, what they include and exclude and the way they produce their stories by using images, videos, script, graphics, and music to affect the receivers in a desired manner (Gomaa, 2008).

Framing Theory can be traced back to the year 1967 when sociologists Berger and Luckmann explained that people tend to categorize things by differentiating between “procedure” and “framing”. They identified “procedure” as the steps the people follow in doing things while “framing” as the way they understand issues at hand. Goffman (1974) however defined framing as a form of organization and structure. He argued that people use framing in their daily social life to organize their understanding of something the way they see fit (Gomaa, 2008). Tuchman elaborated more on framing yet in relation to media; he said that the media use framing for constructing their news rather than giving the viewers the main picture as it is (Carter, 2013).

It was Entman (1993) however who mainly contributed to the theory of framing as a complete theory of mass media. According to Entman, framing is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”.

Tankard (2001) argues that framing is used by media as a major tool in emphasizing one point in their news stories over another. Hence, framing is shedding light on some aspects of a story while keeping other aspects in the dark – hiding them from the viewers. As such, the viewers will only grasp what was being given to them. One of the examples given by Tankard is that of abortion, he argues that the media can highlight their stories on abortion by tackling the life of the unborn child, while the media itself can ignore this area of the argument and shed light only on the freedom of choice the women must have regarding their bodies and their lives (Tankard, 2001). Moreover, the media can make an event important when it really does not have much importance on its own. Tankard defined media framing as “The

central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (Gomaa, 2008).

Scheufele (2000) said that the framing process passes through three different stages: frame building, frame setting and individual and societal levels of framing. Frame building depends on how the elites want the news to be interpreted by whoever is creating it. Hence the frame is originally constructed based on how the actors want the journalist to understand a certain issue at hand. Frame setting deals with how the journalist receives certain framed news and frames it the way they see fit. The third and final step tackles how much the frames will affect the receivers.

Borah (2011) suggests that media framing is highly dependent on the tools that the story creators use while creating their stories and the level of manipulation they include and inject in the story lines. Moreover, Entman (2003) redefined framing as the mere purpose of promoting and obtaining a certain desired output by highlighting only bits and pieces of certain events - or issues – and then leaving it up to the viewers to make some connections among them. The content of the framed news should be easily noticed, understood, easy to memorize and should hit on emotions. Hence, in relation to the thesis study at hand, the elements that make up the promo were used to achieve the desired agenda. The main agenda set by Future Television in 2006 involved the creation of fear and chaos among the public making them feel the urge of gathering to demand the resignation of the then President Emile Lahoud. The major tool the television relied on was the promo campaign which contained a number of manipulative tools such as videos and order of placement, the voice over, graphics and script.

3.2 Framing Analysis

Even though framing has been defined differently by different scholars yet media framing definitions agree that framing involves highlighting certain issues while hiding others and spinning the news in favor of the agenda at hand by using texts and visuals. Fiske and Taylor (1991) assert “text can make bits of information more salient by placement, or by associating them with cultural familiar symbols. However, even a single unillustrated appearance of a notion in an obscure part of text can be highly salient, if it comports with the existing schema in a receiver’s belief systems.” Entman (1993) divided the communication process into four different locations of frames: the communicator, text, receiver and the culture. First, the communicator creates their own frames and injects them in the story line and text. Second, the framed text hides or highlights keywords and phrases that will reinforce existing facts or judgments. Third, the receivers interpret the received message in their own understanding and culture which is by itself the fourth location. Culture is considered to be the stock of all types of frames. Hence, according to Entman (1993) “framing in all four locations includes similar functions: selection and highlighting, and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution”. Political promos thus contain all the elements mentioned above: the coalition trying to communicate a certain message backed up by the media channels that support them, the text that is specifically designed for the promo story line, the receivers to whom such promos are being customized and finally the culture that they are bound by and that will play a major role in making them affected perhaps by what they receive as messages.

Iyengar (1991) suggested that media frames in political issues can be either episodic or thematic depending on the context. “The episodic news frame focuses on

specific events or particular cases, while the thematic news frame places political issues and events in some general context.” Unlike thematic framing which frames political issues in a general context, episodic framing deals more with specific stories and news content; it highlights one major topic and focuses on it (London, 1993). If the media, for instance, highlight the story of an extremely poor couple, viewers might blame those in the example as not making enough effort to find jobs or to overcome their poverty by being lazy. On the other hand, if the media highlights issues on the high national rates of unemployment, viewers would see poverty (as framed thematically) as the result of the government's failure to find solutions that would decrease or terminate unemployment. In this study, episodic framing in the promos was manifested by selecting specific sound bites for politicians declaring their extreme loyalty to the Syrian regime. The main promo was trying to hold them responsible in wanting the Syrians to come back, disregarded the whole context of why and where the speeches were being delivered.

When the media frame a certain political situation in a form that will reinforce the fear of threat in the minds of the viewers, it would be using "threat framing". The framing could be shaped as a top priority issue that is extremely urgent, and should be dealt with immediately before it is too late. Since security at all levels, including economic and social, is a basic human need, media use threat framing to inject fear and chaos among the viewers regarding what might affect their security. Such stories are usually handled and given more priority than others. While certain media would disregard threat framings from their news and remove it from their agendas to maintain a certain level of relief among the public, this does not mean that they are not framing their news. In fact they are doing so by hiding and altering whatever might cause the threat (Eriksson and Noreen, 2002).

The weapons of Hezbollah would be a perfect example; Media in favor of this weapon would conceal its potential threat on the Lebanese citizens and frame it as important and necessary to protect Lebanon from the Israeli threat. On the other hand, media that are against Hezbollah, always frame their weapons (Hezbollah's weapons) as a threat to Lebanon as a whole and to the public specifically. They argue that without the weapons, all threats from foreign countries would cease. As such, and in relation to the study at hand, the promos produced back in 2006 were loaded with video footage, edited in a pre-planned story line, and executed in a way that will increase the fear in the majority of the viewers by subjecting them to scenarios that will create a certain threat suggesting that their worst nightmares of civil strife on war will be back.

3.3 Framing, Priming and Psychology

"Cognitive psychology is the branch of psychology that studies mental processes including how people think, perceive, remember and learn" (Cherry, 2013). In relation to agenda setting theory, all threat images and political agendas are perceived and analyzed by the human mind; issues that are of extreme importance to the public and how those issues are being dealt with through the use of agenda setting hypothesis, is very compatible with the cognitive psychology approach. There are several theories in psychology, especially social psychology, that deal with the cognitive aspect of the human behavior and how threat images influence the perception of the receivers and hence (in this case) the viewers (Eriksson and Noreen, 2002). Uncertainty, fear of the unknown, fear of what might happen usually produces high anxiety levels in whoever is experiencing it. Terror reaches its peak when a person suspects something but does not know for sure whether it is going to happen or not. This is about the fear of not having control over certain events. The perception of a certain event usually falls

under the conception of the person himself/herself; "such events are filtered through our prim of preconceived notions" (Eriksson and Noreen, 2002). Ghanem (1997) indicates four different framing dimensions: First is the news topic, second is news presentation, third is the cognitive aspect and fourth is the affective attributes. The topic the political promo holds, the way it presents this topic, the tone injected in the body of the promo and finally the details it includes to achieve the desired effect are all tools to reach the viewers the way the agenda was originally set by the communicators, in our case, Future Television.

Priming theory, which is considered as an extension of the agenda setting theory, and is also considered a part of cognitive psychology, states that the humans (and in this case television viewers) will take decisions based on some preconceptions stored in their memory as nodes, are attached perfectly well and triggered by certain frames (videos and images) they will be subjected to (Mishra, 2017). The political promos tackled in this thesis paper are loaded with images and videos that, not only are carefully selected as per their content, but because they will trigger feelings, emotions and memories among the viewers; memories of civil war, Syrian occupation, terrorism, Lebanese politicians that were loyal to the Syrians and whose speeches were mostly provocative. Moreover, the script – along with the video storyline – is oriented directly towards the viewers, addressing them with questions about the past that they have been trying to forget for years and pushing them to react to the promo's agenda.

The perception of the human mind is highly influenced by how the message is created, shaped and portrayed especially if the message was conveying problems and not solutions. The Prospect Theory, psychological approach about how decisions are made in uncertain situations, suggests that human beings usually give priorities to

matters that involve the risk of losing (Gneezy and Epley, 2007) hence, viewers are more likely to take risky decisions and choose risky strategies when the news is framed from a negative rather than a positive perspective (Tactical Reality Dictionary). The act of one army crossing the territory and entering the soil of another country might be perceived as a threat if framed accordingly, or it might be considered as an act of liberation when framed from another perspective (Eriksson and Noreen, 2002). It follows then that the presence of the Syrian troops on the Lebanese grounds was perceived differently by different members of the society and as such, the presence of President Emile Lahoud as a head of state, after the Syrians left Lebanon, was also perceived differently depending on how media defended his presence or rejected it, especially that media in Lebanon are owned by business executives and political leaders, each of whom backs a certain political party with certain religious affiliations (Dajani, 2005). Television stations that supported the Syrian regime framed their news from the perspective that the Syrians were here to help the Lebanese people rule and stand back on their feet. They portrayed Lebanon as dependent on Syrian presence and would not be able to govern itself once that presence is removed (Abdelnour and Gambill, 2003). Moreover, and after the Syrian troops left the country, they framed the presence of Lahoud – who was facing lots of criticism due to his loyalty to the Syrians - as the official head of state that should remain to finish his mandate.

On the other hand, other television stations that were against the Syrian presence in Lebanon framed this presence as an occupation. Furthermore, after independence was achieved in the year 2005, they demanded that Lahoud, the pro-Syrian head of state, to resign framing him as the symbol of the Syrian regime in the highest official post in Lebanon (Assaf, 2005).

As such, media use framing techniques to shape and influence the opinions of their viewers the way they want to (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996). Moreover, the media can publish or broadcast “frames” created by others or they can publish or broadcast frames that they create (Crandell, 2013).

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methodology that will be used to conduct this study. It will first discuss the research design, the data collection tool and the research questions which the study will deal with. The chapter then identifies the research sample, the coding variables and the method for data analysis. A discussion of coder training as well as the validity and reliability of the study follows

4.1 The Research Design

The study uses the quantitative research design which allows for a numeric measurement of the variables and objective data using statistical techniques. The quantitative method answers questions based on objectivity and precision due to scientific measurements, the mere concern of a quantitative study is that measurement should be reliable and valid in its prediction of cause and effect (Matveev, 2002). Add to that the quantitative method allows for the comparison of the different variables under study by identifying the value of the elements that the different promos depended on.

The strength of the quantitative research method is that it is comprised of a quantifiable approach that yields to quantifiable results that help identify the frequency of variable occurrences. This leads to a closer examination and assessment of variables besides leading to quantifiable conclusions that may be beneficial to future studies.

4.2 The Research Questions and Hypotheses

The study will deal with two main research questions. The questions are inspired by the findings of the literature review and are based on the concepts of the theoretical framework. The questions are:

Research Question 1:

How did the Promotion Department at Future Television, frame, through four different promos, the 8th of March movement, , as the remaining supporters for Syria who wanted the Syrians to come back and govern the Lebanese people.

Research Question 2:

How was the Syria-supported President Emile Lahoud, the Lebanese president at the time, framed as responsible for the explosions and assassinations that had been taking place in the country since 2005?

As mentioned earlier, many studies have tackled framing and agenda settings in all types of media – television, newspapers and radio stations as well as lately, digital platforms and social media networks. Yet, and while most of the above mentioned media outlets used their prime time news bulletins and news reports as the main source of information , none of them dealt with what this paper is calling “Political Promos”.

Based on the above, several hypotheses will be addressed:

Hypothesis 1:

Future TV 2006 political promos included sound bites (Sound bites are extracts of sentences from movies, actors, politicians etc) for both major political parties stating that unlike the 14th of March leaders, the 8th of March leaders were non patriotic and their speeches were in support of the Syrian regime.

Hypothesis 2:

Special coloring for certain video shots (giving some shots a dominant color to differentiate them from the rest) were used as a major variable in forming the image of the March 14 leaders

Hypothesis 3:

Future TV 2006 political promos used music, script, voice over, sound effects and editing techniques to differentiate the 14th of March leaders and followers from those of the 8th of March.

Hypothesis 4:

The political promo video shots framed the 8th of March coalition as provocative, aggressive, and terrorists

Hypothesis 5:

The video shots of the promos showed the patriotic and humane spirit of the March 14 coalition

4.3 Research Sample

The research sample of this study consists of the four and only political promos that were produced in early February 2006 asking the people to speak out against then Lebanese President Emile Lahoud. It is pertinent here to mention that February 2006 was the first commemoration of late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. During that time, the heat was at its peak between the two major forces in Lebanon – the 14th and the 8th of March. Lebanon was, therefore, facing an unstable situation especially with the repeated assassinations and bombings which had started off in 2005 and had not ceased at that time.

One of the objectives of the promo campaigns was to create a state of terror in the minds of the viewers by formulating a hypothetical situation in their heads that if Emile Lahoud remains president, Lebanon as a whole will be unsafe and hence, keeping them insecure and uncertain about future results or happenings. The other objective consisted of the sending out of a direct message to President Lahoud demanding him to resign. Each of the four political promos was designed around a main theme. The first promotion, for instance, dealt with the theme of Past Mistakes

and the risk of their repetition, the second one dealt with People's Demands while the third dealt with Martyrdom and the theme of the last promo was the Ousting of the President. Three promos targeted President Emile Lahoud and one targeted the March 8 leaders. The promos are divided as follows:

Promo 1 "Baddak Terjaa La Wara" or literally translated as "Do You Want to Go Backwards?": is a promo that targets the 8th of March leaders and other political figures, blaming them for the corruption and terrorism Lebanon that Lebanon was going through. Duration of the promo is 1 minute and 50 seconds.

Promo 2 "Sayyidi Al Raees" or literally translated as "Mr. President": is a promo that directly targets then Lebanese President Lahoud asking him to listen to the people's demand by stepping down and allowing the people to elect a new President worthy of their demands for freedom. Duration of the promo is 34 seconds.

Promo 3 "Al Shuhadaa" or literally translated as "Martyrs": is a promo that directly targets then Lebanese President Lahoud, framing him as the man behind the assassination of the 14th of March leaders, journalists and television anchors including Rafic Hariri, Bacel Fleihan, Samir Kassir, George hawi, Elias El Murr, May Chidyac and Joubran Tueini. Duration of the promo is 21 seconds.

Promo 4 "fill" or literally translated as "Leave": is a promo that directly targets President Lahoud, reminding the people (viewers) of the facts that lead to the extension of his term as president. Duration of the promo is 1 minute.

4.4 Data Collection: Content Analysis

To identify how four political promos were produced back in 2006 by future Television to frame the 8th of March leaders as loyal supporters to Syria and how their presence in key political positions will keep Lebanon unsafe, the data collection method chosen for this study is that of content analysis. According to Kerlinger

(2000), content analysis is “a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (Gomaa, 2008). Berger (1991) argues that “Content analysis is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art”. Neuman (1997) identifies content analysis even further as he asserts that it is “a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text.” Neuman (1997) clarifies that the content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated, while the ‘text’ is anything that is a channel for communication; it can be written, visual, or spoken.

A major reason why a quantitative content analysis is essential for this study is that such method will help in dissecting the promos at hand so that we can have a closer look at the frames that were injected in them. The data will be collected in accordance with word frames found in the script and sound bites, the content of the video shot frames and their color spectrum, voice over frames and the way the script frame was delivered by the voice over artist, music type, sound effects used and finally the editing techniques frame which was used to empower the message even further.

4.5 Coding Procedures and Units of Analysis

The variables formed for the study and which are integrated within the main research questions will be investigated using a code book. The code for this book was designed to collect data from the four promos based on the several variables that together formulate the promos. The variables comprise the frames to be investigated in the study: sound bites frame, shot color frame, music frame, script frame, voice over tonality frame, sound effects frame, editing style frame and video shots frame.

4.5.1 Sound Bites Frame

Sound bites in general are specific audio and video extracts from movies, reports and interviews (Success in Media, 2017). In relation to the political promos under study, the sound bites used were selection of sentences for the 8th and the 14th of March politicians that included patriotic statements, offensive and provoking sentences, or neutral and other type of statements.

Offensive and provoking sound bites are usually selected and highlighted by the media to provoke viewers and create an opinion towards those involved. Of course, sound bites that might be offensive to a certain group can be viewed as completely normal by another depending on the context and political affiliations of that group. For example, sound bites of politicians supporting the Syrian regime are considered provocative to those who are against them and vice versa. Patriotic sound bites on the other hand are used to inject patriotism and the feeling of belongingness towards a certain political affiliation stating that patriotism is the virtue of one party over the other.

In the study at hand, and since the promo campaign was requested by the 14th of March coalition who were politically against the Syrian regime, statements and speeches that included support to the Syrian regime in general, and the Syrian President Bachar Al Assad in specific, was considered by them to be offensive while, on the other hand, speeches that criticized the Syrians and their Lebanese supporters were considered to be patriotic

The provocative words and sentences used in the code book are: we, Lebanese citizens, are loyal soldiers to Bachar el Assad; we will sacrifice ourselves for Bachar Al Assad, and other (offensive and provocative sentences that are not listed in the code book). Whereas patriotic sound bites are those that support Lebanon as a country and

not as a political party such as: “Lebanon first, President Emile Lahoud should resign, President Emile lahoud is the symbol of corruption and other (patriotic sentences that are not listed in the code book)

4.5.2 Shot color Frame

In promo, as in film production, the color of the shot/scene by itself, when modified by giving one color more dominance over another, plays a crucial role in delivering messages to the viewers because each color conveys a certain meaning. For example, when the promo producer changes a shot from its original color to red, this means that he/she wants to give the shot an identity- or an additional meaning. Red color, in general, is associated with blood, energy, love, power and determination. A dark like black or dark grey, on the other hand, might be associated with death, fear, mystery and evil. The dominant bluefish color is normally associated with trust, loyalty and wisdom (Olesen, 2017). On the other hand, adding a certain degree of brightness to the normal colors of the shot might be associated with hope. In the four promos under study, the variables for colors are: death, evil, wisdom, mystery, hope, loyal, none and other.

4.5.3 Music Frame

Generally speaking, music in promo production and advertisements is a powerful tool that gives a feel to the whole promo under production. Music plays a major role in targeting the viewer’s emotions and senses. Promo producers rely on the music choice to create at least half the impact expected from the entire production (Bhasin, 2016). What applies to regular promos also applies to political promos. In the four promos under study, the variables for music are: patriotic music (music which evokes feelings of patriotism) (Rhein, 2010), dramatic music (very serious and somber kind of music) (Riley, 2011), scary music (either low pitched or high pitched

music that gives the feel of uneasiness to the listeners) (Haggin, 2012), suspenseful music (keeps the listeners alert and excited), no music, and other. For example, in this study, political promos produced in favor of the 14th of March movement were accompanied by powerful patriotic music while, on the other hand, promos tackling the 8th of March leaders were accompanied by music that is powerful yet suspenseful, scary and dramatic. It is important to mention at this point that sometimes, one promo might contain several music variables depending on the promo elements and the visual content it includes.

4.5.4 Script Frame

A fourth and very important tool in the production of political promos is the script of the promo. The words and messages of the script, regardless of the length, which may extend from one word to three or four full sentences, form an effective tool that targets viewer's thoughts and emotions. Scripts are usually formulated to reach the target audience in a very simple manner, but are also made to, in such a way, that would make them linger in the minds of the viewers for a quite long time – after the promo had been watched. The message should be conveyed in simple, clear language that is easy to understand (Tapp, 2015). In the four promos under study, the variables for scripts are: direct message (stated clearly), hidden message (not clear enough for the viewer), simple wordings, complicated wordings, no script, other.

4.5.5 Voice-Over Frame

Another crucial and very important tool in the production of a promo generally and political promo specifically is the voice over. A voice over artist's job is to read/act the script and make it as effective as possible. In as much as the music plays a major role in affecting the viewer's perception and giving the whole promo a brand, so does the voice over talent in the manner through which the script is delivered. In

the four promos under study, the variables for voice over are: serious tonality, sarcastic tonality, persuasive tonality, angry tonality, suspicious tonality, no voice over, other. An extremely well delivered script by the voice over talent can reach the viewers fast and stir their feelings and emotions, become memorable and persuade them by what is being said (Amorose, 2009).

4.5.6 Sound Effect Frame

Sound effects like, for example, explosions, laughter, crowd cheering, gun firing, swooshes, whooshes, thunder etc give realism to the shots used in the story line of the promo; they target the emotions of the viewers. They also draw attention to and reinforce certain video shots or even text messages and they bring certain video sequences to life (Hails, 2013). The variables for sound effects in the four political promos under study are: Literal effects (associative sound effects through which the viewer can recall a certain event once heard), non literal effects (indicating a certain event without actually being the sound of it), ambiences (atmospheres and background effects), wallas (the sound effects of a huge crowd) (Stearns and Price, 2016), no sound effects (sometimes not adding a sound effect at all makes a promo even stronger depending on the intended message behind it), and other types of sound effects.

4.5.7 Editing Frame

In the world of film and television, editing plays a major role in delivering the story. Narrative motion in editing determines how the shots will be put together to deliver an effective scene. The order of shots, style of editing and the video effects used are essential steps that go into the creation of a story line of a film, report, documentary or promo. Hence, one order of shots might deliver a certain message while the re-ordering or re-distribution of the same shots might have a totally different

output (Katz, 1991). The coding editing techniques used in the four political promos under study will include four categories: editing rhythm (fast editing rhythm creates tension while a slow rhythm inspires relaxation at some point and might be provocative at another point depending on the visuals), video effects used (video effects might include speeding up a certain video, flipping another one, camera shake, zooming, etc. Slow motion video effect, for example, might help a person look powerful or it might as well be used to emphasize a certain negative aspect) and transitional effects (fading an image to black color and from black color might be interpreted as ending a scene and starting another while it might have other interpretations depending on how and where it is used). Each listed category includes one or several variables as such: provocative (fast edits, slow motion), simple (normal editing rhythm), misleading (placing several shots that are not related to each other in a specific order as to link them together), dramatic, grandiose (slow motion video effects), none, other.

4.5.8 Video Shots

A fifth and very important tool in the production of political promos are the shots from which the promos are formed. Shot selection is usually done in relation to the content and the message of the promo - taking into consideration as well the voice over and music selection as all the promo element should work together to deliver an effective message. In the four political promos under study, the video shots selected were considered as extremely provocative as they reminded the target viewers about the days of oppression, unlicensed demonstrations in support of Syria with protestors holding knives and other harmful tools, riots, explosions and assassinations. On the other hand some other shots were considered patriotic as they included footage (video shots) from the 14th of March 2005 protest that resulted in gaining Independence. The

variables for shot definition in the code book are: terrorism, provocative, patriotic, aggressive, emotional, violence, none and other.

4.6 Coder Trainer and Reliability Assessment

In order to gain maximum reliability, an extremely thorough and careful content analysis requires two or more coders to look upon and measure at least one sample of content. “There is growing acknowledgement in the research literature that the establishment of inter-coder reliability is essential, a necessary criterion for valid and useful research when human coding is employed” (Neuendorf, 2002). As such, and to ensure reliability, another coder assisted the main researcher in coding two political promos that are not related to the four promos under study. The secondary coder received instructions from the researcher on how to code the two promos selected as a coding reliability measurement example.

The coding method for the image content and color took place shot by shot for each of the two promos based on all the elements and their variables. As for the other elements of promo construction like music, sound bites, script, sound effects and voice over, the coding was basic as the variables are well-defined.

After making sure that the assistant coder understood what to look for in a promo, two promos were coded by the primary researcher and the coder: Promo 1 “7awalou – Fa Fashilou” literally translated “They Tried – But They Failed” which is a promo targeting the 8th of March leaders and the Syrian regime. The promo sends the message that the March 8 coalition would fail in creating chaos and in dividing the Lebanese people. This promo was released on the 23rd of August 2005 and aired for four weeks.

Promo 3 “Wehyet Yalle Raho Ma Bterja3o” literally translated as “In the Name of All Those whose Lives were Sacrificed, You Shall Not Return” which is a promo

targeting all 8th of March main leaders. This promo was released on the 30th of November 2006 and aired for three weeks.

Inter-coder reliability was calculated using Cohen's Kappa. 100% agreement was reached between the primary coder and the second coder for the music used, script, voice over, sound effects and editing. The agreement that was reached on shot selection and the frames was $Kappa=0.827$ (% of agreement = 95.121) due to the fact that defining the content of shots might differ between one person and another depending on the portrayal of each coder and hence viewer. Moreover, the agreement reached on the color of shots modified by the promo producer and the frames was $Kappa=0.598$ (% of agreement = 87.234) due to the fact that defining the definition of colors and their interpretation differs from one person to another depending on perception. It is important to mention here that "sound bites" was not included due to the fact that both promos selected for inter-coder reliability did not include any sound bites.

4.7 Data Analysis

This study is an analysis of the several variables used in portraying the 8th of March versus the 14th of March coalitions in the political promos of 2006 Future TV campaign. The elements of comparison that will clearly show how each side is being portrayed are the sound bites, color of the shots, content of the shots, music, script, sound effects and editing techniques. The first hypothesis deals with the content of the sound bites in portraying both political parties. While parts of the promos portray the 14th of March coalition as patriotic by attacking then president Emile Lahoud describing him as a Syrian agent, other promos portray the 8th of March as mere followers and supporters to the Syrian regime with no loyalty what so ever to Lebanon.

The second hypothesis deals with the colors of the video shots used when it comes to comparing the 14th of March leaders versus the 8th March. We will be coding the shots modified (given a specific dominant color) as to provide a certain definition to one of the coalitions over the other.

The third hypothesis examined several basic elements that gives the promos their full identity such as music selection, script style, customized sound effects, recorded voice over and editing techniques, and the way they are applied in the story line of the promo as to differentiate the 14th of March from the 8th of March coalitions.

The fourth hypothesis described all the video shots that the four promos included. Shots that contain violence, terrorism, aggressiveness, patriotism and sacrifice, shots that are provocative and violent were all coded for this study as to show and differentiate the way a promo can use video shot selection in building the intended frame. Shots that contained aggressiveness, terrorism and that looked provocative were lined to the 8th of March movement while other shots that portrayed patriotism, sacrifice and emotions were linked to the 14th of March movement.

Since the four promos consisted of only 70 shots in total, 19 sound bites, 8 different music choices, 5 sound effects, 17 shots that were given a dominant color, 2 scripts, 1 voice over and 4 different editing styles, there was no need for any software to help us obtain descriptive statistics to validate each hypothesis since the coding can be done manually, also known as human coding, by simply counting and measuring the variables each promo includes taking into consideration that the four promos are 3 minutes and 45 seconds long. The coding for each frame consists of a table that includes the variables of the frame and the data will be added to the row under each variable (Bundy, 2013).

Chapter 5 Findings

This chapter presents the results of the study that will examine the eight frames obtained from the four political promos produced by Future Television in 2006. The frames are sound bites frame, shot color frame, music frame, script frame, voice over tonality frame, sound effects frame, editing style frame and video shots frame.

5.1 Sound Bites Frame

The Future TV 2006 political promos under study included sound bites for both major political coalitions, March 8 and March 14.

The episodic framing theory states that media filters news issues and diverts blame. Taking both functions into consideration, the study looked at mainly three sound bites variables for both political parties. Those variables were provocative versus patriotic speeches and other. The provocative speeches were those speeches that supported the Syrian presence on Lebanese grounds. The patriotic speeches, on the other hand, were the speeches that criticized the presence of then President Emile Lahoud and called for his resignation from office. The category “other” was left open for any speech that did not fit under any of the first two categories.

6 of the sound bites - derived from the original speeches included total support to the Syrians and were classified as Provocative Speech in accordance with the coding used for this study. In these promos, that were produced to direct the viewers towards the rejections of the Syrians’ return to Lebanon, provocative speeches for the 8th of March leaders were selected and placed in the promos without taking into consideration the time and context within which those speeches were delivered. For example, in 1998, in his speech to deputies after taking the oath of office, Emile Lahoud mentioned the following sentence: “There will be no future for anyone, ruler or subordinate, in this country without the rise of the state of laws and institutions

within a democratic parliamentary system” (The Oath, 1998). This whole sentence once read or listened to, will convey the message that the implementation of law is necessary for the future of Lebanon. Yet, when parts of the statement are taken out of context or combined with other sound bites the message will have a very different meaning, one which may be far removed from the original message. In this case, sound bite “There will be no future for anyone, ruler or subordinate, in this country” was used in promo titled “fill” or literally translated as “Leave”. The promo producer disregarded the rest of the sentence thereby putting into the speakers’ mouth a meaning that the speaker had not originally intended.

The Patriotic Speeches detected in the promos were 8 in number. They were delivered by the 14th of March leaders, who criticized President Emile Lahoud and called for his immediate resignation. Only 1 sound bite was classified as other-Patriotic. “Other” since it did not fit under any of the first two categories and “Patriotic” because it was from a speech delivered on the 14th of February 2006 (first commemoration of Rafik Hariri’s assassination) by the then 14th of March coalition leader Saad Hariri, addressing the huge crowd gathered for the occasion, asking them to repeat: “Lebanon First” after him. This became one of the slogans used by the 14th of March coalition at that time. The sound bite came as a distinct reminder of the role that the late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri had played and how that role cannot be forgotten after his death. Rather, it would be taken over by his son, Saad Hariri, who would, in accordance with that sound bite, prioritize Lebanon over all other foreign interests.

Finally, the promos included 4 neutral sound bites for the 8th of March coalition as such: Two sound bites tackled justice and fight against crime. Even though those sound bites were meant to have some negative impact on the viewers

since they were delivered by Jamil al Sayyed, former Lebanese General Security Directorate and Adnan Adoum, former Minister of Justice and State Prosecutor who were both loyal to the Syrians (Rabil, 2005), yet the content of the speeches were considered as neutral by the coders because they did not include, according to the coding method, any provocative or patriotic statements. One sound bite is an extraction of a speech during which Suleiman Frangieh –leader of Marada movement - attacks verbally Saad Harri, but it was not coded as provocative because it did not mention Syria or the Syrian regime. Finally, the fourth sound bite coded as neutral was that of then president Emile Lahoud delivering the oath of office speech.

Out of the 19 sound bites found in the four promos, the provocative (in support of Syria) versus the patriotic speeches (criticizing then President Emile Lahoud and stating that they care only for Lebanon) were coded as such:

	Provocative sound bites (supporting Syria)	Patriotic sound bites (criticizing Emile Lahoud)	Other Patriotic sound bites	Neutral	Other
8 th of March	6	0	0	4	0
14 th of March	0	8	1	0	0

5.2 Shot Color Frame

Special coloring for certain video shots were used as a major variable in differentiating the 14th of March leaders and giving them a unique definition.

Shot coloring was a major tool used for promoting the leaders of both political parties. The video shots color variables were: death, evil, wisdom, mystery, hope, loyal, none and other. Out of the four promos, 21 shots were used for both coalitions while delivering political speeches. It is important to point out here that if the same

speech was cut into two sections in the same promo, they were coded - for measuring purposes - as two speeches.

Out of 11 video shots for the 8th of March political leaders and other political figures that supported them, 10 were portrayed in normal colors or the original colors of the shot without any form of technical manipulation so as not to give them any significance, importance, or make them stand out in the promo while only 1 video shot featuring Emile Lahoud was given black as a dominant color in order to frame him as an evil character. On the other hand, 9 out of 10 sound bites that included the 14th of March leaders were colored in blue to frame them as wise and loyal. As mentioned earlier, the dominant blue color symbolizes loyalty and wisdom. Only 1 sound bite for the 14th of March leader Saad Hariri was left in its original color due to artistic purposes.

	Video shots (Speeches)	Normal color	Bluish color	Black and White	Other
8 th of March	11	10	0	1	0
14 th of March	10	1	9	0	0

5.3 Music, Script, Voice over, Sound effects and Editing Frames

Future TV 2006 political promos used music, script, voice over, sound effects and editing techniques to differentiate the 14th of March leaders and followers from those of the 8th of March.

Music variables such as suspenseful, scary, dramatic and patriotic were used as frames in building up the promos to differentiate one coalition from the other and to assign a specific mood for each promo. When framing the 8th of March politicians as provocative, the music variables were suspenseful, scary and dramatic while, when framing the 14th of March as patriotic, music variables were suspenseful, patriotic and

dramatic. The common variable in both is the suspenseful and dramatic music since both can have different meaning and can deliver specific feelings to the viewers depending on visuals. Yet, what created a different output was the scary versus patriotic music. While patriotic music was associated with the 14th of March sound bites twice, it was never associated with any of the 8th of March sound bites. Scary music, on the other hand, was associated once with the 8th of March but never with the 14th of March sound bites.

	Suspenseful music	Scary music	Dramatic music	Patriotic music	Other
8 th of March	1	1	2	0	1
14 th of March	1	0	1	2	0

Sound effects as well had a major role in glorifying the 14th of March promos. Most of the promos designed to market the 14th of March as patriotic used footage of the 2005 March protest and added ambience, as sound effects, to portray power and glory. On the other hand, “the buzzer” sound effect was used in portraying then President Emile Lahoud as untruthful and unworthy of the presidency.

The scripts used in all the promos were short, direct and with a clear message. One promo contained a simple question directed to the viewers asking them if they want to go back in time to the days of corruption and occupation; the exact script used was “Baddak terjaa la wara?” or literally translated as “Do You Want To Go Backwards?”. That same promo ended by asking the people to participate in the 14th of February 2006 protest to oust the President. The other three promos ended with a direct message asking then President Emile Lahoud to leave his post.

Voice over was introduced to only one promo that was designed to reflect the 8th of March politicians as non patriotic and provocative. The tonality of the voice

over was serious, persuasive and angry to reflect the seriousness of the situation at hand.

Finally, the editing techniques used in creating the rhythm of the promos highly depended on the message that were being delivered. The codes used for the editing techniques included fast editing in which the shot duration is very short in relation to the rest of the promo; provocative editing in which slow motion effect was used as to focus on a specific action; dramatic editing divided into a “dip to red” and “dip to black” which are both transitional effects; misleading editing as removing some important part of a speech or a video shot that, if left in its original context would have a different meaning and last but not least simple editing which means editing in its simplest form without adding any video transitions or complicated video effects.

It was noticed that editing shots related to the 8th of March politicians and supporters were produced with fast, provocative, dramatic and misleading editing techniques which included eliminating important sections of a certain sound bite as given in the previous example related to then President Emile Lahoud’s oath speech.

While, on the other hand when portraying the 14th of March politicians and supporters, the editing variables were simple hence, no fast edits were used, all the transitions were just simple cuts free from any transitional effects

	Fast editing	Provocative editing	Dramatic editing (Dip to red)	Dramatic editing (Dip to Black)	Misleading editing	Simple editing
8 th of March	3	19	3	24	1	0
14 th of March	0	0	0	0	0	2

5.4 Video Shots Frames

The codes used for the video shots were emotional, terrorist, aggressive, provocative, patriotic and other. The codes are classified in accordance with the following descriptions:

-Terrorist video shots: are the shots that contain aftermath of attacks on Lebanon done by terrorists and resulted in the death and injuries of many civilians, politicians, journalists and Television anchors. An example of such explosions are those that took place in populated areas like Jdeideh, Kaslik, Sadd el Bouchrieh, Broummana, Jounied, Antelias, Monot and Zalka on the first hand and, on the second hand other explosions that resulted in the killing of Rafik Hariri, Bacel Fleihan, Samir Kassir, George Hawi, Jubran Tueini and the injury of Eliass El Murr and May Chediak. All mentioned explosions and assassination took place between February 2005 and February 2006.

- Emotional video shots: are the shots that contain scenes of cascades for the assassinated personnel and people being emotionally affected by the death or the injury of a dear one. These are scenes that show people crying and sad.

- Aggressive video shots: are those that contain visuals of protestors burning cars, damaging store fronts, attacking civilians by throwing stones and overtaking a fire extinguisher vehicle.,

- Provocative video shots: are those that show protestors covering their faces and screaming violently, holding knives and other types of harmful tools, shots related to the 8th of March politicians and supporters, and finally shots for protests supporting Syria where the protesters are holding the Syrian flag on Lebanese grounds.

- Patriotic video shots: are shots that include Rafik Hariri, Bacel Fleihan, Samir Kassir, George Hawi, Jubran Tueini, Eliass El Murr , May Chediak and all

shots that include visuals from March 2005 and February 2006 huge gathering demanding independence and the resignation of then President Emile Lahoud .

- Other video shots: are those shots not related to any of those mentioned above, mostly shots of newspapers headlines.

	Emotional Video shots	Terrorism Video shots	Aggressive Video shots	Provocative Video shots	Patriotic Video shots	Other
8 th of March	0	14	5	20	0	0
14 th of March	6	0	0	0	15	0
NONE	0	0	0	0	0	10

The video shots that the 2006 Future TV political promos used to frame the 8th of March coalition were provocative, aggressive, and terrorists while the video shots used to frame the 14th of March coalition showed positive emotions and patriotism.

Out of 70 video shots found in the four promos, excluding sound bites, 20 shots were coded as provocative, 5 as aggressive, 14 shots were related to terrorism, 6 shots were coded as emotional, 15 as Patriotic and 10 as others. Most of the 20 shots coded as provocative are visuals of protests defending the Syrian regime and images related to the 8th of March politicians who were known for their loyalty to Syria. The 5 aggressive shots showed protesters acting violently such as destroying cars, throwing stones randomly at shops and buildings, or vandalizing public property. The 14 video shots coded as acts of terrorism mostly revealed the aftermath of the car bombings and explosions that had taken place from 2005 till early 2006. During these terrorist acts, well renowned Lebanese politicians, journalists, TV anchors and civilians were killed or injured. 6 shots were coded as emotional; all those shots were

videos of the families of the martyrs mourning their loved ones who were targeted in the explosions mentioned earlier. Fifteen shots were coded as patriotic; 6 of these shots showed images and videos for Rafik Hariri, Bacel Fleihan, Samir Kassir, George hawi, Elias El Murr and May Chidiac – all of whom are renowned Lebanese figures, either politicians or journalists killed or injured by the acts of terrorism. The other 9 videos were footage related to the 14th of March 2005 and the 14th of February 2006 protest. Finally, what was coded as other had no direct meaning to any of codes mentioned earlier. They were mainly captions of newspaper headlines.

This chapter relied on several coding variables such as sound bites frame, shot color frame, music frame, script frame, voice over tonality frame, sound effects frame, editing style frame and video shots frame to uncover when and how Future Television used these codes to rally the Lebanese people against the Syrian presence and the then Lebanese President Emile Lahoud. The codes help reveal the ways in which the promos deliver the message that is a manifestation of their own political agenda, which is also a reflection of the Future Party political agenda.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis section of the study, the existence or non-existence of sound bites frame, shot color frame, music frame, script frame, voice over tonality frame, sound effects frame, editing style frame and video shots frame are discussed in relation to findings, framing theory (specifically episodic, threat, priming and cognitive psychology) as well as the literature review. The discussion will reveal where the findings converge and diverge from those of the literature review.

6.1 Sound Bites Frame

The total time for the four promos was 3 minutes and 45 seconds, distributed as follows:

Promo 1: “Baddak Terjaa La Wara” or literally translated as “Do You Want to Go Backwards?” Duration of the promo is 1 minute 50 seconds and included 9 sound bites.

Promo 2: “Sayyidi Al Raees” or literally translated as “Mr. President”. Duration of the promo is 34 seconds and included only 1 sound bite.

Promo 3: “Al Shuhadaa” or literally translated as “Martyrs”. Duration of the promo is 21 seconds and included only 1 sound bite.

Promo 4: “fill” or literally translated as “Leave”. Duration of the promo is 1 minute and included 8 sound bites.

Although the combined time of the promos is not extensive, the promos, nonetheless, included a significant number of sound bites for the two 2006 major political coalitions. The sound bites were selected and assembled in such a way to portray the 14th of March as patriotic, protectors of the independence and guardians of Lebanon. The 8th of March coalition, on the other hand, were portrayed as non-patriotic, protectors of the Syrian regime and willing at any time to get the Syrians

physically back to Lebanon. The sound bites used were extractions selected out of several speeches, during several occasions, and grouped in one campaign fortifying the episodic framing theory which states that “The episodic news frame focuses on specific events or particular cases” (Iyengar, 1991).

Out of 19 sound bites in total, 6 included total support to the Syrians showing the 8th of March coalition as protectors to the Syrian presence in Lebanon while, on the other hand, political promos criticizing the head of state then Emile Lahoud contained 8 speeches for the 14th of March leaders demanding his resignation to free Lebanon from all Syrian roots. For example, promo number 4 included sound bites saying that Lebanon will be freed soon from all Syrian symbols and corruption. Hence, 14th of March were framed as the only ones caring for Lebanon and wanting all the best for it.

Finally, and as mentioned in the findings section, promo number 2 included a sound bite for the then 14th of March coalition leader Saad Hariri addressing the huge crowd during the 2006 gathering asking them to repeat the sentence: “Lebanon First.” The statement became a slogan used, at that time by the 14th of March coalition to reinforce the message that that their plan was to protect and embrace Lebanon without any Syrian interference. It also served an indirect condemnation of the 8th of March coalition condemning them of not prioritizing Lebanon over foreign presence. Another layer of analysis would show that the 14th of March, despite their significant, human losses were still placing Lebanon’s wellbeing first as if ready to present more sacrifices – both material and human. “Lebanon First” then carried a host of direct and indirect meanings that hid the rallying for the 14th of March coalition under a bigger purpose which is rallying for a national cause, that of Lebanon as a whole.

The provocative sound bites, 6 in number, were addressed by the following politicians:

- Leader of the Marada Brigades, Suleiman Frangieh (Christian political party).
- Head of the mostly Druze Lebanese Democratic Party Talal Arslan.
- Lebanese politician Mohammad Assem Qanso - former leader of the Lebanese Ba'ath.
- Lebanese politician Nasser Kandil – former member of the parliament.
- Lebanese politician Wiam Wahhab (Druz) – former minister of environment.
- Lebanese politician and lawyer Zaher al Khatib (Muslim Sunni).

While the patriotic speeches, criticizing President Emile Lahoud and defending Lebanon, were addressed by the following politicians:

- Leader of the 14th of March coalition Saad Hariri (Muslim Sunni).
- Executive chairman of the Lebanese Forces Samir Geagea (Christian).
- Secretary General of the 14th of March coalition Fares Souaid (Christian).
- Lebanese politician Boutros Harb (Christian).
- Leader of the mostly Druze Progressive Socialist Party Walid Jumblatt.
- Leader of the National Liberal party Dori Chamoun (Christian).

Most of the sound bites dealt with the illegal extension of then president Emile Lahoud stating that the Syrians were behind it and that they forced the parliament to sign and agree on it. Other sound bites mentioned that, in no time, Emile Lahoud would be replaced by an effective Lebanese president and hence he will not complete his mandate. Finally, one sound bite mentioned that Emile Lahoud was the head of the Syrian intelligence in Lebanon and that he should no more act as President. The intention behind those well selected sound bites were to show the viewers, and hence the Lebanese citizens, that the 14th of March coalition were against the Syrian regime

and all their supporters, defining themselves as the only patriotic party defending and caring for Lebanon and the Lebanese citizens.

6.2 Shot Color Frame

The color of a video shot could be significant in giving a positive or a negative image of the character involved. Video shots in promos are usually manipulated in post-production by modifying their original colors or even giving them a singular dominant tone like red, blue, green, etc depending on the message that needs to be portrayed. In the four political promos under study, the 8th of March leaders' video shots were used without changing their original color not to give them any dominance or make them stand out. Yet, in two separate promos, then President Emile Lahoud was portrayed in black and white image tone giving dominancy to black to portray him as an evil character.

On the other hand, 8 video shots for the 14th of March leaders were tinted in a dominant blue color so that they can look wise, loyal and to make them stand out from all other shots in the promo. Since in psychology, “colors produce different cognitive learning motivation” and their effects on the viewers are implicit and automatic (Olsen, 2010), the color of the video shots, then, reveals the perceptions and attitudes that the audience would introduce in formulating their opinions about both coalition leaders and their credibility. Hence, producers of political promos are, on purpose, and following a specific agenda, creating a certain image towards a certain group in order to influence and highlight particular attitudes from the viewers. In the study at hand, the producers of the four promos promoted the wisdom and loyalty of the 14th of March leaders while disregarding and not giving any importance to the other coalition. When and if any importance was given to them, it was done so by manipulating shot colors for demeaning purposes to make them look bad and evil.

6.3 Music, Script, Voice over, Sound effects and Editing Frames

With regards to the music used in the political promos, the 14th of March leaders were portrayed with suspenseful, patriotic and dramatic music, without any use of scary music. Fischhoff (2005) believes that “music enhances, accentuates, completes psychological effects because there is just so much that an actor can express with his face, body, and dialogue.” Music in a short promo plays a major role in representing the mood and the emotional build up of the story line thereby evoking specific emotional reaction from the viewers. Therefore, when 14th of March coalition is portrayed with patriotic music for example, it would complement the sound bites and video shots used to establish a connection with them as patriots, powerful and heroic. For example, one of the promos was constructed using the song “Sayyidi Al Raees” meaning “Mr. President.” The song, composed in 1998, is by well-known Lebanese singer, Majida Al Roumi. It contained a direct message to a hypothetical president and tackled issues all Arab countries were facing like murder, treason, patriotism and independence. One section of the song included the following verse addressing the President “atasma3u el Zahrara 7een yas2aloun?”, literally translated as such “can you hear the liberals when they ask?” and to this specific section some general video shots from the 2006 huge gathering were inserted, with their ambience, demanding then president Emile Lahoud to resign. The lyrics of the song juxtaposed over the image of the demonstrations directly bestows upon the demonstrators the label of those who are free and liberal minded. They are the ones that can take the sound decisions for their country because they are not affected by foreign influences and are not afraid to speak their mind. The second verse in the song literally translated as “can you hear the liberals when they ask?” addresses, in fact, the demands of the free people. The song is asking the President to heed to the people’s demands and to

comply with their requests. The song along with the visuals amplifies the demand and provides solid evidence that the demand is popular and is backed up by the people.

On the other hand, promo number 1 that included sound bites for the 8th of March coalition praising Syria was left with no music at all so that the viewers can focus fully on what was being said without distraction. Moreover, scary music in the promo number 1 as well was used to portray the 8th of March supporters especially when showing footage of violent riots. As mentioned earlier, the type of music creates a specific emotional response from the viewer so, when certain visuals of a political party are accompanied with scary music the viewers will become nervous and will look upon the politician involved as bad or evil. Another promo included a part from the dramatic Arabic song “Esmaa Ya Rida”, or literally translated “Listen to us Rida” for the famous Lebanese music composer Ziad El Rahbani. The song was originally written and composed back in 1978 and used in one of the most popular plays “Bl Nesbeh La Boukra Shou” literally translated as “what about tomorrow?” to express the miserable situation the Lebanese people were facing. It tackles poverty and economical crisis. Under one of then president Emile Lahoud video shots, an extraction of the song which states “Mesh Hamm Baad El Yawm”, literally translated as “It doesn’t matter anymore” was used. Viewers familiar with the song will automatically understand the message hidden in the promo because the rest of the song goes as such: “mesh hamm baad el yawm in bahdalni hada”, or literally translated “it does not matter anymore if I get insulted by anyone”. The song is a very popular song that expresses indignation and discontent with situation Lebanon and the Lebanese people are going through. It entails a kind of surrender to that situation, whereby the Lebanese accept the “miserable” and “insulting” state of being because it had become their status quo. Juxtaposed over the image of President Emile Lahoud,

the song associated insult with President implying that he was no longer affected by the insulting state of affairs he is in. The President had effectively gotten used to the degraded situation that the people were revolting against. So the song, originally, meant to describe the Lebanese people's situation became a description of the situation they were rallying against. The people no longer wished to surrender and the President became symbolic of a state of insult, surrender, degradation and negative acceptance.

The promos even pushed the limits further by showing that the 8th of March coalition was doing acts of vandalism and destruction in video shots showing aggressive and provocative protests. During these shots, the protestors were holding knives and other types of weapons. Dramatic and suspenseful instrumental music was used as background audio so that the shots would have an extra negative impact. Unfortunately, this specific type of music, extracted from foreign soundtracks, is difficult to pin point by name and composer since there is no reference kept from the source they were originally derived from.

The scripts used in all the promos also played a major role and portrayed two different messages. One of the scripts, delivered by two voice over artists, a male and a female, was addressing the viewers with two different approaches, first asking them a question in Arabic "baddak terjaa la wara?", literally translated as such "do you wish to go backwards?" and showing afterwards visuals of explosions, violent riots and inserting sound bites for the 8th of March leaders praising Syria- which was supposed to be considered provocative by the 14th of March supporters. At the end of the promo, the script, delivered by the same voice over artists, asked the viewers to defend their freedom and to participate in the 14th of February 2016 gathering mentioning to them as well the date location.

As much as a script might have an impact on the viewers tackling their emotions so does the voice over reading the script especially when delivered by an excellent/professional manipulative voice over artist. The voice over tonality in the promos was serious, persuasive and angry reflecting a sense of danger to the viewers and making them feel the necessity of participating in the gathering. The script was read by both, a male and a female voice over artists, so that the message will reach a wider range of viewers and, most importantly, to empathize the point that females were involved in the situation the Lebanese people were facing as much as the males were and that their presence in the riot was essential. The voice over was a translation to the script mentioned above - asking the people if they want to go back in time to the days of corruption and occupation.

In the second set of promos the script directly addressed then President Emile Lahoud asking him to leave. The exact words used were “for the sake of Lebanon, leave”. The script was direct, simple and at the same time insulting. The word “fill” or leave in Arabic is considered to be slang and offensive. It is not a respectful way to address political or religious dignitaries. Used in this context, the word is therefore very degrading and undermines the position of the President and his job as the representative of the entire country.

As for sound effects, the promo campaign used this technique to demean the 8th of March coalition and make them look guilty of crime and murder. One of the promos used the Oath of then President Emile Lahoud as a major frame; after each sentence of the Oath, the promo producer introduced the sound effect of the buzzer to suggest guilt and failure to what was being said. For example, the Oath starts as such “I swear to mighty God that I respect the Constitution of the Lebanese Nation” after this sentence we hear the buzzer sound effect, then the Oath continues “and its Laws”,

also we hear the buzzer, “and Guard the Independence of the Lebanese Country”, again we hear the buzzer “and the Safety of its Territories”, after that the Oath ends. Manipulative editing techniques were introduced in this specific section to divert the viewer’s attention and perception from the original purpose and message of the Oath and link it to some major incidents that took place throughout the presidency simply by mixing all the elements at hand in a specific misleading way. Hence, after each sentence mentioned above, and after the buzzer is introduced, and while we are still listening to the rest of the oath, we can see visuals of the martyrs that were targeted from year 2005 till February 2006. Moreover, when we hear the buzzer, a video transitional effect called “dip to red” accompanies it. “Dip to red” shows a solid red color flashing for couple of frames before the video proceeds. This dramatic editing technique suggests that then President Emile Lahoud failed in applying the Oath and second, it blames and frames him as the person responsible for the martyr’s death and all unfortunate incidents Lebanon was facing. Moreover, such video transitions were used in another promo yet with a black color instead of red to portray mystery and evil doing giving viewers a hint of what to expect in the coming shots. Those shots were of violent riots and the video transition between one shot and the next was a “dip to black”.

Furthermore, while all promos that portrayed the 14th of March coalitions were edited in a simple manner to project them in the simplest possible way without any technical complexities, the 8th of March coalition were portrayed in a provocative way by using a special video effect known as “slow motion”. This editing technique makes the video shot play in speed much slower than the original video. Hence, if the original video’s normal speed is 25 frames per second, the slow motion effect would transform it, for example, to 80 frames per second, a much slower speed than the

original. As such, video shots for the 8th of March supporters burning cars, smashing store fronts or even attacking civilians were portrayed in slow motion to emphasize their actions and make them look as provocative as can be. The other shots portrayed in slow motion were the three shots of the explosion that killed Rafik Hariri. The slow motion was to provoke his followers.

Finally, fast editing technique was also used to portray the 8th of March coalition as such: 3 sections composed of 14 video shots, each shot duration was equivalent to 1 frame, were edited as transitions between 8th of March political sound bites. Even though the shots were fast and their content unnoticeable yet, according to the subliminal messages theory, those shots will stick in the unconscious of the viewers and will act negatively on their perception because their content was also violent and aggressive (Pindoria, 2015). Although the shots used in the fast edits were the same shots used in slow motion, it was believed that fast rhythmic editing will have a more powerful impact on the viewers' perception.

The combination of music, script, voice over, sound effects and editing affect the way the promo presents the topic it holds and the messages it portrays. Ghanem (1997) indicates four different framing dimensions: First is the news topic, second is news presentation, third is the cognitive aspect and fourth is the affective attributes. Hence, the topic each promo held by praising the 14th of March coalitions as patriotic and showing the 8th of March coalition as provocative. The way all the variables mentioned earlier were mixed together to reach the desired output. The threat messages hidden in the promo and finally the tone of colors and details in each promo played a major role in altering the viewer's perception regarding both coalitions.

6.4 Video Shots Frame

While most of the video shots used in the promos to portray the 14th of March coalition were selected as emotional and patriotic (6 emotional shots and 15 patriotic), shots that portrayed the 8th of March coalition were selected to project them as terrorists, aggressive and provocative (14 shots linked to terrorism, 5 shots aggressive and 20 shots provocative).

As mentioned earlier in the findings section, emotional and patriotic shots were portrayed by videos of the families of the martyrs mourning their beloved ones and other shots from the 2005 huge gathering that led to independence, and finally the images of all the Martyrs who died or survived the attack. On the other hand, shots portraying the 8th of March coalition as terrorists, aggressive and provocative were those related to violent riots, explosions, and politicians who were known by their loyalty to the Syrian regime. Priming theory, which is considered as an extension of the agenda setting theory, states that the humans (and in this case television viewers) will take decisions based on some preconceptions stored in their memory as nodes, are attached perfectly well and triggered by certain frames (videos and images) they will be subjected to (Mishra, 2017). Hence, the video shots reminding the viewers about the explosions, violent riots, martyrs, and the days of Syrian occupation were carefully selected as per their content and as such believing they will trigger feelings, emotions and memories among the viewers. Finally, when media frames a certain political situation in a form that will reinforce fear of threat in the minds of the viewers, it would be using "threat framing" (Eriksson and Noreen, 2002). At this point, one of the major purposes behind the precise shot selection was to create a state of fear and make the viewers feel threatened by the situation at hand and, as such, react by demanding the resignation of then President Emile Lahoud.

6.5 Chapter Summary

The focus of this study was on four political promos:

Promo 1 “Baddak Terjaa La Wara” or literally translated as “Do You Want to Go Backwards?”

Promo 2 “Sayyidi Al Raees” or literally translated as “Mr. President”.

Promo 3 “Al Shuhadaa” or literally translated as “Martyrs”.

Promos 4 “fill” or literally translated as “Leave”.

The results of the study reports that negative framing of the 8th of March coalition exists; the promos portrayed their leaders as provocative, and their supporters as violent and aggressive. Moreover, the promos framed then President Emile Lahoud as responsible for the assassinations, explosions and the unfortunate incidents that took place in Lebanon during that time. On the other hand, the results of the study also reports that positive framing of the 14th of March coalition exists; the promos portrayed their leaders and supporters as patriotic.

The sound bites frame reveals how the promo producers of the 2006 political promo campaign chose special and well selected sound bites to frame the 8th of March leaders as loyal and supporters to the Syrian regime while the 14th of March leaders as patriotic, refusing any external influence over Lebanese political decisions.

Modifying the video shot colors by adding a dominant blue tone portrayed the 14th of March leaders as wise and loyal while keeping the video shots for the 8th of March leaders in their original colors did not give them any dominancy and hence did not make them stand out. The type of music, style of the script and tonality of the voice over artists differentiated the 14th of March leaders from the 8th of March. Scary, suspenseful and dramatic music was dominant in portraying the 8th of March leaders just to make them look evil (especially when combined with the shot selection), while

the dominant music that accompanied the 14th of March portrayal in the promos was mostly patriotic, and in some occasions dramatic and suspenseful. The direct style used in the promos script played a major role in delivering a clear straight forward message to the viewers, on one hand, asking them to participate in the February 2006 huge protest and, on the second hand, asking then President Emile Lahoud to resign. Moreover, the voice over tonality portrayed by a male and a female voice over artists was serious, persuasive and angry. The buzzer sound effects framed then President Emil Lahoud as a liar and manipulative. The editing style also played a major role in portraying the 8th of March leaders and followers as evil, violent and provocative by using special editing techniques like, slow motion effect, to emphasize on some violent actions. Also some video transitions like, for example, “dip to red and black” was used to portray them as evil and liars while the editing style used to portray the 14th of March leaders was very simple and straight forward. Finally, the shot selection used in the promos had a crucial role in portraying the 8th of March leaders as violent, aggressive and provocative by selecting and focusing on some violent protests, assassinations and explosions while, on the other hand, the 14th of March were portrayed by their shot selection as patriotic (standing tall in protests demanding independence), and always holding the Lebanese flag.

This difference in portraying both coalitions by using manipulative post production tools has a severe result on the credibility of the media especially in producing promos as short as maximum two minutes and can be broadcasted anytime of the day targeting all age groups without any restrictions.

In his argument about the “framing effect”, Tankard (2001) believes that framing is used by media as a major tool in emphasizing one point in their news stories over another. Borah (2011) suggests that media framing is highly dependent on

the tools that the story creators use while creating their stories and the level of manipulation they include and inject in the story lines. Entman (2003) defined framing as the mere purpose of promoting and obtaining a certain desired output by highlighting only bits and pieces of certain events - or issues – and then leaving it up to the viewers to make some connections among them. The content of the framed news should be easily noticed, understood, easy to memorize and should hit on emotions. This is the basis of framing and one of the most important reasons why Future Television used their promotion department as a major weapon in targeting the viewers with promos loaded with pre-planned frames that could reach anyone and at anytime of the day.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The main objective of this study was to analyze the framing techniques used in producing several political promos to achieve a certain objective among the viewers, persuade them of certain ideas and reinforce fear among them. More specifically create a state of indignation towards then President Emile Lahoud showing that he was a major supporter to the Syrians still in position after gaining independence and to differentiate between the two major political powers in Lebanon during that time framing one of them, the 14th of March, as patriotic and framing the other, 8th of March, as provocative.

In a small state that is politically unstable, like Lebanon, and is characterized by its diversity in the sectarian divisions (Dajani, 2005), it is difficult to live without engaging oneself in the daily political news. In a small state like Lebanon, in which seven major television stations are owned by political tycoons and broadcasting with the absence of any media law governing the content of the programs, it is difficult to limit the damage they might cause in broadcasting what suits their purpose and political objectives. The politico-sectarian ownership of media and the lack of accountability that this media labors under make Lebanon the perfect place for setting up political agendas and framing news, each according to their own perspective.

In the year 2005, a massive explosion took place in Beirut and killed then Prime Minister Rafic Hariri. Believing the Syrian regime and their political supporters in Lebanon were behind the assassination, mostly all the Lebanese unified forces and demanded the Syrians to leave the Lebanese soil. The incidents of 2005 gave rise to two major powerful political coalitions, the 8th and the 14th of March.

After one year, and after the Syrians withdrew their troops, their presence stood still by their Lebanese political supporters headed by President Lahoud.

Actions were being planned to rule out Lahoud from presidency. Therefore, to achieve this result, Future television, owned by Rafic Hariri's son Saad Hariri, prepared a special political agenda with a mere objective of preparing a gathering similar to that of 2005 demanding, this time, the resignation of President Emile Lahoud. The plan was set, the campaign was built and the political agenda gave rise to what we called in this paper, political promos. At that time, Future television promotion department produced four different political promos targeting two different objectives. First, the promos were intended to plant fear and threat in the minds of the viewers convincing them about the necessity of joining the 14th of February gathering forcing then President Emile Lahoud to resign otherwise the Syrians will be back. Second, the promos framed the both coalitions differently, the 8th of March were framed as violent, aggressive and provocative while the 14th of March as patriotic. Political promos are considered to be an extremely powerful weapon as they are short in duration, can reach any one anytime of the day depending their broadcast frequency and finally, a political promo, as short as it is can hold extremely powerful frames depending on the several variables it carries.

7.1 Limitations of the Study

The study has some limitations that can be recognized as such:

First, the major part of this study investigates how framing occurs within political promos using several post-production techniques such as shot selection, shot coloring, sound bites, music, script, voice over, sound effects and editing techniques. Since this study is unique as no other studies tackled before what we call in this paper political promos, future research could acquire more in-depth analysis on different framing techniques that occur in the variables mentioned earlier and their effect on the viewers.

Second, there are certain limitations in the content analysis the study used because there is no exact proof whether the viewers were affected by the promos or not and hence whether they participated in the gathering due to the promos and the frames they included or due to any other source of information they received such as the main news, news reports, social media or newspapers.

Third, framing of promos, and hence manipulating certain messages, affects viewers only if they are vulnerable to such manipulation. In other words, if the audiences have solid beliefs about certain issues or subjects, they become resistant to framing and will not be affected by them in any possible means. According to Lodge and Taber (2000), “individuals who hold strong attitudes are least susceptible to new information, most likely to counter argue against contrary information, and most likely to recognize information consistent with their prior beliefs”. As such, viewers might not be affected by political promos as long as they have certain beliefs and are confident about their knowledge.

7.2 Contributions of the Study

This research will open doors for researchers who are interested in discovering the effects of political promos, with all the frames they hold, on the viewers. Since no previous studies were done on political promo and their effects on the viewers, this research might serve as reference point for future studies related to political promo production and their effect on the viewers.

The concept of this study is essential in understanding how manipulative political promos can be when used as tools by political leaders.

Appendix A: Codebook

Coders:

Coder 1

Coder 2

Promos:

Promo 1 “Baddak Terjaa La Wara” or literally translated as “Do You Want to Go Backwards?”

Promo 2 “Sayyidi Al Raees” or literally translated as “Mr. President”.

Promo 3 “Al Shuhadaa” or literally translated as “Martyrs”.

Promos 4 “fill” or literally translated as “Leave”.

Coding Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
Sound bites	Patriotic	Offensive	Provoking	Neutral			None	Other
Shot color	Death	Evil	Wisdom	Mystery	Hope	Loyal	None	Other
Music	Patriotic	Dramatic	Scary	Suspenseful			No music	Other
Script	Direct	Hidden	Simple	Complicated			No Script	Other
Voice over	Serious	Sarcastic	Persuasive	Angry	Suspicious		No Voice	Other
Sound effects	Literal	Non literal	Wallas				None	Other
Editing style	Provocative	Simple	Misleading	Dramatic	Grandiose		None	Other
Video shots	Terrorism	Provocative	Patriotic	Aggressive	Emotional	Violence	None	Other

Sound Bites:

Provocative: Sound bites supporting Syria

Patriotic: Sound Bites criticizing Emile Lahoud

Neutral

Shot color:

Normal colors – left in the original shot color, no modifications:

Bluish

Red

Black

Editing:

Fast edits

Slow motion

Dip to color

Normal edits

Special effects

SOUND BITES	Patriotic	Offensive	Provoking	Neutral	None	Other
8 th of March						
14 th of March						

VIDEO SHOTS COLOR	Death	Evil	Wisdom	Mystery	Hope	Loyal	None	Other
8 th of March								
14 th of March								

MUSIC	Patriotic	Dramatic	Scary	Suspenseful	No music	Other
8 th of March						
14 th of March						

SCRIPT	Direct	Hidden	Simple	Complicated	No Script	Other
8 th of March						
14 th of March						

VOICE OVER	Serious	Sarcastic	Persuasive	Angry	Suspicious	No Voice over	Other
8 th of March							
14 th of March							

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