CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are three main parts in this chapter. The first two parts The Image and Content Analysis deal with related theories of the study. The third part, Previous Researches, highlights the similar researches on the images of politicians done by other scholars before.

3.1 The Image

An image is a conception that we have of people, institutions, or nations; a mental picture we have of something that is not physically present. [1]

The image should be distinguished from the messages that reach it. The messages consist of information in the sense that they are structured experiences. The meaning of a message is the change, which it produces in the image. When a message hits an image one of three things can happen. In the first place, the image may remain unaffected. The great majority of messages are of this kind. Secondly, the message may affect the image. It may change the image in some rather regular and well-defined way that might be described as simple addition. Thirdly, the message may cause a revolutionary change of the image. Sometimes a message hits some sort of nucleus or supporting structure in the image, and the whole thing changes in a quite radical way. Fourthly, messages may have the effect of clarifying the image, that is, making something, which previously was regarded as less certain, more certain, or something, which was previously seen in a vague way, clearer. Messages may also have the contrary effect. They may introduce doubt or uncertainty into the image. The impact of messages on the certainty of the image is of great importance in the interpretation of human behaviour. [2]

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[1] Timothy A. Borchers, Persuasion in The Media Age, (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005), p. 248.
[2] Kenneth E. Boulding, The Image, (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1956), p. 7.

The subjective knowledge structure or image of any individual or organisation consists not only of images of "fact" but also images of "value."

The image of man is rich and complex beyond expression. The image can be classified in the following ways: First, the spatial image, the picture of the individual's location in the space around him. Second, we have the temporal image, his picture of the stream of time and his place in it. Third, we have the relational image, the picture of the universe around him as a system of regularities. Fourth, there is the personal image, the picture of the individual in the midst of the universe of persons, roles, and organisations around him. Fifth, we have the value image, which consists of the ordering on the scale of better or worse of the various parts of the whole image. Sixth, we have the affectional image, or emotional image, by which various items in the rest of the image are imbued with feeling or affect. Seventh, we have the division of the image into conscious, unconscious, and subconscious areas. Eighth, we have a dimension of certainty or uncertainty, clarity or vagueness. Ninth, we have a dimension of reality or unreality, that is, an image of the correspondence of the image itself with some "outside" reality. Tenth, closely related to this but not identical with it, we have a public, private scale according to whether the image is shared by others or is peculiar to the individual. [3]

The image is a pseudo-ideal. It has some certain characteristics as follow: [4]

• An image is synthetic. It is planned, created especially to serve a purpose, to make a certain kind of impression.

• An image is believable. It serves no purpose if people do not believe it. In their own minds, they must make it stand for the institution or the person imaged.

• An image is passive. Since the image is already supposed to be in agreement with reality, the producer of the image is expected to fit into the image – rather than to strive toward it.

• An image is vivid and concrete. It often serves its purpose best by appealing to the senses.

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[3] ibid, pp. 47-48.

[4] Daniel J. Boorstin, The Image: A Guide To Pseudo-Events in America, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964), pp. 185-193.

• An image is simplified. In order to exclude undesired and undesirable aspects, an image must be simpler than the object it represents.

• An image is ambiguous. It floats somewhere between the imagination and the senses, between expectation and reality.

3.2 Content Analysis

3.2.1 Definition

Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. [5]

As a research technique, content analysis involves specialised procedures for processing scientific data. Like all research techniques, its purpose is to provide knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts, and a practical guide to action. Any instrument of science is expected to be reliable. It means that when other researchers, at different points in time and under different circumstances, apply the same technique to the same data, the results must be the same. This is the requirement of a content analysis to be replicable.

Berelson, on the other hand, defines content analysis as " a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". [6] The requirement of the technique to be "objective" and "systematic" is of course subsumed under the requirement of replicability in the definition.

Holsti and Stone argue for a definition that deviates from Berelson's in at least two important ways. First, it recognised the inferential character of coding textual units into conceptual categories. Second, it makes these inferences a central concern: "Content analysis is a research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within a text. [7] Thus, although their definition

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[5] Klaus Krippendorff, Content Analysis An Introduction to Its Methodology (California: SAGE Publications, 1980), p. 21.

[6] B. Berelson, Content Analysis in Communications Research (New York: Free Press, 1952), p. 18.

[7] P.J Stone, D.C. Dunphy, M.S. Smith and D.M. Ogilvie, The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966), p. 45.

recognises the inferential nature of identifying the forms of ideas, values, and attitudes to which content analysis attends, it does not make explicit the importance of relating the classification, categorisation, and frequency counts of these forms to other phenomena. This is necessary if the results of a content analysis are to be empirically meaningful.

Janis pointed to the need for validating the results of content analysis of mass communications by relating them to audience perceptions or to behavioural effects. [8] Content analysis, in this way, is demanded to be predictive of something that is observable in principle, to aid decision making, or to help conceptualise that portion of reality that gave rise to the analysed text. To this end, any content analysis is suggested to be performed relative to and justified in terms of the context of the data.

The definition of content analysis describes the object of inquiry and places the researcher into a particular position vis-à-vis his reality. Based on previous work [9], the following offers a conceptual framework within which his role can be represented. The framework is simple and general, employing only a few basic concepts:

• the data as communicated to the analysis

• the context of data

• how the analyst's knowledge partititions his reality

• the target of a content analysis

• inference as the basic intellectual task

• validity as ultimate criteria of success.

The framework is intended to serve three purposes: prescriptive, analytical, and methodological. It is prescriptive in the sense that it should guide the conceptualisation and the design of practical content analyses for any circumstance; analytical in the sense that it should facilitate the critical examination of content analysis results obtained by others; and methodological in the sense that it should direct the growth and systematic improvement of methods for content analysis.

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[8] I.L. Janis, The Problem of Validating Content Analysis (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965), pp. 52-82.

[9] K. Krippendorff, Theories and Analytical Constructs: Introduction in G. Gerbner et al. (eds.) The Analysis of Communication Content (New York: John Wiley, 1969), pp. 3-16.

Content analysis has several distinctions as follows:

• This is not an obvious technique.

• Content analysis accepts unstructured material.

• Content analysis is context sensitive and thereby able to process symbolic forms.

• Content analysis can cope with large volumes of data.

3.2.2 Uses and Kinds of Inference

Janis [10] offers the following classification:

a. Pragmatic Content Analysis: procedures, which clarify signs according to their probable causes and effects.

b. Semantical Content Analysis: procedures, which classify signs according to their meanings.

• designation analysis: provides the frequency with which certain objects (persons, things, groups or concepts) are referred to, that is, roughly speaking subject matter analysis.

• attribution analysis: provides the frequency with which certain characterisations are referred to.

• assertions analysis: provides the frequency with which certain objects are characterised in a particular way, that is, roughly speaking, thematic analysis.

c. Sign-Vehicle Analysis: procedures, which classify content according to the psychophysical properties of the signs.

Berelson [11] lists 17 uses:

• to describe trends in communication content

• to trace the development of scholarship

• to disclose international differences in communication content

• to compare media or "levels" of communication

• to audit communication content against objectives

• to construct and apply communication standards

• to aid in technical research operations (to code open-ended questions in survey

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[10] I.L. Janis (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965).
[11] B. Berelson (New York: Free Press, 1952).

interviews)

• to expose propaganda techniques

• to measure the "readability" of communication materials

• to discover stylistic features

• to identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicators

• to determine the psychological state of persons or groups

• to detect the existence of propaganda (primarily for legal purposes)

• to secure political and military intelligence

• to reflect attitudes, interests, and values ("cultural patterns") of population groups

• to reveal the focus of attention

• to describe attitudinal and behavioral responses to communications.

Stone and Dunphy [12] describe applications of content analysis in such empirical domains as:

• psychiatry

• psychology

• history

• anthropology

• education

• philosophy and literary analysis

• linguistics,

with journalism and mass communication seen as the historical origin of the technique.

Holsti [13], like Janis places data in the context of communication between some sender and some receiver and surveys content analyses in terms of three principal purposes:

• to describe characteristics of communication – asking *what, how,* and *to whom* something is said

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[12] P.J Stone et al. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966).

[13] O.R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

• to make inferences as to the antecedents of communication – asking *why* something is said

• to make inferences as to the effects of communication – asking *with what effects* something is said.

3.2.3 Content Analysis Design

Krippendorff suggests several different components or steps in the process: [14]

• data making

    unitisation

    sampling
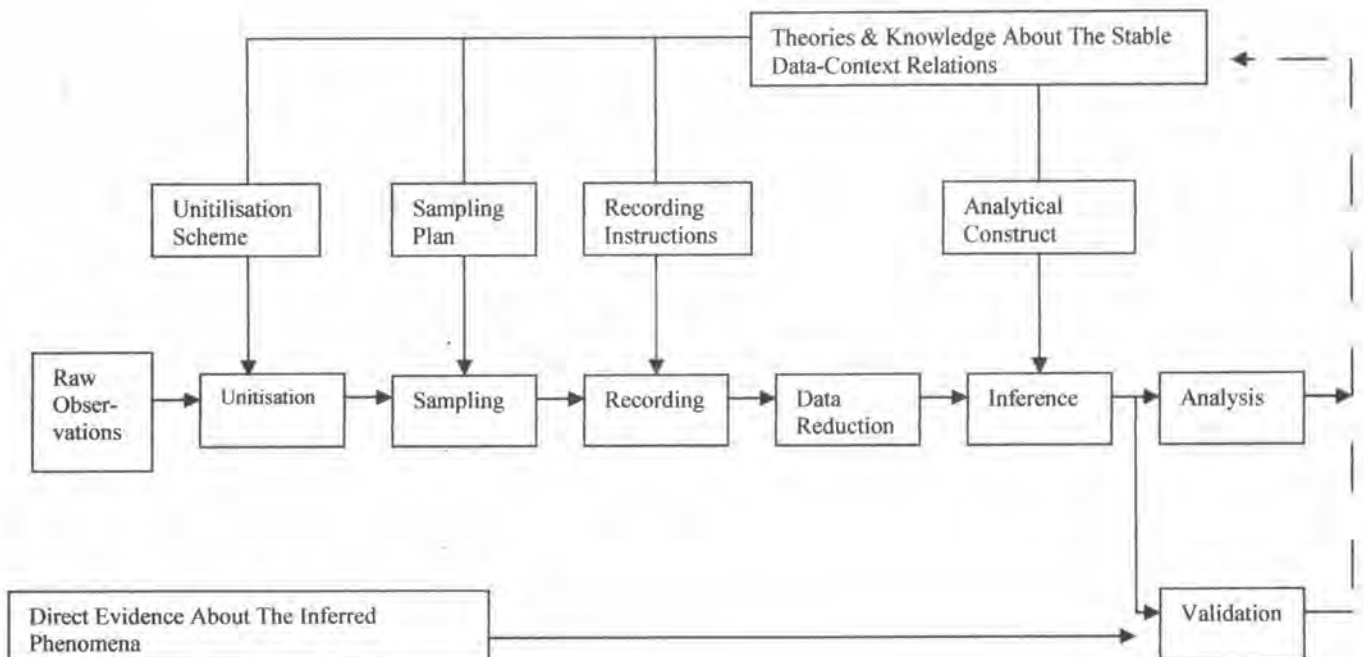
    recording

• data reduction

• inference

• analysis

Figure 3.1 Procedures in Content Analysis

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[14] ibid, pp. 52-55.

a. Data Making

A datum is a unit of information that is recorded in a durable medium, distinguishable from other data, analysable by explicit techniques, and relevant to a particular problem. So defined, data are not absolute facts. They are cast into a particular form for some particular purpose and much effort in content analysis is devoted to bringing unstructured and vicarious information of often momentary existence into an analysable form.

Unitising, sampling, and recording data are somewhat interlinked. Sampling one proportion from one kind of unit and another proportion from another kind of unit, for example, requires the ability to distinguish between the two kinds, which is an important part of the recording process. Unitising can also be done during the recording phase of a content analysis. When the whole population of data are analysed, sampling is not needed.

It is noteworthy that there are several kinds of sampling data in content analysis namely random sample, stratified samples, systematic sampling, cluster sampling, varying probability sampling and multistage sampling.

Random sample involves listing all relevant units (issues of newspapers, documents, speeches, or sentences) about which generalisations are intended. To determine which unit is then to be included in the sample, the plan may call for the use of dice, a roulette wheel, a random number table, or of any other device that assigns equal probabilities to each unit.

Stratified sampling recognises several distinct subpopulations within a population called strata. Each sampling unit belongs to one stratum only. Random sampling is carried out in each stratum separately so that the resulting sample reflects a priority distinctions known to exist within the population.

Systematic sampling involves selecting every k^{th} unit of a list into the sample after determining the starting point of the sequence at random. The systematic sampling

is favoured when data stem from regularly appearing publications, sequences of interpersonal interaction, and the stringlike order of writing, film, and music.

Cluster sampling uses groups of elements as sampling units. Groups exhibit natural designations and boundaries. The selection of one group brings all of its elements into the sample and, because groups contain unknown numbers of elements, the probability that a unit will be included in a sample depends on the group size.

Varying probability sampling assigns probabilities of inclusion in a sample to each unit according to some a priori criterion. Subsampling with probabilities according to size is the most common procedure yielding what are often called *proportional samples*. The criteria for assigning probabilities must be explicit (unlike in clustering) and justified in terms of the overall research design.

Multistage sampling occurs when frequently samples are drawn using one or more sampling procedures in succession. This may be considered a modification of clustering.

There is no set answer for the question of how large the sample should be. When all sampling units are exactly identical, a sample size of one is satisfactory. The comparison between samples of 6, 12, 18, 24 and 48 issues of a newspaper with the issues of an entire year has offered a result that using the average proportion of subject matter as a measure, increasing the sample size beyond 12 did not produce significantly more accurate findings. [15]

A test for the appropriate size of a sample, which does not require an analysis of the whole population, is the so-called "split-half technique" where a sample is randomly divided into two parts of equal size. If either part supports the same statistical conclusions within the same level of confidence, the whole can be accepted as an adequately sized sample. [16]

b. Data Reduction

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[15] G.H Stempel, Sample Size for Classifying Subject Matter in Dailies: Research in Brief, Journalism Quarterly 29: 333-334, 1952.

[16] Klaus Krippendorff, Content Analysis An Introduction to Its Methodology (California: SAGE Publications, 1980), p. 69.

Data reduction will not be elaborated here because it either presents no problem or can be treated under analysis. Although it may occur everywhere in the research design, it is principally geared to ease computational efforts, tailoring the form of available data into one required by the analytical technique. Data reduction may be statistical, algebraic, or simply a question of omitting what turns out to be irrelevant detail.

c. Inference

Inference is the "raison d'être" for any content analysis. It "consumes" all the knowledge a content analysis may have about the way data are related to their context and this knowledge will be strengthened with inferential successes.

d. Analysis

Analysis concerns the more conventional processes of identification and representation of patterns that are noteworthy, statistically significant, or otherwise accounting for or descriptive of the content analysis results. [17]

3.2.4 Images, Portrayals, Discriminant Analysis

Many content analyses focus on a special entity, person, idea, or event and attempt to find out how it is depicted or conceptualised, what is symbolic image is. Examples of such studies are "the portrayal of public spokeswomen' images through printed media," "images of women politicians portrayed in newspapers," "how the United States is depicted in Mexican dailies," and "what the public knows about the Bell System." There are two approaches to this form of analysis:

• attributes, frequency profiles, distributional properties

• associations.

When studying the image of a political candidate by the attribution approach, the content analyst may record; tabulate, and count everything that pertains to that candidate, what is said about him, the characteristics attributed to him and by whom, what he says, the people he associates with, or his socioeconomic background.

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[17] ibid, pp. 52-55.

From an attributional point of view, an image of something is a systematic presentation of all that is known or said to be unique about that something.

From an associational point of view an image consists of all the things with which it is associated and excludes all the things with which it is dissociated. Association/dissociation is a statistical concept assessing degrees to which selected concepts occur. The image of a candidate thus becomes that associational cluster of which the candidate is a part and which contrasts with that of others. [18]

3.3 Previous Researches

There are many related researches exploring the images of political figures. Among them, the following two are the most relevant to this study:

Wirat Saengdowchay wrote an MA thesis in 1988 titled "The Image of General Prem Tinsulanonda in Thai Newspapers," which focused on the style of the image presentation of two types of newspapers, namely, popular newspapers and quality ones in order to realise the roles of mass media in presenting General Tinsulanonda's image on the two types of newspapers. *Thai Rath* and *Matichon* were chosen for the study as representatives of popular and quality newspapers, respectively. The period for study was from July 27, 1986 to January 31, 1988. Content analysis theory has been applied in the research.

The study figured out that General Tinsulanonda's image was differentiated in accord with the information each type of newspapers presented. This significant roles were classified into five dimensions, namely, politics, economics, military, strengthening relationship between the government and its people and supporting the royal institute. Each dimension was presented at different amount of content and style of presentation. For the role of mass media, they usually presented indicative information on General Tinsulanonda rather than inform readers and let them make their own decision.

On newspapers, General Tinsulanonda was called by nicknames with positive

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[18] ibid, pp. 112-114.

meanings rather than negative ways and they implied appreciation for some of his outstanding characteristics, especially, the most frequently presented "honesty". In criticism context of any column and/or regular news report it was found that the nicknames were widely used to express conclusive attitude of the mass media towards General Tinsulanonda's roles and characteristics, which made newspaper readers, get the clear image of General Tinsulanonda as the mass media intended.

It was found that the characteristics of the image and the style of presentation on the two types of newspapers presented General Tinsulanonda's roles in many dimensions with some figures which were very much in common including the usage of the same names, words or phrases at the similar amount. The obvious difference of the two types of newspapers was the frequency of role words or phrases on General Tinsulanonda presentation at different amount.

Toungporn Jampasri, more recently, conducted another study with the title "Image of Thaksin Shinawatra in Thai Newspapers". Apart from studying Thaksin's image in the newspapers, she also aimed to study the role of newspapers in the image presentation of Thaksin relating to the political development of the readers and to study the factors influencing the information of political image of Thaksin by political editors. The research used both content analysis method and in-depth interviews. Four dailies namely *Thai Rath*, *Daily News*, *Krungthep Turakij* and *Puchakan* were analysed.

The content analysis revealed that the image of Thaksin in the newspapers were mostly neutral. The negative and positive views were minimal.

The four dailies had the role in promoting the political development of the people. They provided a free platform for a variety of opinions. They also helped bring problems into discussion, activate more political participation and cooperation and broaden the readers' knowledge.

Information about Thaksin was presented mostly by *Thai Rath*. Most presentation was in critics' column. The other means were gossip column, articles/reports and editorials. The information related mostly to politics, then appeared less in economics,

society and culture, and mass media. This proved that the newspapers presented him most as a politician.

Newspapers used words or phrases, which indicated the characteristics of Thaksin. Most of them were behavioural ones. The content suggested improvement rather than appreciation. Suggestions often aimed at his speaking behaviour.

Words, nicknames, pronouns reflecting the attitude toward the actions and behaviours of Thaksin were widely used instead of his name in the newspapers.

In-depth interviews showed that there were internal and external factors influencing the presentation of Thaksin's image. The internal factors included background of Thaksin and characteristics of Thaksin while the external involved the fact that Thai Rak Thai was a new party with new policies.

From the reviews above, it is clear that the image of political figures in newspapers has attracted no little attention from scholars in Thailand. However, there have not been any researches on the image of Thaksin in the English language newspapers, which might be a little different to that in Thai language ones due to different readerships as well as political agendas. This study aims to explore the image of the ousted PM in the two leading English language dailies in Thailand: *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* to comprehend what kind of image that Thaksin has been presented to English-speaking readers, from which certain conclusions on press freedom in Thailand might be drawn. Unlike the above-mentioned researches, this study is not only based on articles of the newspapers but also Letters to the Editors, which express readers' view. The study also involves analysing photos and cartoons depicting Thaksin. This offers more diverse judgement on the image reflected. The methodology used in this study will be discussed in details in the next chapter.