

Eliciting Hierarchy-Enhancing Legitimizing Myths (E-HELM)

How do we learn about the stories that groups tell to justify their actions?

David Last

Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society
Royal Military College of Canada

Prepared By:

David Last

Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society
Royal Military College of Canada

Contractor's Document Number:

Contract Project Manager: James W. Moore, 416-635-2000 Ext.3035

PWGSC Contract Number:

CSA: Afzal Upal, 416-635-2170

The scientific or technical validity of this Contract Report is entirely the responsibility of the Contractor and the contents do not necessarily have the approval or endorsement of Defence R&D Canada.

Defence R&D Canada – Toronto

Contract Report

DRDC Toronto CR 2011-144

February 2013

Principal Author

Original signed by David Last

David Last

Politics and Economics, Royal Military College of Canada

Approved by

Original signed by James W. Moore

James W. Moore

Socio-cognitive Systems Section

Approved for release by

Original signed by Dr. Stergios Stergiopoulos

Dr. Stergios Stergiopoulos

Acting Chair, Knowledge and information Management Committee, Acting Chief
Scientist

- © Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, as represented by the Minister of National Defence, 2013
- © Sa Majesté la Reine (en droit du Canada), telle que représentée par le ministre de la Défense nationale, 2013

Abstract

Hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths are stories told to justify domination, including in-group glorification (Canada is best) and out-group denigration (Canadians are better than Americans). This project explored alternative methods to elicit such myths, tested a tool to select the most appropriate method for particular circumstances, and prepared for a research ethics submission for subsequent work. For an information-saturated environment with ready access to mass media, Susemihl describes methods of eliciting myths communicated through literature, mass media, Internet and blogs. Textual analysis, content analysis, interpretive analysis, semiotics, psychoanalysis and discourse analysis are illustrated for children's literature, radio, television, Internet and blogs. Appropriate to a saturated or less dense communications environment, Bogdanic describes techniques including key informant narrative interviewing, purposive sampling, the application of Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT), and Q methodology. SCT focuses on shared fantasies that involve the audience in a drama. Q methodology has the advantage of drawing data from very small samples. Bogdanic also describes framing and stereotyping, which serve similar functions to myths. When access is difficult and information is scarce, anthropological techniques can still be used. Thomson describes gaining permission to enter, dealing with surveillance, recruiting respondents, and forms of interference by authorities. Finan demonstrated the use of analytic hierarchy process (AHP) as a tool to select the most appropriate method according to stakeholder considerations. Lagacé-Roy provided guidance on ethical considerations in approving research and remains available for consultation in the next phase of the study.

Résumé

Les mythes de légitimation qui améliorent des hiérarchies sont des histoires que nous racontons pour justifier la domination. Ils incluent la glorification de groupe d'initiés (le Canada est le meilleur) et le dénigrement des groupes dehors (les Canadiens sont meilleurs que des Américains). Ce projet a exploré des méthodes de choix pour obtenir de tels mythes, a vérifié un outil pour choisir la méthode la plus appropriée, et préparé à une soumission d'éthique de recherches. Pour un environnement information-saturé avec l'accès facile aux médias, Susemihl décrit des méthodes d'obtenir des mythes communiqués par la littérature, les médias, l'Internet, et les blogs. L'analyse textuel, analyse du contenu, analyse interprétative, sémiotique, psycho-analyse et l'analyse de discours sont illustrées pour la littérature d'enfants, la radio, la télévision, l'Internet et les blogs. Utile dans un environnement saturé ou moins dense de transmissions, Bogdanic décrit des techniques comprenant des entrevues avec les informateurs principaux, choisissant une population témoin pour un but, l'application de la théorie de convergence symbolique (TCS), et méthodologie Q. La méthodologie Q a l'avantage des données de schéma des populations témoins très petits. Bogdanic décrit également encadrer et stéréotyper, qui remplissent les fonctions semblables aux mythes. Quand l'accès est difficile et l'information est rare, des techniques anthropologiques peuvent être utilisées. Thomson décrit gagner la permission d'entrer, traitant la surveillance, les répondants recruteurs, et les formes de l'interférence par des autorités. Finan a expliqué l'utilisation du processus de hiérarchie analytique (AHP) comme outil de choisir la méthode la plus appropriée selon des considérations de commanditaire. Lagacé-Roy a fourni des conseils sur des considérations morales et reste disponible pour la consultation pendant la phase suivante de la recherche.

Executive summary

Eliciting Hierarchy-Enhancing Legitimizing Myths (E-HELM): How do we learn about the stories that groups tell to justify their actions?

**David Last; DRDC Toronto CR 2011-144; Defence R&D Canada – Toronto;
February 2013.**

Introduction: This summary serves as an introduction to the papers provided with this Report, and summarizes insights from the Research Project, which are relevant to the larger problem of eliciting hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths (E-HELM). To do so, it sometimes goes beyond the content of the papers included.

The Socio-cognitive Systems Section (SCS/DRDC Toronto) commissioned this Contract Report in support of the Technology Investment Fund (TIF) Project entitled *A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Armed Non-State Actors (ANSAs): Strategic Roles and Operational Dynamics* (Project Code 10az01, formerly 10ad08; hereafter “the ANSA Project”). TIF Projects are forward-looking, high-risk – but potentially high pay-off – research endeavours conducted under the auspices of DRDC, the Science and Technology agency of DND Canada.

As part of the larger study of armed non-state actors and ways of influencing potential adversaries, this research sought to find ways to identify, to learn about and to understand the narratives that groups use to justify their actions: what stories are they telling? What do the stories mean to them? What kinds of actions might they justify? The larger Project might have some potential to contribute to a model of social behaviour, within which threatening individuals and groups might be identified, and through which influence operations using focused information might change the way that people think, and thereby avoid conflict and violence at minimum cost. Although this is still a remote prospect, there are a number of steps necessary for progress, of which this study is one.

In October 2010 DRDC sponsored a workshop on “Armed Non-State Actors: Understanding Strategic Roles and Operational Dynamics”, the culminating event for Phase 1 of the ANSA Project. In his presentation to the workshop, Principal Investigator James Moore (SCS/DRDC) defined an armed non-state actor as “an autonomously operating planned group that has the capacity to use violence to achieve political ends.” Although autonomous, they may choose to cooperate with states just as they may pose threats, and although they may not be territorially based, there may be some degree of territorial control, sometimes concealed. They have a basic command structure and a capacity for violence. Although violent non-state actors (Mulaj 2009: 1) is a competing term, it is not inevitable that such groups are violent or hostile to states. Part of the objective of the research is to determine how and why they become so, and how this can be influenced or prevented.

Matthew Lauder’s (SCS/DRDC) *Project Hydra: Using Red Teams to Better Appreciate socio-cultural variables in armed non-state actors*, is also related to this work. Red teams provide alternative perspectives through tapping a distributed network of academic experts, for both

substantive and methodological expertise. Substantive knowledge of the contribution of clan and Islamic identities to armed non-state actors in Somalia can be usefully combined with expertise about red teaming methods in consultation. This can contribute to understanding how armed groups frame the narratives that justify their actions. *Project Eos* (15ag01 and 10az01) over the coming year connects with several aspects of this work. Gaps in our understanding of human terrain, knowledge of collaboration with indigenous irregular military forces over time, and approaches to individual and collective profiling will all enhance our appreciation of the complex social environment surrounding irregular warfare. Most importantly, we hope to find alternatives to kinetic force, which has often proved limited or counterproductive in managing irregular forces.

Also relevant to understanding armed non-state groups in general is *Studying Hostile, Deceptive, and Dangerous Surroundings: Report of a Workshop on Social Research Methods for Non-Permissive Environments* (Last et al. 2010). This DRDC-sponsored workshop (held at the Royal Military College of Canada in March 2010) and record of discussion describes ethnographic and qualitative collection techniques, financial and economic analysis (including open source compilations and FINTRAC tools), policing tools (including proceeds of crime tools and special enforcement units) and use of polls and surveys.

Social psychological factors are evidently connected to patterns of violent extremism, but the mediating factors are not always evident. Exclusion and deprivation, which might be converted into hostility and violence against particular targets, may be determined or at least revealed by the stories that are told to explain causes and effects, villains and heroes, and actions that must be taken.

Donald Taylor, Michael Wohl and Michael King have worked with the ANSA Project to present a “self-concept structure” in which collective identity is constructed from personal and collective identity and esteem, and collective esteem. Their research (Taylor et al. 2010) reported at the ANSA summit in October 2010 explores the extent to which groups are motivated to defend identities that are under threat. Wohl describes some of the emotions that we understand as collective motivators, generating specific types of behaviour. Anger can generate approach or attack scenarios when a group feels strong, and fear can generate avoidance when a group feels weak. Collective angst about the future vitality of a group (Wohl, Branscombe & Reyson 2010) can generate an emotional response to a perceived threat, even when it is distance from current lived experience. Collective narratives have enormous power to construct the meaning of events. Identity is shaped by the self-told history of a group or the story of “our group” in distinction to other groups, but also by social representation of events through rumour, conspiracy theories and legitimizing myths.

Papers by David Anderson, Bronwyn Bruton, Andrew Grant, Peter Pham, William Reno and Jonathan Stevenson in support of Phase 2 of the ANSA Project provide a variety of perspectives on the influence of clan and Islamic identities on armed non-state groups in Somalia and the Horn of Africa, particularly Al-Shabaab (Last & Seaboyer 2011). Although clan and Islamic identity are crucial variables for understanding collective identity and the dynamics of armed groups in the region, the techniques applied in these six papers do not provide first-hand insights into the collective narratives of the groups. They are the views of outsiders looking in, rather than an emic understanding of the thinking of the groups themselves. The study reported here was designed to provide tools to allow collection of emic data, effectively eliciting the hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths from primary sources.

This Report is intended to fill part of the gap by providing tools that can be used in different environments to understand collective narratives. First, the tools to be used will have to vary depending on the nature of the environment. Secondly, the analytical methods will depend on the types of information available. Third, a selection tool is helpful to decide what combination of elicitation and analysis methods are appropriate for different circumstances. Finally, before field research is conducted, the study must clear research ethics.

Results: The three chapters on methods commissioned for this study provide a spectrum of possible tools to elicit hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths in different environments, along with a set of tools to analyze the content of these myths. The fourth chapter on the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) allows stakeholders to set the criteria by which they will select a tool, then apply the criteria to determine which tool is most appropriate. Finally, the discussion of ethical considerations in the fifth chapter positions the next phase of research to move quickly to test some of the tools on a domestic audience.

Consider a spectrum of environments within which we might seek to understand legitimizing myths. At one end is our own society, densely laced with information, with which we are intimately familiar, and for which there are no barriers to comprehension, save perhaps complexity, the glut of abundance, and the difficulty of our proximity to the problem. At the other end of the spectrum are environments that do not have readily accessible mass media, electronic or print media, and for which there are significant barriers to Canadians who are trying to understand the information that they can access. An example is the environment in Somalia or the Horn of Africa, where access is difficult, linguistic and cultural differences impede comprehension, and violence creates additional barriers to collection. In the mid-range we might place western societies that have experienced or are experiencing conflict, like Northern Ireland, the Balkans or Lebanon, where there are varying degrees of cultural and linguistic barriers.

Overlaid on this spectrum of environments is a web of information provided by a global network of displaced communities, individual contributors (including experts with varying degrees of verifiable expertise), and remotely accessible electronic media. Part of the narrative of any group is broadcast in indigenous or international languages on widely accessible web sites, blogs, videos and chat rooms. It may be difficult to determine the extent to which this distributed network reflects the genuine narratives of the groups of interest. For example, discussions conducted in Internet chat-rooms in English, populated mainly by teenagers in North America who have never lived in the Horn of Africa, probably differ dramatically from group narratives in Somali *Benaadir* or *Maay* dialects, which have virtually no Internet presence. But the interface between these two narratives may result in mutual influence or eventual recruitment and action.

A general problem with all of the techniques suggested here is the inherent uncertainty of the impact of narratives upon reproduction of narratives and upon subsequent action. When we can identify a coherent narrative or myth, repetitively recounted by a group, it will be only one of many such myths, often with contradictory messages, and often evolving over time. When we can search a variety of different sources in an information rich environment, (such as children's stories in the home-country, socialization narratives in schools, historical narratives repeated within the group, media accounts over time, diaspora stories of the homeland, and so on) we are more likely to find divergences in the narratives. When we have limited access and rely on small samples and anecdotal stories of a few contacts, we may have a more coherent picture, but less certainty about the extent to which it represents the narrative of a larger group.

There are important variables that are not salient in these studies, but which should be kept in mind as we design future research to elicit hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths. Hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating myths are conceptually related to ideologies, religions and social movements, all of which are involved in the construction of collective identity. Taking narratives (HELMs) as the independent variable and collective identity as the dependent variable assumes a target group of interest. Some of the variables describing the target group that might be relevant to research design include: the scale of the target group—how big is it relative to other groups in society; the centrality of the narrative to a group—is it uncontested, or just one of many competing narratives; the group’s situation within society—is it a dominant or marginal group; the longevity of the group—has it successfully survived for multiple generations, or does it have no effective vehicle for intergenerational transmission of identity. James Moore’s Concept Map (CMap) dissection of armed non-state actors is an effective vehicle for mapping and situating these variables (Moore 2011).

Overview. The three methodological chapters by Susemihl, Bogdanic and Thomson provide a range of alternatives to address the spectrum of environments that are of interest, and to some extent help offset the inherent problems of identifying legitimizing myths from a variety of sources. Together, they offer some potential for triangulation.

Dr. Genviève Susemihl’s (University of Greifswald) background in sociology, literature and communications gives her a broad perspective on tools that can be applied to data-rich environments like Europe and North America.

Dr. Aleksandar Bogdanic (Banja Luka College of Communications) trained in sociology and communications, but his main work has been the effort to understand the narratives of conflict in the Balkans, including living and researching there throughout the civil war of the 1990s and its aftermath. The elicitation and analytical tools that he suggests are particularly germane to understanding collective narratives in fragmented and disintegrating societies, and those which are endeavouring to recover from protracted conflict.

Dr. Susan Thomson (Hampshire College) is an anthropologist with experience conducting research in post-conflict Rwanda. Her insights into work with traumatized populations in the face of interference from authorities offer a number of lessons for designing work in data-poor environments, where direct contact with locals may be the only way to elicit the stories that make sense of their experience, and help to evaluate their perceptions and likely actions.

Susemihl provides a good introduction to the notion of *text*, comprising all meaningful artifacts of culture. In a data-rich environment like Canada, the act of “eliciting” a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth lies not so much in collecting information, but in selectively interpreting information that surrounds us. Careful choice is necessary to select from children’s stories, soap operas, television, radio, newspapers, popular films, and books, to name but a few. Although Susemihl is silent on this matter of choice, the scholars cited illustrate a variety of choice techniques, ranging from samples of convenience to targeting the output of particular groups, and sampling widely from mass media. In a data-rich environment, the target of the analysis drives the elicitation technique, and the important variable is the analytical tool.

Textual analysis can use combinations of qualitative and quantitative design. The most common quantitative method is content analysis—a systematic technique for compressing a large number

of elements (e.g., words or images) into a sample with a smaller number of categories based on coding rules. These categories can then be explored with frequency counts. Frequency counts are comparatively objective and can be combined with qualitative methods to assess the context and nature of most frequent messages or tropes.

Qualitative methods, or interpretive textual analysis, include techniques such as semiology, psychoanalysis, and discourse analysis, each of which helps to interpret the narratives that have been collected. Depending on the form of “text” some methods may be easier to apply than others. Semiology or semiotics is the study of signs, and searches for the dominant codes or myths that underlie the appearance of symbols, like a Canadian flag with a marijuana leaf in place of a maple leaf; what does this mean to people deploying it? How does it fit into broader patterns of meaning? Semiology might be applied directly through surveys or questionnaires (“what does this mean to you?”) or indirectly by exploring the association or contexts in which a sign or symbol appears systematically. The same is true of psychoanalysis, which might engage an audience directly, or by analyzing the coincidence of text and audience to produce meaning.

Susemihl examines studies that explore five different types of source material from which legitimizing myths might be deduced or examined: children’s literature, radio, television, Internet and web-blogs. To some extent, these are all evolving and interconnected fields, although children’s literature and radio are probably less rapidly evolving than TV, Internet and blogs. Children’s literature is particularly important because of the role it plays in inter-generational transfer of narratives. Of particular interest are studies of the cohesion-inducing narratives of colonialism and the way that these narratives have been transformed into critiques of colonialism, which are implicated in many intractable conflicts. The trope of indigenous and colonizing groups is relevant to conflicts between Greek and Turk Cypriots, Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, Jews and Arabs in Israel-Palestine, and many other conflicts involving armed non-state actors. The way that narratives evolve to reflect social aspirations seems key to understanding them.

Radio journalism is interesting because it extends the reach of narratives to larger audiences, and adds the emotive content of sound effects and music (Char 1985). As audiences expand, foreign or countervailing domestic audiences and media might react to the narratives, creating mutually reinforcing counter-narratives. Susemihl describes television as the “most popular medium today” having primacy in the lives of young people, but this is probably a western-centric view and may be changing with the emergence of new media. The diversity of approaches and methods in Susemihl’s sources suggest that the formative influence of TV is not well understood. Semiotic analysis is one way of trying to grasp substantive results out of the bewildering detail of choice in the TV universe. Atallah (2007) suggests that many of these studies are not very helpful, and that studies should rather focus on the behaviour of audiences (e.g., who is watching what and why), and on the institutionalization of TV (e.g., the growth of ethnic outlets and local-language vehicles in a multicultural society).

The distinction between Internet and blogs is not clear, and is used in different ways by many of the researchers cited. Susemihl uses the former to include email communications and material published on web sites, while the latter appears to be a subset of the former, consisting of a particular kind of routine publication by individuals and groups, which might be particularly helpful for understanding group narratives. Electronic chat-rooms and news groups may appear in either designation. There does not yet appear to be any dominant paradigm for studies of the

Internet and blogs, but much of the research relies on the researcher's ability to conduct electronic searches, and we should therefore be cautious of the role of Google's algorithms in shaping what we find with those searches (Gleich 2011).

Susemihl identifies three Internet studies that are methodologically interesting for our purposes. Iseke-Barnes (2002) analyzes exchanges on Internet newsgroups, which yield results comparable to pre-Internet texts, but concludes that commercialization of the Internet can reinforce dominant discourses. While this conjures images of cigar-store Indians and redskin football teams, it is not clear that the reinforcement of dominant discourses should be a source of worry for those charged with preserving security, unless the dominant discourse itself becomes a target of violent hostility by armed non-state groups. Iseke-Barnes is therefore touching on both a methodological and substantive issue that runs through many of the Internet studies. Kima et al. (2006) is an interesting example of the combination of Internet research with survey questionnaires of a particular target group. This technique might serve as a check on the deductions drawn from searches of particular bodies of Internet sources. Finally, the most interesting study from an activist perspective is Yablon (2001): in an effort to increase tolerance and mutual understanding, Jewish and Bedouin Arab students participated in separate workshops and face-to-face meetings over a school year, as well as engaging in weekly chat and email correspondence. The electronic component was used as a vehicle for evaluating changing attitudes over time.

Blogs can be seen as a simple source of content, which can be studied using content analysis or discourse analysis like any other text. But several studies cited by Susemihl indicate that they also have a more active role that must be treated with caution; they cannot be taken at face value. For example, Schoneboom (2008) demonstrates that productive group members can generate anti-group blogs, suggesting a kind of steam-venting counter-narrative that may reinforce the dominant culture. Mapping and recording of larger blogging patterns (Ludtke 2009 on Iran; Tang 2011 on expatriates in China and the nationalist reaction to them) also illustrate the interactive nature of blogs. Tang's demonstration of multi-modal discourse analysis is a helpful model for eliciting coherent narratives from complex texts, but also raises the question of the possibility of impacts on an Internet community when studies are published. This is particularly important for self-aware groups (like liberation fronts or social movements) that are constantly alert to what others are saying about them on the Internet.

Bogdanic provides many sources that are relevant to the categories explored by Susemihl, but also provides tools for a more direct approach to the target group of interest. Key informant narrative (KIN) interviews can begin with the people of most interest. If that is not possible, we can back up to the people around them, or to a textual analysis of political speeches, actions and accounts in increasing distance from the key actors promulgating or expressing a particular narrative.

Selecting the targets for key informant narrative interviews might be based on a broad survey of social dominance orientation using the concepts defined by Pratto, Sidanius and Levin (2006) but Bogdanic seems to recognize that such a survey is unrealistic and perhaps unnecessary in the sort of conflict environment (the Balkans) where he has conducted most of his research; an outsider would not have access, and an insider would know who are the key advocates of social dominance. Thus, a narrower focus on a known entity (Hofstede 2001) makes a lot of sense. In practical terms, this could mean focus on members of a party, residents of a neighbourhood, or participants in an activity (e.g., a rally or militia training). Bogdanic has identified the debate

about the utility of categories for analyzing differences in group cultures (Basabe & Ros 2005; Goveia & Ros 2000; Jones 2007). Classification schemes are purposive, and it might be that *a priori* classifications do not move us very far along the path of understanding narratives that justify dominance or aggression.

Leaving aside a broad survey or a specific group organized by categories, a purposive sample of a small number of the most relevant individuals is a good start. Bogdanic suggests selecting from high-status groups most likely to reflect socially dominant orientation.

Having selected a sample group, narrative interviews (Gubrium & Holstein 2001) or active interviews (Holstein & Gubrium 1995) are most likely to reveal the nature of the mythical or narrative constructs that underpin a socially dominant worldview. These methods involve open-ended questions that allow the interviewer to engage in a conversation to construct a narrative. They might entail questions such as: what does your identity group mean to you? What are some of the sacred or essential aspects of your identity? What are the sources of the current conflict? What are the main problems that plague today's society? What are the main transgressions of the other side in the conflict? Collecting a number of interviews like this provides a database that can be subjected to qualitative analysis, perhaps using software like QSR, or any of a number of theories, including Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT).

Searching media content is another way of building a narrative database. Following Bogdanic's logic, we would begin with media events closest to the activities of dominant groups (or the groups of interest) and look for first person accounts by or interviews with the elites of the target groups. Thus, to analyze Serb myths of national formation, we might look to Serb accounts of anniversary events, or speeches reported in Serb media on the occasion of Kosovo Polje or other significant national events.

Symbolic Convergence Theory is a good starting point taken from general communications theory for analysis of the creation of shared meaning (Bormann 1985). The meaning of events, the emotions that attach to those meanings, and the justification of actions in response to those events are all co-creations of the story-tellers and the audiences for the stories. The ethnic media reporting on the meaning of an anniversary event demonstration and the ethnic participants in that event will have a converging view of the symbolic meaning of the event and their participation; they may have a shared fantasy of a mythical golden era, or a rhetorical vision of oppression and injustice. An entirely different meaning may emerge from the story told about the same event by an opposing identity group's media, and the opposing identity group will share in the use of that account, possibly reinforcing it by opposition to the other group's rhetoric.

Grounded theory typically begins with some empirical data from cases, perhaps a number of interviews. The information in these cases is organized to permit most similar or most different systems comparison, and a low-level theory (specific to the circumstances of the cases) is derived from this comparison as an explanatory tool (Dick 2005; Jensen 2002). This approach might yield several different statements about myths or shared fantasies within a group. Q-methodology could then be applied to determine the salience of particular myths for that group. For example, grounded theory might suggest a number of alternative narratives justifying Jewish settlements in the occupied territories: God gave it to us; it was empty when we came; it is necessary for the security of Israel; the Arabs were wasting it; the government makes it economically attractive. These alternatives would then be presented to a small purposively selected sample (e.g., 5-10

figures from Israeli settlement elites) who would be asked to rank them or evaluate them on a score sheet (e.g., a Likert scale). A Q-sort factor analysis would then identify the most salient narratives (Van Exel & De Graf 2005).

Bogdanic goes on to provide wide-ranging examples of the concept of myth in theory development in a variety of different disciplinary contexts. Narratives, myths, ideologies, and the manipulation of language as a tool for domination are widespread ideas in most academic disciplines, including literature, political economy, sociology, communications studies, and critical analysis of history. His examples make it clear that any comprehensive mapping of concepts influencing non-state actor behaviour will have to tease out many potentially conflicting theories.

The cultivation theory of media effects (Gerbner 2000) suggests that mass media cultivate concepts and perceptions that are already in wide circulation. News stories often take the form of myths, or reinforce stereotypes (Gorham 2006; Knight & Dean 1982; Vartanov 1991), as do telenovelas, melodramas or soap operas (Lozano 1992). However, popular entertainments can also be used for socially useful education, such as promoting public health (Spencer 2006), so there is reason to hope that popular entertainment can be used to adjust attitudes towards violent conflict (Paluck 2007), but media are also responsible for fear constructs such as terrorism (Chermak 2003; Altheide 2009).

History education is a traditional vehicle for the transmission of HELMs (Koulouri 2002), and identity is bolstered by both historical stories and fictitious timeless stories with a moral message (Edensor 2002; Dant 2003). Views about political economy, including myths about efficient markets, inefficient public sectors, and the inevitability of poverty are conveyed by western mass media (Schwartzkopf 2009; Zaidi 2008; Lemieux & Pratto 2003).

Bogdanic concludes with the importance of language as a vehicle for communication. When official language becomes a vehicle for promoting ethnic identity, as Croatian, Serbian and Bosniak variants of serbo-croat became in the 1990s, language itself becomes a vehicle for reinforcing hierarchy. George Bernard Shaw commented on this in his play, *Pygmalion*; accents and vocabulary are universally labels that contribute to hierarchical divisions, and can be explored in communications theory.

Thomson provides a case study in anthropological field research methodology. She argues that Rwanda presents a good example of the techniques and strategies used by a government to promulgate myths that legitimize their right to govern. These legitimizing myths are supported by agents of the state, including government officials, police and the military. The premise of the chapter is that foreign agents (diplomats, military observers, police monitors, etc.) need to be able to see behind the official narratives in order to understand what is actually happening in a post-conflict society like Rwanda. The anthropological tools of gaining entry to a society, recruiting respondents, maintaining access to respondents, and dealing with the layers of surveillance and official interference are essential for effective communication with ordinary people.

Thomson's concept of working around or seeing behind legitimizing myths is another way of eliciting the myths themselves, but also of understanding the impact of those myths, particularly when they are the pillars of state authority. Armed non-state groups may sometimes accept the state narratives, but if they are autonomous actors they are likely to have different stories that

explain their relationship to the state. Canada's first nations are a good example of this ambivalent relationship with official narratives, and anthropologists seeking to work amongst Canada's first nations have to navigate both federal, provincial and first nations authorities, and their associated narratives (da Silva 2005; Darnell 2000).

As a state still recovering from the trauma of genocide, the stakes in Rwanda are high; a 2003 law prohibits "ethnic divisionism" and "promoting genocide ideology"; official state narratives are apparently at odds with international human rights standards. Understanding the lived realities of the rural poor who are subjected to the arbitrary rules of local leaders may provide important insights into the potential for conflict abatement or armed insurrection.

Generalizing from Thomson's description, the research process for entering the field entails identifying the authorities and their requirements, including the various vetoes that may be exercised at different levels of authority from national to local. Finding local partners is helpful both to meet the requirements of authorities and to build insider-outsider teams (Bartunek & Louis 1996). Non-state actors may be *de facto* authorities either in specific areas or at certain times. Some governments or non-state authorities extract fees or compensation to permit research, and this may take various forms—sometimes looking more like a licence or permit, and sometimes looking more like a bribe or personal inducement. Researchers need to be sensitive to who is in control, how far the government's writ extends, and whether fees or inducements are legitimate or ethical.

Knowledge of the local language and culture is an essential prerequisite for anthropological research. Transient personnel (soldiers on six-month postings, for example) will rarely qualify. Insider-outsider teams are an alternative, but simple translator-employer relationships do not qualify as an insider-outsider team. This may mean that special arrangements will have to be made to recruit the right kind of translator and invest in developing the right kind of research relationship to permit anthropological research. Time with the target population—up to six months before serious recruitment occurs—is essential for the method Thomson describes. This entails keeping the hours and frequenting the locations of the target population, and maintaining trust by not passing on reports to the authorities. Giving time to the official witnesses provided by government or authorities is necessary both for balance and to allay fears that the exercise is inherently critical.

In contrast to the active interviews with a key informant advocated by Bogdanic, Thomson advocates a life-history approach. This begins with unstructured conversation over time to build up trust and confidence. For Thomson, it entailed almost ten hours of conversation per subject for more than thirty subjects, frequently casting her in the role of therapist—a role with which many of her subjects were familiar.

Maintaining close liaison with authorities during the course of research may be a condition for continuing the research. It is also important to be aware of the perception of one's actions not only by authorities but by the various stakeholders (e.g., non-state actors, opposing ethnic groups, etc.). Kindness to one may be taken to imply insensitivity to the pain of others, but it is not clear that there is any solution to this dilemma; it is also possible that universal humanity can earn grudging respect over time, but this may vary depending upon the intensity of the animosity between groups.

The results of research may be perceived as subversive, and demands may be made to review findings in a way that puts the subjects or local partners at risk. Conversely, in working with non-state or state actors, a researcher may become privy to information about forthcoming actions that could save lives or put lives at risk. For example, one anthropologist working with insurgents described hearing talk of assassinations, and realizing after the fact that he had been privy to actual plans. Since his own life was also at risk as a “guest” of the rebels, he was able to insist that he not be told of these operations in advance. We have mixed experience of the reaction of research ethics boards to this sort of possibility; boards with less experience of real world research generally have a lower tolerance for this sort of circumstance.

Triangulation. Susesemihl, Bogdanic and Thomson provide tools for designing triangulation to elicit HELMs. One way of thinking about triangulation is to envision concentric rings of narrative information from multiple sources, with the object of interest (an armed non-state group, for example) at the centre. Susemihl approaches these layers from the outside, describing ways to understand the environment within which the object of interest exists, as well as multiple different ways of examining a single actor or concept in the larger environment. Bogdanic starts at the centre and works outwards: key informant narrative (KIN) interviews start with the most important actors for a group if we can, but if we cannot he suggests alternative ways of backing out to media narratives, and even rumours and gossip as ways of understanding the promulgation of myth and collective fantasies that support dominance orientations. The anthropological and ethnographic methods espoused by Thomson may be closer to a sampling of the centre, but we cannot be certain *a priori* that the narratives we collect using these techniques are going to be indicative of any particular world view; this approach is most likely to produce a descriptive map of a sample of individuals who might be closer to the centre or further from it, depending on how the researcher entered the community. The combination of outside-in, inside-out, and in-depth sample could be a starting point for triangulation of our understanding of HELMs for a particular group.

Selection of Elicitation Tools. At the final workshop associated with the E-HELM and red teaming projects (the CSAFS/RMC Red Teaming Conference held in Kingston, Ontario, 17-18 March 2011), James Finan described the application of Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) as a tool for selecting between a number of different methods that might be used to elicit hierarchy-enhancing (or hierarchy-attenuating) myths in real-world research. This presentation is reproduced in Chapter 4 of this Report.

AHP is a structured decision-making tool (Saaty 1990) which permits ranking and sorting of options according to multiple decision criteria.¹ Between the three methodological chapters, we can identify a suite of elicitation tools and analytical methods. We can infer criteria for selecting among these methods based on the likely concerns of an agency involved in eliciting HELMs. These criteria might include time, cost, sampling (ease, accessibility, size and reliability of samples) and intrusiveness. *Table 1* below suggests criteria, which might be weighted by project managers in order to select the most appropriate elicitation and analysis methods for a particular circumstance.

¹ The Government of Canada department, Canadian Heritage, provides a fill-in-the-blanks online AHP tool to assist in the evaluation of projects. It is on their web-site at http://www.cci-icc.gc.ca/tools/ahp/index_e.asp and can be adapted to test or adjust the criteria suggested here for evaluating elicitation tools and analytical methods.

Table 1: Elicitation, analysis, and selection criteria

Data elicitation methods	Data analysis methods	Selection criteria
<p>Sample of texts, broadly construed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children’s literature • Folklore • Mass media (all types) • TV • Radio <p>Purposive, convenience or random sample of respondents:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key informant narratives • Insider-outsider design • Life history narratives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semiology • Q-method / Q-sort • Text analysis • Content analysis • Discourse analysis • Psychoanalysis • Symbolic Convergence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minimize time to result • Minimize cost to execute • Minimize required sample size • Maximize reliability • Optimize degree of intrusiveness (access-dependent) • Optimize ease of sampling

Some methods are particularly suited (or unsuited) to various elicitation methods and circumstances in which they would be used. For example, a sample of children’s literature or folklore would probably be most effectively interrogated with semiotic analysis. Exploration of mass media might require more sophisticated sampling techniques because of the investment needed to translate and transcribe scripts, and the loss of visual information from images, which have particularly emotive content. Therefore a project might combine sampling with content analysis based on search tools, followed by discourse analysis or search for symbolic convergence. We might expect some overlap in these methods, depending on the background of the people engaged in them. Discourse analysis by someone with a background in sociology might look very much like a search for symbolic convergence by someone with a similar disciplinary background.

The selection criteria require some explanation. It is likely that time and cost will always be an issue, and this will vary with sample size, so minimizing these first three criteria seems reasonable. Maximizing “reliability” will depend on the degree of confidence that the audience for the study has in the elicitation tools and analysis methods. Perhaps the most important factor in choosing an elicitation technique is access to the target population and data: how much text, media or chat does a group generate? How accessible is this material without relying on insiders? Are insiders available? If the group is remote, uncommunicative or hostile to intrusion then what are the options for ethnographic access of the sort described by Thomson, and how long will this take? It is conceivable that “intrusiveness” is desirable under some circumstances as part of an influence strategy—to encounter and understand a group on terms of mutual respect might be part of the research objective. Optimizing degree of intrusiveness might therefore entail an active information strategy as part of the research program.

Clearing research ethics. Professor Daniel Lagacé-Roy of the Department of Military Psychology and Leadership of the Royal Military College of Canada is the Chair of the RMCC

Research Ethics Board, and was consulted on the ethics issues in conducting field research to elicit hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths; his thoughts are found in the final chapter of this Report. He remains available to assist with the next phase of research design. Any research conducted by a Canadian university, or with the support of Government of Canada funding, should meet the ethical standard established by Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS 2) (the statement is available online at http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/pdf/eng/tcps2/TCPS_2_FINAL_Web.pdf). The Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics (PRE) describes how this should be applied (see the Panel's website online at <http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/panel-group/about-apropos/>), and this in turn guides the deliberations of research ethics boards like RMCC's.

The elicitation methods listed in *Table 1* fall fairly neatly into two categories—the first group would not require research ethics approval, while the second group, in which researchers engage individuals, would require approval. In the latter case, the research design might include a letter of information and consent form, including assurance that they can cease participation at any time. We would not expect the researcher to offer inducements to participate, nor to be in a position of power relative to the respondents. The actual object of the study (eliciting HELM) might not be clear to the subjects, simply because of the nature of the concept. Whether it is possible to permit the group to discuss their participation and responses will depend on the nature of the group under examination. There is no particular reason to identify individual participants, so maintaining confidentiality should not be a problem. Disclosure of the results of a pilot study to third parties may be necessary to meet the larger objectives of DRDC; the third parties would be other contractors engaged in supporting the research. Disclosure to participants of the nature of the research at the end of their participation may be problematic, both because of the way in which data might be collected, and the way in which it might subsequently be used.

In addition to Professor Lagacé-Roy, the Field Research Ethics Advisory Board (described at http://web.me.com/dmlast/Research/Research_Ethics.html) is available to provide additional guidance on how best to obtain results within an ethical framework.

Significance: This report brings together several dimensions of the E-HELM study: three different approaches to eliciting and analyzing information about hierarchy-enhancing (or attenuating) legitimizing myths, a selection tool and suggested criteria for choosing the most appropriate combination of techniques for a particular target, and a way forward to clear research ethics in the event that human research is involved in the next phase.

The work in this study is relevant to Red Teaming and the search for alternative perspectives. If we understand the ways in which groups perceive themselves and justify their actions, we will be able to develop a better set of alternatives for addressing conflicts or contingencies.

An understanding of hierarchy-enhancing (or hierarchy-attenuating) legitimizing myths is relevant for influence activities and psychological operations, and for further research on understanding complex human terrain.

References:

- Altheide, D. (2009). *Terror post 9/11 and the media*. New York, NY: Lang.
- Attallah, P. (2007). A usable history for the study of television. *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 37(3), 325-349.
- Bartunek, J. & Louis, M. (1996). *Insider/outsider team research*. Boulder, CO: Sage Series in Qualitative Research Methods.
- Basabe, N. & Ros, M. (2005). Cultural dimensions and social behavior correlates: Individualism-collectivism and power distance. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 18(1), 189-225.
- Bormann, E. (1985). Symbolic convergence theory: A communication formulation. *Journal of Communication*, 35(4), 128-138.
- Char, C. (1985). *Stories through sound: Children's comprehension of radio stories and the role of sound effects and music in story comprehension*. Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI.
- Chermak, S. (2003). Marketing fear: Representing terrorism after September 11. *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media*, 1, 5-22.
- Da Silva, C. (2005). Anthropology and ethnicity's interplay among First Nations in Canada: The case of Quebec. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 25(2), 553-569.
- Dant, T. (2003). *Critical social theory: Culture, society and critique*. London, UK: Sage.
- Darnell, R. (2000). Canadian anthropologists, the First Nations and Canada's self-image at the millennium. *Anthropologica*, 42(2), 165-174.
- Dick, B. (2005). Grounded theory: A thumbnail sketch. *Resource Papers in Action Research*, version 1.07w, last revised 2005/06/11. Available online at: <http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/arp/grounded.html> (Access date: 9 August 2011).
- Edensor, T. (2002). *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Gerbner, G. (2000). Cultivation analysis: An overview. *Communicator*, 11-12.
- Gleick, J. (2011). How Google dominates us. *New York Review of Books*. 18 August 2011.
- Gorham, B. (2006). News media's relationship with stereotyping: The linguistic intergroup bias in response to crime news. *Journal of Communication*, 56, 289-308.
- Gouveia, V. & Ros, M. (2000). Hofstede and Schwartz's models for classifying individualism at the cultural level: Their relation to macro-social and macro-economic variables. *Psicothema*, 12, 25-33.

- Gubrium, J. & Holstein, J. (2001). *Handbook of interview research: Context & method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Holstein, J. & Gubrium, J. (1995). *The Active Interview*. London, UK: Sage Series in Qualitative Methods.
- Iseke-Barnes, J. (2002). Aboriginal and indigenous people's resistance, the Internet, and education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 5(2).
- Jensen, K. (ed.). (2002). *A handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Jones, M. (2007). Hofstede – Culturally questionable? Paper presented at the Oxford Business and Economics Conference, Oxford, UK, 24-26 June 2007.
- Kim, K., Ryu, E., Chon, M-Y, Yeun, E-J, Choi, S-Y, Seo, J-S & Nam, B-W (2006). Internet addiction in Korean adolescents and its relation to depression and suicidal ideation: A questionnaire survey. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 43(2), 185-192.
- Knight, G. & Dean, T. (1982). Myth and the structure of news. *Journal of Communication*, 32, 144-161.
- Koulouri, C. (ed.) (2002). *Clio in the Balkans. The politics of history education*. Thessaloniki, Greece: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe.
- Last, D., Axani, J. & Jennings, M. (2010). Studying Hostile, Deceptive, and Dangerous Surroundings: Report of a Workshop on Social Research Methods for Non-Permissive Environments. DRDC Toronto Report. Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Ontario.
- Last, D. & Seaboyer, A. (2011). Clan and Islamic identities in Somali society. DRDC Toronto CR 2011-080. Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Ontario.
- Lemieux, A. & Pratto, F. (2003). Poverty and prejudice. In S. Carr & T. Sloan (eds.), *Poverty and psychology: From global perspective to local practice* (chap. 8). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- Lozano, E. (1992). The force of myth on popular narratives: The case of melodramatic serials. *Communication Theory*, 2, 207-220.
- Ludtke, M. (2009). Publishing and mapping Iran's weblogistan. *Nieman Reports*, 63(2), 45.
- Moore, J. (2011). Concept mapping: A visualization method for understanding irregular adversaries. Paper presented to the 16th US-CAN Operations Research Symposium, Army Materiel System Analysis Activity, Aberdeen Proving Ground, MD, USA, 24-26 August 2011.

Mulaj, K. (2009). Introduction – Violent non-state actors: Exploring their state relations, legitimation and operationality. In K. Mulaj (ed.), *Violent non-state actors in world politics* (pp.1-25). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Paluck, E. (2007). Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict with the mass media: A field experiment in Rwanda. Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, under the Direction of Donald Green.

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J. & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 17, 271-320.

Saaty, T. (1990). *The Analytic Hierarchy Process*. Pittsburgh, PA: RWS Publication.

Schoneboom, A. (2008). *Hiding out: Creative resistance among anonymous workbloggers*. Dissertation. New York, NY: The City University of New York.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2009). The “consumer jury”: Historical origins and social consequences of a marketing myth. *Proceedings of the 14th Conference on Historical Analysis and Research in Marketing*, 14, 238-253.

Spencer, M. (2006). *Two aspirins and a comedy: How yelevision can enhance health and society*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Tang, Q. (2008). *Foreigners' archive – Contemporary China in the blogs of American expatriates*. Dissertation. Bowling Green, OH: Graduate College of Bowling Green State University.

Taylor, D., Wohl, M. & King, M. (2010). The psychology of violent conflict in failing states: A review of the scientific literature. DRDC Toronto CR 2010-186. Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning – McGill University, Montreal, Quebec.

van Exel, J. & de Graff, G. (2005). *Q methodology: A sneak preview*. Available online at: <http://www.qmethodology.net/PDF/Q-methodology%20-%20A%20sneak%20preview.pdf>.

Vartanov, A. (1991). Television as spectacle and myth. *Journal of Communication*, 41(2), 162-171.

Wohl, M., Branscombe, N. & Reysen, S. (2010). Perceiving your group's future to be in jeopardy: Extinction threat induces collective angst and the desire to strengthen the ingroup. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36, 898-910.

Yablon, Y. & Yaacov J. (2001). Internet-based group relations: A high school peace education project in Israel. *Educational Media International*, 38(2&3), 175-182.

Zaidi, A. (2008). Legitimizing myth and the search for meaning. *Theory in Action*, 1, 114-122.

Sommaire

Eliciting Hierarchy-Enhancing Legitimizing Myths (E-HELM): How do we learn about the stories that groups tell to justify their actions?

**David Last ; DRDC Toronto CR 2011-144 ; R & D pour la défense Canada –
Toronto; février 2013.**

Introduction : Ce résumé sert d'introduction aux articles fournis avec le présent rapport et résume les constatations du projet de recherche qui sont pertinentes dans le cadre du problème plus vaste de la détermination des mythes de légitimation qui renforcent la hiérarchie (MLRH). Pour ce faire, le résumé déborde parfois du contenu des articles inclus.

La Section des systèmes socio-cognitifs (SSC) de RDDC Toronto a entrepris un projet financé par le Fonds d'investissement technologique (FIT) intitulé *A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Armed Non-state Actors (ANSAs): Strategic Roles and Operational Dynamics* (Cadre conceptuel pour comprendre les motivations des acteurs armés non étatiques (AANE) : rôles stratégiques et dynamique opérationnelle). Les projets du FIT sont des travaux de recherche avant-gardistes hautement risqués – mais potentiellement très profitables – dirigés sous les auspices de Recherche et développement pour la défense Canada (RDDC), l'organisme responsable des sciences et de la technologie (S & T) du ministère de la Défense nationale (MDN) du Canada.

Dans le cadre de l'étude élargie des acteurs armés non étatiques et des façons d'influencer des adversaires potentiels, la présente recherche visait à trouver des moyens de mettre au jour, de recueillir et de comprendre les récits que les groupes utilisent pour justifier leurs actions : Quels récits font-ils? Quelle est la signification de ces récits pour eux? Quels types d'actions ces récits pourraient-ils justifier? Le projet d'ensemble est susceptible de contribuer à un modèle de comportement social dans le cadre duquel des individus et des groupes menaçants peuvent être identifiés, et au moyen duquel des opérations d'influence utilisant de l'information précise peuvent changer la façon dont les gens pensent et éviter de ce fait un conflit à un coût minimal. S'il s'agit là d'une perspective encore éloignée, un certain nombre d'étapes sont nécessaires aux progrès en la matière, étapes dont la présente étude fait partie.

RDDC a parrainé en octobre 2010 un atelier intitulé *Armed non-State Actors: Understanding Strategic Roles and Operations Dynamics* (Acteurs armés non étatiques: comprendre leur rôle stratégique et leur dynamique opérationnelle), le point culminant de la Phase 1 du Projet AANE. Dans l'exposé qu'il a livré dans le cadre de l'atelier, le chercheur principal James Moore (SSC/RDDC) a défini un acteur armé non étatique comme étant « un groupe organisé agissant de manière autonome et ayant la capacité de recourir à la violence à des fins politiques ». Malgré que ces groupes soient autonomes, ils peuvent choisir de coopérer avec les États tout comme ils peuvent présenter une menace, et même s'ils peuvent ne pas être établis dans un territoire, ils peuvent exercer un certain degré de contrôle territorial, parfois caché. Ils ont une structure de commandement de base et une capacité de violence. Si l'expression acteurs non étatiques violents (Mulaj 2009: 1) semble redondante, il n'est pas inévitable que ces groupes soient violents ou hostiles envers les États. Une partie de l'objectif de la recherche est de déterminer comment et

pourquoi ils deviennent violents ou hostiles, et comment il est possible d'influencer ou de prévenir cette violence ou cette hostilité.

Le travail de Matthew Lauder (SSC/RDDC), *Project Hydra: Using Red Teams to Better Appreciate socio-cultural variables in armed non-state actors*, (Projet Hydra : Utiliser des équipes rouges pour mieux évaluer les variables socio-culturelles chez les acteurs armés non étatiques), est également lié à cette recherche. Les équipes rouges fournissent des perspectives autres en faisant appel à l'expertise de fond et l'expertise méthodologique d'un réseau de spécialistes universitaires. Une connaissance approfondie de la contribution des identités clanique et islamique à l'identité des acteurs armés non étatiques en Somalie peut être combinée utilement avec l'expertise méthodologique des équipes rouges consultées. Cette connaissance peut contribuer à une compréhension de la façon dont les groupes armés présentent les récits qui justifient leurs actions. Le *Projet Eos* (15ag01 et 10az01) touchera à plusieurs aspects de cette tâche au cours de la prochaine année. Combler les lacunes dans notre compréhension du milieu humain, dans notre connaissance de la collaboration avec les forces militaires irrégulières indigènes dans le temps, et dans les approches en matière de profilage individuel et collectif améliorera notre appréciation de l'environnement social complexe qui entoure la guerre irrégulière. Surtout, nous espérons trouver des solutions de rechange à la force cinétique, qui s'est souvent révélée limitée ou contreproductive dans la gestion des forces irrégulières.

Le rapport intitulé *Studying Hostile, Deceptive, and Dangerous Surroundings: Report of a Workshop on Social Research Methods for Non-Permissive Environments* (Last et al. 2010) (Étudier les environnements hostiles, trompeurs et dangereux : rapport d'un atelier sur les méthodes de recherche sociale pour les environnements non permissifs) contribue également à une compréhension des groupes armés non étatiques en général. Cet atelier parrainé par RDDC (tenu au Collège militaire royal du Canada en mars 2010) et le sommaire des discussions connexe décrivent les techniques de collecte ethnographiques et qualitatives, l'analyse financière et économique (y compris les compilations de sources ouvertes et les outils CANAFE), les outils de maintien de l'ordre (y compris les outils liés aux produits de la criminalité et les unités de police spéciales) et l'utilisation des sondages et des enquêtes.

Des facteurs psychosociaux sont manifestement reliés aux modèles d'extrémisme violent, mais les facteurs médiateurs ne sont pas toujours évidents. L'exclusion et la privation, qui peuvent être converties en hostilité, et la violence contre des cibles données peuvent être déterminées ou au moins révélées par les récits qui sont faits pour expliquer les causes et les effets, les traîtres et les héros, et les actions qui doivent être entreprises.

Donald Taylor, Michael Wohl et Michael King ont travaillé dans le cadre du Projet AANE afin de présenter une « structure du concept de soi » dans laquelle l'identité collective est construite à partir de l'identité et de l'estime personnelles et collectives, ainsi que de l'estime collective. Leur recherche (Taylor et al. 2010) présentée au sommet sur les AANE en octobre 2010 explore la mesure dans laquelle les groupes sont amenés à défendre leur identité menacée. Wohl décrit certaines des émotions que nous comprenons comme étant des motivateurs collectifs générant des types précis de comportement. La colère peut générer des scénarios d'approche ou d'attaque lorsqu'un groupe se sent fort, et la peur peut générer de l'évitement lorsqu'un groupe se sent faible. L'angoisse collective touchant la vitalité future d'un groupe (Wohl, Branscombe et Reyson 2010) peut générer une réaction émotionnelle à une menace perçue, même lorsque cette menace est éloignée de l'expérience de vie. Les récits collectifs ont un énorme pouvoir de construction de la signification des événements. L'identité est façonnée par le récit d'un groupe ou par le récit de

« notre groupe » par rapport à d'autres groupes, mais également par la représentation sociale des événements par l'entremise des rumeurs, des théories de la conspiration et des mythes de légitimation.

Les exposés de David Anderson, Bronwyn Bruton, Andrew Grant, Peter Pham, William Reno et Jonathan Stevenson au soutien de la Phase 2 du Projet AANE fournissent une variété de perspectives sur l'influence des identités clanique et islamique sur les groupes armés non étatiques en Somalie et dans la Corne de l'Afrique, en particulier Al-Shabaab (Last et Seaboyer 2011). Si les identités clanique et islamique sont des variables cruciales à la compréhension de l'identité collective et de la dynamique des groupes armés dans la région, les techniques appliquées dans ces travaux ne procurent pas d'aperçus de première main des récits collectifs des groupes. Ce sont les vues d'observateurs externes plutôt qu'une compréhensionémique de la pensée des groupes eux-mêmes. L'étude dont il est question ici vise à fournir des outils pour permettre la collecte de données émiques et l'élicitation des mythes de légitimation renforçant la hiérarchie à partir de sources primaires.

Le présent rapport vise à combler une partie des lacunes en fournissant des outils que l'on peut utiliser dans différents environnements pour comprendre les récits collectifs. En premier lieu, les outils à utiliser devront varier en fonction de la nature de l'environnement. Deuxièmement, les méthodes d'analyse dépendront des types d'information disponibles. Troisièmement, un outil de sélection sera utile pour décider quelle combinaison de méthodes d'élicitation et d'analyse est appropriée dans différentes circonstances. Enfin, avant que de la recherche sur le terrain soit entreprise, l'étude doit en définir les paramètres éthiques.

Résultats : Les trois chapitres sur les méthodes commandés pour l'étude fournissent un spectre des outils possibles en vue de l'élicitation des mythes de légitimation qui renforcent la hiérarchie dans différents environnements, ainsi qu'un jeu d'outils pour l'analyse du contenu de ces mythes. Le quatrième chapitre sur le processus hiérarchique analytique (PHA) permet aux intervenants d'établir les critères au moyen desquels ils choisiront un outil et détermineront quel outil est le plus approprié. Enfin, la discussion sur les considérations éthiques dans le cinquième chapitre permet à la prochaine phase de recherche de passer rapidement à la mise à l'essai de certains des outils sur un auditoire national.

Considérons un spectre d'environnements dans lesquels nous pourrions chercher à comprendre les mythes de légitimation. À une extrémité du spectre se trouve notre propre société, dans laquelle l'information occupe une grande place, avec laquelle nous sommes intimement familiers et pour laquelle il n'existe pas d'obstacles à la compréhension, outre peut-être la complexité, la surabondance et notre proximité par rapport au problème. À l'autre extrémité du spectre, on retrouve des environnements où il n'existe pas de médias de masse, de médias imprimés ou de médias électroniques facilement accessibles, et pour lesquels les Canadiens qui essaient de comprendre l'information à laquelle ils peuvent avoir accès se heurtent à des obstacles importants. L'environnement en Somalie ou dans la Corne de l'Afrique en sont des exemples. L'accès y est difficile, les différences linguistiques et culturelles empêchent la compréhension, et la violence crée des obstacles additionnels à la collecte de l'information. À mi-chemin entre ces deux extrêmes, on peut situer les sociétés occidentales qui ont connu ou connaissent des conflits, comme l'Irlande du Nord, les Balkans ou le Liban, qui présentent des obstacles culturels et linguistiques à des degrés divers.

Une toile formée par un réseau mondial de communautés déplacées, de contributeurs individuels (y compris des experts possédant des degrés divers d'expertise vérifiable) et de médias électroniques accessibles à distance recouvre ce spectre d'environnements. Une partie du récit de tout groupe est diffusée dans des langues indigènes ou internationales par des sites Web, des blogues, des vidéos et des clavardoirs largement accessibles. Il peut être difficile de déterminer la mesure dans laquelle ce réseau réparti est le reflet des récits authentiques des groupes qui nous intéressent. Par exemple, les discussions menées dans des clavardoirs Internet en anglais fréquentés principalement par des adolescents en Amérique du Nord qui n'ont jamais vécu dans la Corne de l'Afrique sont probablement très différentes des récits faits par des groupes qui s'expriment en *benadir* ou en *maay*, deux dialectes somaliens, et qui ne sont pratiquement pas présents sur Internet. Mais l'interface entre les deux récits peut mener à une influence mutuelle ou même à du recrutement et à une action.

L'incertitude inhérente de l'effet des récits sur la reproduction de ceux-ci et sur une action subséquente est un problème général de toutes les techniques suggérées ici. Lorsque nous arrivons à mettre au jour un récit, ou mythe, cohérent répété de nombreuses fois par un groupe, ce récit sera seulement l'un de nombreux récits ou mythes, souvent avec des messages contradictoires et qui évoluent dans le temps. Lorsque nous pouvons consulter une variété de sources différentes dans un environnement riche en information (comme les histoires pour enfants dans le pays d'origine, les récits de socialisation dans les écoles, les récits historiques répétés au sein du groupe, les comptes rendus des médias, les récits de la diaspora, et ainsi de suite), nous sommes davantage susceptibles de trouver des divergences dans les récits. Lorsque notre accès est limité et que nous nous fions à de petits échantillons et aux récits anecdotiques d'un faible nombre de contacts, nous pouvons disposer d'un tableau plus cohérent, mais sommes moins certains de la mesure dans laquelle ce tableau est représentatif du récit d'un grand groupe.

Il existe d'importantes variables qui ne sont pas fondamentales dans ces études, mais que nous devrions garder en tête lorsque nous traçons les grandes lignes de la recherche future sur l'élicitation des mythes de légitimation renforçant la hiérarchie. Les mythes qui renforcent la hiérarchie et les mythes qui l'atténuent sont conceptuellement liés aux idéologies, aux religions et aux mouvements sociaux, lesquels contribuent tous à la construction de l'identité collective. Les récits (MLRE) étant la variable indépendante et l'identité collective, la variable dépendante, supposons un groupe d'intérêt cible. Certaines des variables décrivant le groupe cible qui peuvent être pertinentes du point de vue de la conception de la recherche incluent les suivantes : ordre de grandeur du groupe cible—quel est son ordre de grandeur par rapport aux autres groupes dans la société; centralité du récit pour un groupe—le récit est-il incontesté ou seulement l'un de nombreux récits concurrents; la situation du groupe dans la société—est-ce un groupe dominant ou marginal; la longévité du groupe—le groupe a-t-il survécu pendant de multiples générations ou est-il dénué de moyen efficace de transmission intergénérationnelle de l'identité. La dissection des acteurs armés non étatiques au moyen de la carte conceptuelle de James Moore est un moyen efficace de représentation et de situation de ces variables (Moore 2011).

Aperçu. Les trois chapitres sur la méthodologie par Susemihl, Bogdanic et Thomson fournissent un éventail d'options pour l'étude du spectre des environnements d'intérêt et compensent dans une certaine mesure les problèmes inhérents à l'élicitation des mythes de légitimation tirés d'une variété de sources. Ensemble, ils offrent un certain potentiel de triangulation.

La formation de Geneviève Susemihl (Université de Greifswald) en sociologie, littérature et communications lui donne une vue d'ensemble élargie des outils qui peuvent être appliqués à des environnements riches en données, comme l'Europe et l'Amérique du Nord.

Aleksandar Bogdanic (Banja Luka College of Communications) possède une formation en sociologie et en communications, mais ses efforts ont surtout porté sur la compréhension des récits du conflit dans les Balkans, où il a vécu et fait des recherches tout au long de la guerre civile des années 1990 et de ses contrecoups. Les outils d'élicitation et d'analyse qu'il suggère sont particulièrement utiles à la compréhension des récits collectifs dans des sociétés fragmentées et en désintégration, et dans celles qui tentent de se relever d'un long conflit.

Susan Thomson (Hampshire College) est une anthropologue qui a de l'expérience de la recherche dans le Rwanda d'après-conflit. Ses points de vue sur le travail avec des populations traumatisées face à l'interférence des autorités offrent un certain nombre d'enseignements sur la conception de la recherche dans des environnements pauvres en données où le contact direct avec la population locale peut être la seule façon de recueillir les récits qui donne un sens à l'expérience de cette population, et aident à en évaluer les perceptions et les actions probables.

Susemihl fournit une bonne introduction à la notion de *texte*, composée de tous les artefacts culturels signifiants. Dans un environnement riche en données comme le Canada, l'acte de « mettre au jour » un mythe de légitimation renforçant la hiérarchie ne consiste pas tant à recueillir l'information qu'à interpréter sélectivement l'information qui nous entoure. Une sélection attentive est nécessaire pour choisir à partir des histoires pour enfants, des feuilletons, de la télévision, de la radio, des journaux, des films populaires et des livres, pour ne nommer que quelques sources. Si Susemihl est silencieuse sur cette question, les spécialistes cités illustrent une variété de techniques de choix allant d'échantillons de commodité au ciblage de données de groupes particuliers à un large échantillonnage des médias de masse. Dans un environnement riche en données, la cible de l'analyse détermine la technique d'élicitation et l'outil d'analyse est la variable importante.

L'analyse textuelle peut utiliser une combinaison de méthodes qualitatives et quantitatives. La méthode quantitative la plus courante est l'analyse de contenu—une technique systématique de compression d'un grand nombre d'éléments (comme des mots ou des images) en un échantillon composant un petit nombre de catégories fondées sur des règles de codage. Ces catégories peuvent ensuite être explorées au moyen de décomptes de fréquence. Les décomptes de fréquence sont comparativement objectifs et peuvent être combinés à des méthodes qualitatives en vue de l'évaluation du contexte et de la nature des messages ou tropes les plus fréquents.

Les méthodes qualitatives, ou analyse textuelle interprétative, incluent des techniques comme la sémiologie, la psychanalyse et l'analyse du discours, qui aident toutes à interpréter les récits recueillis. Selon la forme de « texte », certaines méthodes peuvent être plus faciles d'application que d'autres. La sémiologie ou sémiotique est l'étude des signes et a pour objet la recherche des codes ou des mythes dominants qui sous-tendent l'apparence des symboles. Par exemple, dans le cas d'un drapeau canadien orné d'une feuille de marijuana à la place d'une feuille d'érable, on peut se demander quelle signification accordent à ce drapeau les personnes qui l'arborent? Comment cette signification s'insère-t-elle dans des profils d'interprétation plus larges? La sémiologie peut être appliquée directement au moyen de sondages ou de questionnaires (« quelle en est la signification pour vous? ») ou indirectement par exploration de l'association ou des

contextes dans lesquels un signe ou un symbole apparaissent systématiquement. Il en va de même de la psychanalyse, qui peut s'adresser à un auditoire directement ou analyser la coïncidence du texte et de l'auditoire afin de produire une signification.

Susemihl examine les études qui explorent cinq types différents de matériel source à partir desquels les mythes de légitimation pourraient être déduits ou examinés : la littérature pour enfants, la radio, la télévision, Internet et les blogues. Dans une certaine mesure, ces types sont tous des domaines en évolution interconnectés, même si la littérature pour enfants et la radio évoluent probablement moins rapidement que la télévision, Internet et les blogues. La littérature pour enfants est particulièrement importante en raison du rôle qu'elle joue dans le transfert intergénérationnel des récits. On notera en particulier les études des récits du colonialisme qui favorisent la cohésion et la façon dont ces récits ont été transformés en critiques du colonialisme impliquées dans de nombreux conflits insolubles. Le trope de groupes indigènes et colonisateurs est pertinent aux conflits entre les Cypriotes grecs et turcs, entre les protestants et les catholiques en Irlande du Nord, entre les Juifs et les Arabes en Israël-Palestine et dans de nombreux autres conflits impliquant des acteurs armés non étatiques. La façon dont les récits évoluent de manière à refléter les aspirations sociales semble être la clé pour qui veut les comprendre.

Le journalisme radiodiffusé est intéressant parce qu'il permet aux récits de rejoindre de plus larges auditoires, et ajoute le contenu émotif des effets sonores et de la musique (Char 1985). À mesure que les auditoires augmentent, les auditoires étrangers ou les auditoires et les médias nationaux de riposte peuvent réagir aux récits, créant des contre-récits se renforçant mutuellement. Susemihl décrit la télévision comme étant le « média le plus populaire aujourd'hui », celui qui a la primauté dans les vies des jeunes, mais il s'agit probablement là d'une vue occidentale qui peut changer avec l'émergence des nouveaux médias. La diversité des approches et des méthodes dans les sources de Susemihl suggère que l'influence formative de la télévision n'est pas bien comprise. L'analyse sémiotique est une des façons au moyen desquelles on peut essayer de recueillir des résultats significatifs à partir du choix ahurissant présent dans l'univers télévisuel. Atallah (2007) suggère que nombre de ces études ne sont pas très utiles, et que les études devraient plutôt être axées sur le comportement des auditoires (p. ex., qui regarde quoi et pourquoi) et sur l'institutionnalisation de la télévision (p. ex., la croissance des postes ethniques et des moyens en langue locale dans une société multiculturelle).

La distinction entre Internet et les blogues n'est pas claire, et est utilisée de différentes façons par nombre des chercheurs cités. Susemihl inclut dans Internet les communications par courriel et le matériel publié sur les sites Web, tandis qu'elle voit dans les blogues un sous-ensemble d'Internet consistant en un type particulier de publications de routine par des individus et des groupes, une distinction qui peut être particulièrement utile pour la compréhension des récits de groupes. Les clavardoirs électroniques et les groupes de nouvelles peuvent figurer dans l'une ou l'autre catégorie. Il ne semble pas encore exister de paradigme dominant pour les études d'Internet et des blogues, mais une bonne partie de la recherche repose sur la capacité du chercheur de mener des recherches électroniques et nous devrions donc nous méfier du rôle des algorithmes de Google dans les résultats de ces recherches (Gleich 2011).

Susemihl note trois études d'Internet qui présentent un intérêt pour nous d'un point de vue méthodologique. Iseke-Barnes (2002) analyse les échanges sur les groupes de nouvelles Internet. Il obtient des résultats comparables aux textes pré-Internet, mais conclut que la commercialisation d'Internet peut renforcer les discours dominants. Si cette affirmation suscite des images d'Indiens

de débit de tabac et d'équipes de football peaux-rouges, il n'est pas clair que le renforcement des discours dominants devrait être une source d'inquiétude pour ceux qui sont responsables de préserver la sécurité, à moins que le discours dominant lui-même devienne la cible de l'hostilité violente de groupes armés non étatiques. Iseke-Barnes aborde donc une question de méthodologie et de fond que l'on retrouve dans nombre des études d'Internet. Kima et al. (2006) est un exemple intéressant de la combinaison de la recherche sur Internet et de questionnaires d'enquête sur un groupe cible particulier. Cette technique peut servir à vérifier le bien-fondé des déductions tirées des recherches effectuées sur des ensembles particuliers de sources Internet. Enfin, l'étude la plus intéressante d'un point de vue activiste est l'étude de Yablon (2001) : dans un effort visant à augmenter la tolérance et la compréhension mutuelle, des étudiants juifs et bédouins arabes ont participé à des ateliers séparés et à des rencontres individuelles tout au long d'une année scolaire, en plus de participer à des clavardages hebdomadaires et des échanges par courriel. La composante électronique a servi de moyen pour l'évaluation du changement des attitudes dans le temps.

Les blogues peuvent être vus comme une simple source de contenu qui peut être étudiée au moyen d'analyses du contenu ou du discours comme tout autre texte. Mais plusieurs études citées par Susemihl indiquent qu'ils ont également un rôle plus actif qui doit être traité avec circonspection; ils ne peuvent pas être jugés sur les apparences. Par exemple, Schoneboom (2008) démontre que les membres de groupes productifs peuvent générer des blogues anti-groupe, suggérant une sorte de contre-récit libérateur qui peut renforcer la culture dominante. Le mappage et la consignation des tendances plus larges en matière de blogage (Ludtke 2009 sur l'Iran; Tang 2011 sur les expatriés en Chine et la réaction nationaliste à leur rencontre) illustrent également la nature interactive des blogues. La démonstration que fait Tang de l'analyse multi-modale du discours est un modèle utile pour l'extraction de récits cohérents dans des textes complexes, mais soulève également la question de la possibilité d'impacts sur une communauté Internet lorsque des études sont publiées. Ce point est particulièrement important pour les groupes conscients d'eux-mêmes (comme les fronts de libération ou les mouvements sociaux), qui sont constamment à l'affût de ce que les autres disent d'eux sur Internet.

Bogdanic fournit de nombreuses sources pertinentes du point de vue des catégories explorées par Susemihl, mais fournit également des outils pour une approche plus directe du groupe cible d'intérêt. Les entretiens narratifs avec les informateurs clés peuvent commencer par les personnes qui présentent le plus d'intérêt. Si cela n'est pas possible, nous pouvons nous rabattre sur les gens autour d'eux ou sur une analyse textuelle des discours politiques, des actions et des comptes rendus de moins en moins proches des acteurs clés qui disséminent ou font un récit particulier.

La sélection des cibles pour les entretiens narratifs avec des informateurs clés peut être fondée sur une recherche de l'orientation de la dominance sociale au moyen des concepts définis par Pratto, Sidanius et Levin (2006), mais Bogdanic semble reconnaître qu'une telle recherche est irréaliste et peut-être inutile dans la sorte d'environnement conflictuel (les Balkans) où il a effectué la majeure partie de ses travaux. Une personne de l'extérieur n'aurait pas accès et une personne de l'intérieur ne saurait pas qui sont les principaux défenseurs de la dominance sociale. Ainsi, un accent plus étroit sur une entité connue (Hofstede 2001) est tout à fait judicieux. En termes pratiques, ceci pourrait signifier se concentrer sur les membres d'un parti, les résidents d'un quartier ou les participants à une activité (p. ex., un rallye politique ou un entraînement de la milice). Bogdanic a fait ressortir le débat sur l'utilité de catégories pour l'analyse des différences dans les cultures des groupes (Basabe et Ros 2005; Goveia et Ros 2000; Jones 2007). Les

systèmes de classification sont utilitaires et il se pourrait que des classifications *a priori* ne nous mènent pas très loin dans la compréhension des récits qui justifient la dominance ou l'agression.

Mettant de côté une enquête étendue ou un groupe précis organisé par catégories, un échantillon d'un petit nombre des individus les plus pertinents est un bon début. Bogdanic suggère une sélection à partir des groupes à statut élevé les plus susceptibles de refléter l'orientation socialement dominante.

Une fois un groupe échantillon choisi, les entretiens narratifs (Gubrium et Holstein 2001) ou actifs (Holstein et Gubrium 1995) sont les plus susceptibles de révéler la nature des constructions mentales mythiques ou narratives qui sous-tendent une vision du monde socialement dominante. Ces méthodes font appel à des questions ouvertes qui permettent à l'intervieweur de s'engager dans une conversation en vue de construire un récit. Elles peuvent entraîner des questions comme : que signifie votre groupe identitaire pour vous? Quels sont certains des aspects sacrés ou essentiels de votre identité? Quelles sont les sources du conflit actuel? Quels sont les principaux problèmes qui empoisonnent la société d'aujourd'hui? Quelles sont les principales transgressions de vos adversaires dans le conflit? La compilation d'un certain nombre d'entretiens comme celui que nous venons d'évoquer fournit une base de données pouvant faire l'objet d'une analyse qualitative, peut-être au moyen d'un logiciel comme QSR ou de l'une de nombreuses théories, dont la théorie de la convergence symbolique (TCS).

Fouiller le contenu médiatique est une autre façon de construire une base de données narratives. Selon la logique de Bogdanic, nous commencerions par les événements médiatiques les plus proches des activités des groupes dominants (ou des groupes d'intérêt) et chercherions les comptes rendus de première main ou les entretiens avec les élites des groupes cibles. Ainsi, pour analyser les mythes serbes de la formation nationale, nous pourrions examiner les comptes rendus serbes de l'anniversaire d'événements ou les discours rapportés dans les médias serbes à l'occasion de Kosovo Polje ou d'autres événements nationaux importants.

La théorie de la convergence symbolique est un bon point de départ tiré de la théorie générale de la communication en vue de l'analyse de la création d'une signification partagée (Bormann 1985). La signification des événements, les émotions qui se rattachent à ces significations et la justification des actions en réaction à ces événements sont toutes des co-crétions des narrateurs et des auditoires de ces récits. Les médias ethniques qui rendent compte de la signification d'un anniversaire et les participants ethniques à cet anniversaire auront une vue convergente de la signification symbolique de l'événement et de leur participation. Ils peuvent partager le fantasme d'un âge d'or mythique ou une vision rhétorique d'oppression et d'injustice. Une signification entièrement différente peut émerger du récit du même événement fait par les médias d'un groupe identitaire opposé, qui partagera cette vision, la renforçant peut-être par opposition à la rhétorique de l'autre groupe.

Une théorie fondée sur des faits commence typiquement par une certaine quantité de données empiriques tirées de cas, peut-être un certain nombre d'entretiens. L'information relative à ces cas est organisée de façon à permettre la comparaison des systèmes les plus similaires ou les plus différents, et une théorie de bas niveau (précis aux circonstances des cas) est tirée de cette comparaison en guise d'outil d'explication (Dick 2005; Jensen 2002). Cette approche peut générer plusieurs énoncés différents sur les mythes ou les fantasmes partagés à l'intérieur d'un groupe. On pourrait ensuite appliquer la méthode Q pour déterminer la pertinence de mythes

précis pour ce groupe. Par exemple, la théorie fondée sur des faits pourrait suggérer un certain nombre de récits différents justifiant les colonies juives dans les territoires occupés : Dieu nous a donné cette terre; elle était inoccupée lorsque nous sommes arrivés; c'est nécessaire pour la sécurité d'Israël; les Arabes gaspillaient la terre; le gouvernement rend les colonies économiquement intéressantes. Ces différents récits seraient ensuite présentés à un petit échantillon choisi (p. ex., formé de cinq à dix membres des élites des colonies israéliennes) qui serait invité à classer ces récits ou à les évaluer sur une fiche de pointage (comme une échelle de Likert). Une analyse factorielle de la classification Q permettrait alors de déterminer les récits les plus pertinents (Van Exel et De Graf 2005).

Bogdanic continue en fournissant des exemples élargis du concept de mythe dans le développement des théories dans une variété de disciplines différentes. Les récits, les mythes, les idéologies et la manipulation de la langue comme outil de domination sont des idées répandues dans la plupart des disciplines, y compris la littérature, l'économie politique, la sociologie, les études en communications et l'analyse critique de l'histoire. Ses exemples montrent que tout mappage détaillé des concepts qui influencent le comportement des acteurs non étatiques devra démêler de nombreuses théories potentiellement contradictoires.

La théorie de la culture touchant les effets des médias (Gerbner 2000) suggère que les médias de masse cultivent les concepts et les perceptions qui circulent déjà largement. Les reportages prennent souvent la forme de mythes ou renforcent les stéréotypes (Gorham 2006; Knight et Dean 1982; Vartanov 1991), comme le font les telenovelas, les mélodrames ou les feuilletons (Lozano 1992). Le divertissement populaire peut toutefois également être utilisé pour une éducation socialement utile, comme la promotion de la santé publique (Spencer 2006), de sorte que nous pouvons espérer que le divertissement populaire puisse servir à ajuster les attitudes vis-à-vis des conflits violents (Paluck 2007), mais les médias sont également responsables de concepts de peur comme le terrorisme (Chermak 2003; Altheide 2009).

L'enseignement de l'histoire est un moyen classique pour la transmission des MLRH (Koulouri 2002) et l'identité est soutenue tant par les récits historiques que par les récits intemporels fictifs avec un message moral (Edensor 2002; Dant 2003). Les vues sur l'économie politique, y compris les mythes sur l'efficacité des marchés, les secteurs publics inefficaces et l'inévitabilité de la pauvreté, sont véhiculées par les médias de masse occidentaux (Schwartzkopf 2009; Zaidi 2008; Lemieux et Pratto 2003).

Bogdanic conclut à l'importance de la langue comme moyen de communication. Lorsqu'une langue officielle devient un moyen pour la promotion de l'identité ethnique, comme les variantes croate, serbe et bosniaque du serbo-croate le sont devenues dans les années 1990, la langue elle-même devient un moyen pour une hiérarchie de renforcement. George Bernard Shaw a traité de ce phénomène dans sa pièce *Pygmalion*; les accents et le vocabulaire sont des étiquettes universelles qui contribuent aux divisions hiérarchiques, et peuvent être explorés dans la théorie de la communication.

Thomson fournit une étude de cas en méthodologie de recherche sur le terrain appliquée à l'anthropologie. Elle avance que le Rwanda présente un bon exemple des techniques et des stratégies utilisées par un gouvernement pour disséminer des mythes qui légitiment son droit de gouverner. Ces mythes de légitimation sont soutenus par des agents de l'État, y compris des fonctionnaires, la police et les militaires. La prémisse du chapitre est que les agents étrangers

(diplomates, observateurs militaires, contrôleurs de la police, etc.) doivent être en mesure de voir derrière les récits officiels pour comprendre ce qui arrive réellement dans une société après-conflit comme le Rwanda. Les outils anthropologiques qui consistent à pénétrer dans une société, à recruter des répondants, à maintenir l'accès à ces répondants, et à composer avec les couches de surveillance et d'interférence gouvernementales sont essentiels à une communication efficace avec les gens ordinaires.

Le concept mis de l'avant par Thomson, qui consiste à contourner ou voir derrière les mythes de légitimation, est une autre façon de mettre au jour les mythes eux-mêmes, mais également de comprendre l'impact de ces mythes, en particulier lorsqu'ils sont les piliers de l'autorité de l'État. Les groupes armés non étatiques peuvent parfois accepter les récits étatiques, mais s'ils sont des acteurs autonomes, ils sont susceptibles d'avoir des récits différents expliquant leur relation à l'État. Les Premières Nations du Canada sont un bon exemple de cette relation ambivalente avec les récits officiels, et les anthropologues qui cherchent à travailler parmi les Premières Nations du Canada doivent naviguer entre les autorités fédérales et provinciales et les autorités des Premières Nations, ainsi qu'entre les récits connexes (da Silva 2005; Darnell 2000).

Le Rwanda étant un État qui se remet encore du traumatisme du génocide, les enjeux y sont élevés. Une loi de 2003 interdit le « divisionisme ethnique » et la « promotion de l'idéologie génocidaire ». Les récits officiels sont apparemment en conflit avec les normes internationales des droits humains. Comprendre la réalité vécue par les pauvres des campagnes, qui sont soumis aux règles arbitraires des chefs locaux, peut fournir des éclaircissements importants sur le potentiel de réduction des conflits ou d'insurrection armée.

Si nous généralisons à partir de la description de Thomson, le processus de recherche suppose d'abord l'identification des autorités et la détermination de leurs exigences, y compris les différents véto qui peuvent être exercés à différents niveaux d'autorité allant du niveau national au niveau local. Trouver des partenaires locaux aide à satisfaire aux exigences des autorités et à mettre sur pied des équipes de gens de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur (Bartunek & Louis 1996). Les acteurs non étatiques peuvent être des autorités *de facto* dans des secteurs précis ou à certains moments. Certains gouvernements ou certaines autorités non étatiques exigent des droits ou une rémunération pour permettre la recherche, et ces droits ou cette rémunération peuvent prendre diverses formes—parfois davantage semblables à une licence ou un permis, et parfois davantage semblables à un pot-de-vin ou un avantage personnel. Les chercheurs doivent se demander qui exerce le contrôle, jusqu'où s'étend l'autorité gouvernementale et si les droits ou les avantages sont légitimes ou éthiques.

La connaissance de la langue et de la culture locales est un préalable essentiel de la recherche anthropologique. Le personnel provisoire (soldats en affectation de six mois, par exemple) se qualifiera rarement. Les équipes formées de personnes de l'intérieur et de personnes de l'extérieur sont une solution de rechange, mais une simple relation interprète-employeur ne se qualifie pas à ce titre. Ceci signifie que des arrangements spéciaux devront être pris pour recruter le bon type d'interprète et investir dans l'établissement de la bonne sorte de relation de recherche, pour permettre la recherche anthropologique. Du temps avec la population cible—jusqu'à six mois avant un effort de recrutement sérieux—est essentiel pour la méthode que Thomson décrit. Ceci suppose maintenir les heures et fréquenter les endroits fréquentés par la population cible, et conserver la confiance en ne transmettant pas des rapports aux autorités. Il est nécessaire de

donner du temps aux témoins officiels fournis par le gouvernement ou par les autorités tant pour des raisons d'équilibre que pour dissiper les craintes que l'exercice soit critique par nature.

Au contraire des entretiens actifs avec un informateur clé recommandés par Bogdanic, Thomson recommande une approche fondée sur le profil de vie. Cette approche commence par des conversations non structurées menées dans le temps, et destinées à bâtir la confiance et la confiance en soi de l'interlocuteur. Pour Thomson, l'approche suppose presque dix heures de conversation par sujet auprès de plus de trente sujets, heures au cours desquelles elle a assumé fréquemment un rôle de thérapeute—un rôle avec lequel nombre de ses sujets étaient familiers.

Le maintien d'une liaison étroite avec les autorités pendant le cours de la recherche peut être essentiel à la poursuite de cette dernière. Il est également important d'être conscient de la perception que les autorités, mais également les différents intervenants (p. ex., acteurs non étatiques, groupes ethniques opposés, etc.) ont de nos actions. La bonté montrée à certains peut être vue comme une insensibilité à la douleur des autres, mais il est difficile de savoir s'il existe une solution à ce dilemme. Il est également possible que l'humanité universelle puisse gagner un respect réticent avec le temps, mais cela peut varier selon l'intensité de l'animosité entre les groupes.

Les résultats de la recherche peuvent être perçus comme étant subversifs, et les autorités peuvent exiger que les constatations leur soient soumises, ce qui risque de mettre en danger les sujets ou les partenaires locaux. Inversement, lorsqu'il travaille avec des acteurs non étatiques ou étatiques, un chercheur peut être au courant d'information sur des actions à venir qui pourraient sauver des vies ou en mettre en danger. Par exemple, un anthropologue travaillant avec des insurgés a décrit avoir entendu parler d'assassinat et s'être rendu compte après coup qu'il avait été mis au courant de plans réels. Comme sa propre vie était également menacée du fait qu'il était un « invité » des rebelles, il a pu exiger de ne pas être mis au courant de ces opérations à l'avance. La réaction des comités d'éthique face à cette sorte de possibilité varie. Les comités ayant moins d'expérience du monde réel sont généralement moins tolérants.

Triangulation. Susesemihl, Bogdanic et Thomson fournissent des outils en vue de l'élaboration de la démarche de triangulation visant à mettre au jour les MLRH. Une façon de voir la triangulation est de visualiser des cercles concentriques d'information narrative provenant de sources multiples, l'objet d'intérêt (un groupe armé non étatique, par exemple) étant au centre. Susesemihl approche ces couches de l'extérieur, décrivant des façons de comprendre l'environnement dans lequel l'objet d'intérêt existe, ainsi que de multiples façons différentes d'examiner un acteur ou un concept uniques dans l'environnement plus large. Bogdanic commence au centre et travaille vers l'extérieur : les entretiens narratifs avec des informateurs clés commencent par les acteurs les plus importants pour un groupe si possible; sinon, il suggère des manières de se rabattre sur les récits médiatiques, et même les rumeurs et le commérage comme façons de comprendre la dissémination du mythe et des fantasmes collectifs qui soutiennent les orientations de la dominance. Les méthodes anthropologiques et ethnographiques adoptées par Thomson peuvent être plus proches d'un échantillonnage du centre, mais nous ne pouvons pas être certains *a priori* que les récits que nous recueillons au moyen de ces techniques seront l'indication d'une vision du monde en particulier. Cette approche est la plus susceptible de produire une carte descriptive d'un échantillon d'individus qui pourraient être plus proches ou plus éloignés du centre, selon la façon dont le chercheur est entré dans la communauté. La combinaison extérieur-intérieur, intérieur-extérieur et échantillon en profondeur pourrait être un

point de départ en vue de la triangulation de notre compréhension des MLRH pour un groupe donné.

Sélection des outils d'élicitation. Au dernier atelier lié aux projets d'E-MLRH et d'équipes rouges (conférence sur les équipes rouges du CSAFS/RMC tenue à Kingston [Ontario], les 17 et 18 mars 2011), James Finan a décrit l'application de la méthode de hiérarchie multicritères (MHMC) comme outil de sélection à partir d'un certain nombre de méthodes différentes pouvant être utilisées pour mettre au jour les mythes de renforcement (ou d'atténuation) de la hiérarchie dans le monde réel. Cette présentation est reproduite dans le chapitre 4 du présent rapport.

La MHMC est un outil de prise de décision structuré (Saaty 1990) qui permet le classement et le tri des options en fonction de critères de décision multiples². Les trois chapitres sur la méthodologie renferment une suite d'outils d'élicitation et de méthodes d'analyse. Nous pouvons déduire les critères de sélection de la méthode qui convient le mieux à partir des préoccupations d'une agence participant à la mise au jour des MLRH. Ces critères peuvent inclure le temps, le coût, les paramètres d'échantillonnage (facilité, accessibilité, taille et fiabilité des échantillons) et le degré d'intrusion. Le *Table 1* ci-dessous suggère des critères qui peuvent être pondérés par les gestionnaires de projet en vue du choix des méthodes d'élicitation et d'analyse les plus appropriées aux circonstances considérées.

Tableau 2 : Élicitation, analyse et critères de sélection

Méthodes d'élicitation des données	Méthodes d'analyse des données	Critères de sélection
Échantillon de textes, interprétés largement : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • littérature pour enfants • folklore • médias de masse (tous types) • télévision • radio Échantillon utilitaire, de commodité ou aléatoire de répondants : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • récits d'informateurs clés • conception intérieur-extérieur • récits de profil de vie 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sémiologie • Méthode Q /classification Q • Analyse de texte • Analyse de contenu • Analyse du discours • Psychanalyse • Convergence symbolique 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Réduire au minimum le délai d'obtention d'un résultat • Réduire au minimum le coût d'exécution • Réduire au minimum la taille de l'échantillon requis • Maximiser la fiabilité • Optimiser le degré d'intrusion (tributaire de l'accès) • Optimiser la facilité d'échantillonnage

Certaines méthodes sont particulièrement adaptées (ou non) aux différentes méthodes d'élicitation et circonstances dans lesquelles elles seraient utilisées. Par exemple, un échantillon

² Le ministère du Patrimoine canadien du gouvernement du Canada fournit un outil MHMC à remplir en ligne pour aider à l'évaluation des projets. L'outil est offert sur le site Web de ce ministère à l'adresse http://www.cci-icc.gc.ca/tools/ahp/index_f.asp et peut être adapté de façon à permettre la mise à l'essai ou l'ajustement des critères suggérés ici en vue de l'évaluation des outils d'élicitation et des méthodes d'analyse.

de littérature pour enfants ou de folklore serait probablement analysé le plus efficacement au moyen d'une analyse sémiotique. L'exploration des médias de masse pourrait exiger des techniques d'échantillonnage plus complexes en raison de l'investissement nécessaire à la traduction et à la transcription de scripts, et de la perte de l'information visuelle tirée des images, qui renferment un contenu particulièrement émotif. Un projet peut donc combiner l'échantillonnage avec une analyse de contenu basée sur des outils de recherche, suivie d'une analyse du discours ou d'une recherche de la convergence symbolique. Nous pouvons nous attendre à un certain chevauchement de ces méthodes, selon la formation des personnes qui les appliquent. L'analyse du discours par un chercheur ayant une formation en sociologie peut beaucoup ressembler à une recherche de convergence symbolique par un chercheur ayant le même type de formation.

Les critères de sélection nécessitent des explications. Il est probable que le temps et le coût seront toujours des considérations dont l'importance variera en fonction de la taille de l'échantillon, de sorte que réduire au minimum ces trois premiers critères semble raisonnable. La maximisation de la « fiabilité » dépendra du degré de confiance que l'auditoire visé accorde aux outils d'élicitation et aux méthodes d'analyse. Le facteur le plus important peut-être dans le choix d'une technique d'élicitation est l'accès à la population cible et aux données : combien de textes, de médias ou de clavardage un groupe génère-t-il? Combien accessible est ce matériel sans que l'on se fie à des gens de l'intérieur? Des gens de l'intérieur sont-ils disponibles? Si le groupe est éloigné, non communicatif ou hostile aux intrusions, quelles sont les options en vue d'un accès ethnographique du type décrit par Thomson, et combien de temps faudra-t-il? Il est concevable qu'un « degré d'intrusion » soit désirable dans certaines circonstances dans le cadre d'une stratégie d'influence—rencontrer et comprendre un groupe dans des conditions de respect mutuel peut faire partie de l'objectif de recherche. Optimiser le degré d'intrusion peut de ce fait entraîner une stratégie d'information active dans le cadre du programme de recherche.

Valider l'éthique de la recherche. Daniel Lagacé-Roy, professeur au Département de psychologie militaire et de leadership du Collège militaire royal du Canada est président du comité d'éthique de la recherche du CMRC et a été consulté sur les questions d'éthique soulevées dans la conduite de recherche sur le terrain visant à mettre au jour les mythes de légitimation qui renforcent la hiérarchie. Sa réflexion est consignée dans le dernier chapitre du présent rapport. Il demeure disponible pour aider à la prochaine phase de conception de la recherche. Toute recherche menée par une université canadienne ou avec le soutien financier du gouvernement du Canada, devrait satisfaire à la norme éthique établie dans l'*Énoncé de politique des trois conseils : Éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains* (EPTC2) (l'énoncé est disponible en ligne à l'adresse http://www.ger.ethique.gc.ca/pdf/fra/eptc2/EPTC_2_FINALE_Web.pdf). Le Groupe consultatif interagences en éthique de la recherche (GER) décrit comment cet énoncé doit être appliqué (voir le site Web du Groupe à l'adresse <http://www.ger.ethique.gc.ca/fra/panel-group/about-apropos/>) de façon à guider les délibérations de comités de l'éthique de la recherche comme celui du CMRC.

Les méthodes d'élicitation énumérées dans le *Table 1* peuvent être divisées assez nettement en deux catégories—le premier groupe n'exigerait pas une approbation de l'éthique de la recherche tandis que le second groupe, dans lequel les chercheurs font appel à la participation d'individus, nécessiterait une approbation. Dans le dernier cas, la conception de la recherche peut inclure une lettre d'information et un formulaire de consentement accompagnés de l'assurance que les participants peuvent mettre fin à leur participation en tout temps. Le chercheur ne doit pas offrir

de paiement incitatif aux participants éventuels ni être en position de pouvoir par rapport aux répondants. L'objet réel de l'étude (mettre au jour les MLRH) peut ne pas être clair pour les sujets simplement en raison de la nature du concept. La nature du groupe sous examen déterminera s'il est possible de permettre au groupe de discuter de sa participation et de ses réponses. Il n'existe pas de raison particulière d'identifier les participants individuels, de sorte que le maintien de la confidentialité ne devrait pas être un problème. La divulgation des résultats d'une étude pilote à des tiers peut être nécessaire à l'atteinte des objectifs de RDDC. Les tiers seraient d'autres entrepreneurs embauchés au soutien de la recherche. La divulgation de la nature de la recherche aux participants à la fin de leur participation peut poser un problème, tant en raison de la façon dont les données peuvent être recueillies que de celle dont elles peuvent être utilisées.

En plus du professeur Lagacé-Roy, le Conseil consultatif en matière d'éthique de la recherche sur le terrain (décrit à l'adresse http://web.me.com/dmlast/Research/Research_Ethics.html) peut fournir un encadrement additionnel sur la meilleure façon d'obtenir des résultats dans un cadre éthique.

Importance : Le présent rapport rassemble plusieurs dimensions de l'étude sur l'E-MLRH : trois approches différentes en matière de mise à jour et d'analyse de l'information sur les mythes de légitimation renforçant (ou atténuant) la hiérarchie, un outil de sélection et des critères suggérés en vue du choix de la combinaison de techniques la plus appropriée pour une cible donnée, et une stratégie de validation de l'éthique de la recherche si la prochaine phase inclut une étude sur les humains.

Les travaux effectués dans le cadre de la présente étude sont utiles aux équipes rouges et à la recherche de points de vue autres. Si nous comprenons comment les groupes se perçoivent et justifient leurs actions, nous pourrions élaborer un meilleur ensemble d'options pour aborder les conflits ou les contingences.

Une compréhension des mythes de légitimation renforçant (ou atténuant) la hiérarchie est utile aux activités d'influence et aux opérations psychologiques, ainsi qu'en vue de travaux de recherche additionnels sur la compréhension du contexte humain complexe.

This page intentionally left blank.

Table of contents

Abstract	i
Résumé	ii
Executive summary	iii
Sommaire	xviii
Table of contents	xxxiii
List of tables	xxxv
Acknowledgements	xxxvi
1 Written literature and communications perspective: What myths are communicated in literature and through media, Internet and blogs?	1
1.1 Introduction and comments on terminology	1
1.2 Methods of textual analysis and their major characteristics	2
1.3 Literature survey or samples of relevant literature	5
1.3.1 Children’s literature	5
1.3.2 Radio	7
1.3.3 Television	8
1.3.4 Internet	10
1.3.5 Weblogs and blogs	12
1.4 Further literature and research of interest for E-HELM	17
1.5 Bibliography	18
2 Investigating techniques for eliciting hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths	29
2.1 Introduction	29
2.2 Brief description of the method	29
2.2.1 Key informant narrative interviewing	30
2.2.2 Media narratives	30
2.2.3 Narrative analysis of interviews and media content	31
2.2.4 An alternative method	31
2.3 Sample of relevant literature and references	32
2.4 Study examples of researchers using the methods	32
2.5 Summary of sources and methods	33
2.6 Bibliography	36
2.6.1 References	36
2.6.2 Other sources consulted	42
3 Seeing behind entrenched legitimizing myths: Examples from post-genocide Rwanda	56
3.1 Crafting a legitimizing myth: Rwanda is a nation rehabilitated	57
3.2 Research procedures	58
3.2.1 Permission to enter “the field”	58
3.2.2 Respondent recruitment	60

3.3	Gaining access.....	62
3.3.1	Access to respondents.....	62
3.4	Layers of surveillance, modes of interference: two examples.....	63
3.4.1	“What made you think you could touch her?”.....	63
3.4.2	“We don’t need that kind of research”.....	65
3.5	Surveillance and interference: Some reflections	66
3.6	Conclusion.....	67
3.7	References	68
4	Insurgent group formation: An illustrative Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) model.....	69
5	Surviving ethical approval: Re-defining research.....	82
5.1	Introduction	82
5.2	Ethical protocol	82
5.3	Nature and purpose of the research	83
5.4	Participants	83
5.5	Methodologies	84
5.6	Ethical <i>irregularities</i>	84
5.6.1	Nature and purpose of the research.....	85
5.6.2	Participants	86
5.6.3	Methodologies	87
5.6.3.1	Collection of data via documents.....	88
5.6.3.2	Collection of data via interviews	88
5.7	Conclusion.....	89
5.8	References	90

List of tables

Table 1: Elicitation, analysis, and selection criteria..... xiii

Acknowledgements

This report would not have been possible without the work of Anthony Seaboyer, Director of the Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society, who was tireless in tracking down the experts to do the work. Will Chalmers, Suzanne Robertson and Julie Durand provided invaluable support. We are also indebted to the enthusiasm, guidance and collaboration of Afzal Upal and James Moore who instigated the project. Researchers Geneviève Susemihl, Aleksandar Bogdanic and Susan Thomson provided papers that went well beyond our expectations of work for the very modest honoraria provided. Finally, Daniel Lagacé-Roy provided a thought-provoking piece at very short notice.

This page intentionally left blank.

1 Written literature and communications perspective: What myths are communicated in literature and through media, Internet and blogs?

Geneviève Susemihl (University of Greifswald, Germany)

1.1 Introduction and comments on terminology

In our current society a great number of “legitimizing myths” or “narratives” are communicated through literature and different media, including TV, films, advertising, Internet, blogs, etc.. These myths or narratives differ according to country, society, religion, etc..

Social and political psychologists believe that *myths* that glorify in-group members and denigrate out-group members play a crucial role in intergroup conflict, and label such beliefs as *legitimizing myths* (LMs), divided into *hierarchy-enhancing* (HE) and *hierarchy-attenuating* (HA) LMs (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001).

In a cultural studies context, however, the term *myth* is used in somewhat different contexts, commonly connected with mythology (Doty, 2004: 11-12; Dundes, 1984; Segal, 2004: 5). In a very broad sense, the term *myth* refers to traditional stories. These are very often sacred stories that generally take place in a primordial age and explain how the world was formed, how humankind came to be, and how customs, institutions and taboos were established. These traditional narratives are regarded as true accounts of the remote past within the society in which they are told, and are thus considered to be ‘true stories’ or myths (as compared to ‘false stories’ and fables).

In the same context the term *narrative* is being used to describe a story that is created in a constructive format (as a work of speech, writing, song, film, television, video games, in photography or theatre) that describes a sequence of fictional or non-fictional events. An important part of narration is the narrative mode, the set of methods used to communicate the narrative through a process called narration, being one form of rhetorical discourse (besides exposition, argumentation and description). Stories are an important aspect of culture. Many works of art and most works of literature tell stories; indeed, most of the humanities involve stories. *Narrative* may also refer to psychological processes of self-identity, memory and meaning-making.

Throughout the chapter I will use the terms *narrative* or *story* when referring to narratives that help legitimize group hierarchies and dominant structures within society.

Depending on the social and cultural features of the society in question, there are a number of different methods and techniques that can be applied in order to obtain or “elicit hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths” (E-HELM) in a particular society or culture (Garro, 2000). In the following chapter, I will give a short description of various methods of textual analysis, with a list of researchers that have employed the different techniques within their fields of expertise and related publications.

1.2 Methods of textual analysis and their major characteristics

Social scientists today are often interested in the ways in which social life is constructed through the ideas that people have about it, and the practices that flow from those ideas. Thus *culture*, being a complex concept, has become “a crucial means by which many social scientists understand social processes, social identities, and social change and conflict” (Rose, 2001: 5). According to Stuart Hall, one of the major contributors to the ‘cultural turn’ in social sciences, “culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings ... between the members of a society or group ... Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is around them, and ‘making sense’ of the world, in broadly similar ways” (Hall, 1997: 2). Because of this shift and its impact in the social sciences, I want to look at methodologies in the broad field of cultural studies employed to study groups and hierarchies.

In the context of cultural studies, the concept of *text* is defined rather broadly (Fiske, 1989; Strinati, 2004). Beyond written texts and multi-modal texts (TV, advertising, Internet, etc.) it comprises all meaningful artifacts of culture, such as films, photographs, music, art, fashion, sports, cities, bodies, buildings, etc.. Due to theoretical, methodological, historical and political reasons, *textual analysis* ought to be more widely recognized as a useful method in social research. Furthermore, I want to consider visual methodologies and thus visual culture in this context, since many scholars think about the visual as the most fundamental of all senses. Indeed, when we start analyzing television, photography, art and other visual artifacts, we have to be concerned with and knowledgeable about visual culture and its specific methodologies.³

Depending on the disciplinary background, the theoretical framework, and the research question, methodologically *textual analysis* can have a quantitative or qualitative design. According to the sites and modality of the text or images (i.e., site of production; site of the text/image itself; site of audiencing; technological, compositional and social modality) there are various methodologies that can be employed in interpreting and analyzing textual and visual materials, namely, *compositional interpretation*, *content analysis*, *psychoanalysis*, *audience studies*, *semiology*, and *discourse analysis* among others (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2004; Rose, 2001). Thus, there are two main forms of textual analysis of cultural artifacts or ‘texts’: content analysis and interpretive methods/techniques. In the following I want to give short definitions of the various methods.

Content analysis is a systematic technique for compressing a large number of certain elements (e.g., words of text or images) of a clearly defined sample into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding and then analyzing the frequencies (Rose, 2001: 54; Stemler, 2001). This technique, used primarily in the social sciences and linguistics, originally was concerned to analyze cultural texts in accordance with ‘the ideals of quantification and natural science methodology.’ It was first introduced in the interwar period by social scientists to measure the ‘accuracy’ of the new mass media, and was further developed during World War II, when its methods were elaborated in order to detect implicit messages from German domestic radio broadcasts (Krippendorf, 1980).

³ For an introduction and discussions of culture in general, popular culture in particular, and different media and methods of analyzing culture, see Buhle, 1987; Fiske, 1989; Story, 2003; Strinati, 2000 and 2004. For an introduction to visual culture and visual methodologies, see Banks, 2001; Bell, 2001; Evans & Hall, 1999; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001; Rose, 2001.

Content analysis seeks out latent meanings that it claims become evident only from systematic quantitative study. While content analysis is a more quantitative approach and thus foremost a way of understanding the symbolic qualities of ‘texts’, it can include qualitative interpretations. The information, especially when linked to more qualitative kinds of analysis, can be very valuable in moving beyond the analyst’s always somewhat subjective observations. Content analysis can be used when generalizations about what is shown on television, for example, in the press or its advertisements, require observable, ‘objective’ evidence (Bell, 2004). (For a specific example of this content analysis being applied in an American visual cultural context, see the Lutz & Collins (1993) study of *National Geographic* photographs.)

Interpretive textual analyzes, on the other hand, include various methodologies such as semiology, rhetorical analysis, ideological analysis, psychoanalytic approaches, and discourse analysis, among others. These types of analysis seek to get beneath the surface and the denotative meanings and examine more implicit, connotative social meanings. These approaches often view culture as a narrative or story-telling process in which particular ‘texts’ or ‘cultural artifacts’ consciously or unconsciously link themselves to larger stories at play in a society or cultural setting.

Semiology (sometimes also called semiotics), the ‘study of signs,’ searches for the dominant codes, myths, or referent systems that underlie the surface appearance of signs. This methodology confronts the question of how texts and images make meanings, and offers a set of analytical tools for taking a text or image apart and tracing how it works in relation to broader systems of meanings. It is centrally concerned with the social effects of meanings, of how they work and how we use them.⁴

Psychoanalysis consists of a range of theories that deal with human subjectivity, sexuality and the unconscious. Psychoanalytic concepts or approaches are used to interpret aspects of texts and images and in particular their effects on spectators, users or readers. Thus psychoanalysis conceptualizes both the reader/viewer of a text or image and the text or image itself, and these two sites—that of the text or image itself and its audiencing—are the two sites of meaning production that psychoanalysis examines (Diem-Wille, 2001; Freud, 1916/17; Rose, 2001: 102; Thornham, 1997).

Discourse analysis pays attention to texts and images, and to their social production and effect. In a socio-political and cultural approach, discourse is seen as a system of power/knowledge, situated in a specific time and space. Foucault insists “power produces knowledge [...]; that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Foucault, 1977: 27). Knowledge and power are therefore imbricated one in the other, because all knowledge is discursive and all discourse is saturated with power, and because the most powerful discourses, in terms of the productiveness of their social effects, depend on assumptions and claims that their knowledge is true (Rose, 2001: 138).

⁴ For further reading, see Bal & Bryson, 1991; Barthes, 1973 and 1977; Hodge & Kress, 1988; Lévi-Strauss, 1963 and 1977; Panofsky, 1970; Rose, 2001; Seiler, 2011 (access date); Strinati, 1995; Williamson, 1978.

Discourse analysis explores how ‘texts’ and ‘images’ construct specific views of the social world, how texts and images construct accounts of the social world (since discourses are seen as socially produced rather than created by individuals), and how those specific views or accounts are constructed as real or truthful or natural through particular regimes or truth. Depending on the context, discourse analysis might be most concerned with discourse, discursive formations and their productivity, and thus pay more attention to the notion of discourse as articulated through various kinds of visual images and verbal texts. Or, it might be more explicitly concerned with issues of power, regimes of truths, institutions and technologies, and thus pay more attention to the practices of institutions (Rose, 2001: 140).⁵

Selected research on discourse analysis and dominance relations with short abstracts:

van Dijk, Teun A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283. Available online at: <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Principles%20of%20critical%20discourse%20analysis.pdf> (Access date: 30 March 2011).

Abstract: “This paper discusses some principles of critical discourse analysis, such as the explicit socio-political stance of discourse analysts, and a focus on dominance relations by elite groups and institutions as they are being enacted, legitimated or otherwise reproduced by text and talk. One of the crucial elements of this analysis of the relations between power and discourse is the patterns of access to (public) discourse for different social groups. Theoretically it is shown that in order to be able to relate power and discourse in an explicit way, we need the cognitive interface of models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies and other social representations of the social mind, which also relate the individual and the social, and the micro- and the macro-levels of social structure. Finally, the argument is illustrated with an analysis of parliamentary debates about ethnic affairs.”

van Dijk, Teun A. (2006). Discourse, context and cognition. *Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 159-177. Available online at: <http://dis.sagepub.com/content/8/1/159.abstract>.

Abstract: “In this article the relevance of a sociocognitive approach to discourse is shown by presenting a new theory of context, defined as subjective participants’ constructs of communicative situations, and made explicit in terms of mental models – context models – in Episodic Memory. Through a ‘contextual analysis’ of a fragment of one of the ‘Iraq’ speeches by Tony Blair in the British House of Commons, it is shown how such context models control and explain many political aspects of interaction that cannot be accounted for in autonomous approaches to text and talk. Context models thus provide an explicit theory of relevance and the situational appropriateness of discourse, and hence also a basis for theories of style.”

⁵ For further reading on the methodology of discourse analysis, see Bloomaert, 2005; Foucault, 1972 and 1977; Gee, 2005; Lillis & McKinney, 2003; Rose, 2001; Strinati, 1995; Tonkiss, 1998 (general introduction); Paltridge, 2006 (introduction to discourse analysis); Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Potter and Wetherell, 1994 (a detailed example of method in relation to a television programme); Lidchi, 1997 and Staniszewski, 1998 (discussions of museum exhibitions and the effects of display practices); Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001a, 2001b.

1.3 Literature survey or samples of relevant literature

In cultural studies often a combination of techniques or methodologies is being used in order to analyze certain ‘texts’ and thus social phenomena. We therefore will also have to deal with various methodologies when eliciting hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths. In the following a selected number of researchers in the fields of children’s literature, radio, television, Internet and weblogs will be named who work with the above-mentioned different methodologies of textual analysis, and relevant literature will be listed within these fields. Sample literature will be described closer with a short abstract of the research project.

1.3.1 Children’s literature

Children’s books seek to assist children to understand themselves and their world. The following researchers and books analyze children’s literature and the representation of nation, society, cultures and values.

- General analysis of children’s literature and picture books: Stephens, Watson & Parker, 1994.
- Storytelling and ideological constructions: Ackerman, 1984; Poveda, Morgade & Alonso, 2009; Stephens, 1992; Trites, 1994.
- Understanding multiculturalism and ethnic diversity through children’s literature: Bradford, 2001; Gilton, 2007; Knowles, 2007.
- Gender in contemporary children’s literature: James, 2011; Stephens, 2002.
- Representations of nation, national identity and culture in children’s literature: Brown, 2011; Singley, 2011; Stephens & McCullum, 1998; Superle, 2011 (on contemporary English-language Indian children’s literature).
- Postcolonialism: Bradford, 2007.
- Language and control in children’s literature: Knowles & Malmkjær, 1996.

Selected research with short abstracts:

Bradford, Clare (2001). *Reading race: Aboriginality in Australian children's literature*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

Abstract: “For the most part *Reading Race* deals with texts produced by non-Aboriginal authors and illustrators. It looks at the various ways in which Aboriginal culture is represented, and the ways in which readers are positioned in these texts. Bradford examines what art historian Bernard Smith describes as 'the locked cupboard of our history' (qtd *Reading Race* 2), and focuses principally upon how representations of Aboriginality work towards constructions of white identity and notions of Australianness. She argues that colonial children's discourses employ strategies of silence and concealment in order to identify colonisation with progress and moral rightness. Moreover, she illustrates the ways in which colonial discourses survive in

contemporary texts, naturalised through narrative strategies that represent the inherent superiority of Western culture as unremarkable and normal” (Pearce, 2004: 401).

Bradford, Clare (2007). *Unsettling narratives. Postcolonial readings of children’s literature.* Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press. Book description available online at: <http://www.wlu.ca/press/Catalog/bradford.shtml>.

Abstract: “Children’s books seek to assist children to understand themselves and their world. *Unsettling Narratives: Postcolonial Readings of Children’s Literature* demonstrates how settler-society texts position child readers as citizens of postcolonial nations, how they represent the colonial past to modern readers, what they propose about race relations, and how they conceptualize systems of power and government. Clare Bradford focuses on texts produced since 1980 in Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand and includes picture books, novels, and films by Indigenous and non-Indigenous publishers and producers” (from Book Description).

“Bradford is...the first to apply comparative literary techniques across the board to the children’s literature originating in these four countries [namely Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States].... She does an especially good job of pinpointing how indigenous stories become subsumed by European paradigms when told by cultural outsiders no matter how well-versed the authors may be in the cultures about which they are writing” (Review, Susan Stan, Central Michigan University, *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly*).

Knowles, Murray & Malmkjær, Kirsten (1996). *Language and control in children’s literature.* London, UK: Routledge. Preview available online at: http://books.google.com/books?id=2mh6pCDCZ5EC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Extract: (from Chapter 2, “Literature as a carrier of ideology: children’s literature and control”) “Thompson (1990: 59-67) lists five general modes of operation of ideology together with a number of associated strategies of symbolic construction. All of these modes and strategies may be carried by narrative, the telling of what happens to characters over a relatively well-defined stretch of time, a form taken by or found within a great deal of literature for children... Among the general modes of operation of ideology, and the strategies associated with them, are the following (from Thompson 1990: table 1.2):

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Associated strategies</i>
Legitimation	Narrativisation, Rationalisation, Universalisation
Dissimulation	Displacement, Euphemisation, Trope
Unification	Standardisation, Symbolisation of unity
Fragmentation	Differentiation, Expurgation of the other
Reification	Naturalisation, Eternalisation, Nominalisation, Passivisation”

(Knowles & Malmkjær, 1996 : 46-47).

Stephens, John & McCallum, Robyn (eds.) (1998). *Retelling stories, framing culture: Traditional story and metanarratives in children’s literature.* London, UK: Routledge. Book description available online at:

<http://www.tower.com/retelling-stories-framing-culture-traditional-story-metanarratives-in-john-stephenshardcover/wapi/100847612>.

Abstract: “What happens to traditional stories when they are retold in another time and cultural context and for a different audience? This first-of-its-kind study discusses Bible stories, classical myths, heroic legends, Arthurian romances, Robin Hood lore, folk tales, “oriental” tales, and other stories derived from European cultures. One chapter is devoted to various retellings of classics, from Shakespeare to “Wind in the Willows.

The authors offer a general theory of what motivates the retelling of stories, and how stories express the aspirations of a society. An important function of stories is to introduce children to a cultural heritage, and to transmit a body of shared allusions and experiences that expresses a society’s central values and assumptions. However, the cultural heritage may be modified through a pervasive tendency of retellings to produce socially conservative outcomes because of ethnocentric, androcentric and class-based assumptions in the source stories that persist into retellings. Therefore, some stories, such as classical myths, are particularly resistant to feminist reinterpretations, for example, while other types, such as folktales, are more malleable. In examining such possibilities, the book evaluates the processes of interpretation apparent in retellings” (from Short Description).

1.3.2 Radio

In order to draw on methods and techniques to elicit hierarchy-enhancing myths on radio broadcasting, it is helpful to know more about radio journalism and broadcasting in general. Besides listing sample research using the discussed methods and techniques, some introductory texts concerning radio journalism in general will be listed.

- Radio journalism in general: Allan, 2004; Boyd, 2008; Chantler, 2009; Devi, 2009; Kern, 2008; Navis & Glynn, 2010 (on satellite radio); Starkey, 2009.
- Radio and communication: Åberg, 1999; Schlickau, 1996 (discourse analysis on communication strategies of radio).
- Radio journalism, broadcasting and listeners’ attitudes abroad: Boyd, 1977 (Egyptian Radio as a tool of political and national development); David, 2007 (radio broadcasting in India); Matovu, 1996 (Radio Uganda).
- News and (radio) journalism: Bromley, 2001; Fortner, 1994 (on public diplomacy, international politics and the radio).
- Manipulation, propaganda and radio broadcasting: Brown, 1998 (1930s America); Hodge, 1995 (Radio Australia); Seib, 2006 (radio and war).
- Children’s comprehension of radio stories: Char, 1985.

1.3.3 Television

Television is still the most popular medium today. The primacy of television especially in the lives of young people has in fact prompted educator Neil Postman to point out that television is the “first curriculum” for school children (Postman, 1987). By the time students finish high school, they will have spent an average of 11,000 hours in school, compared to more than 15,000 hours watching television (*Media Literacy*, 1989). Narratives and stories told and visualized on television are therefore of particular importance when studying hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths.

- Television journalism and broadcasting in general: Boyd, 2008 (on techniques of television); Carey, 1990 (on myths and narratives on television and in the press); Davis, 1993 (on the power of television and narratives on TV); Kern, 2008 (sound reporting).
- Criticism and analysis of television: Massey, 1996 (television criticism in general); Burns, 1998 (textual analysis of television); Attallah, 2007 (Canadian television); van Rees, 2007 (discourse analysis of television talk).
- The news on television: Arno, 2009 (on communicating conflict in the news); Guzmán, 2007 (Latino news media); Harrison, 1985 (on the bias of television news); Warren, 1986 (content analysis of Chinese television news).
- Representation of culture and values on television: Attallah, 2010 (analysis of television discourse); Cheng, 1986 (content analysis of China’s television programming); Desai, 2009 (on transnational television in India); Heidt, 1984 (television in Singapore); Kottak, 2009 (representation of cultural values in prime-time programming); Postman, 1987 (analysis of television’s effect on culture).
- Television drama: Sheehan, 1987 (on Irish society and its stories and narratives as told on TV).
- Semiotics of film and television, language, and dialogue: Fairclough, 1995 (critical discourse analysis of language); Iedema, 2001; Lorenzo-Dus, 2010 (language in the media and television discourse); Quaglio, 2009 (language and dialogue in the sitcom *Friends*); Richardson, 2010 (a sociolinguistic study on dramatic dialogue); Tanaka, 2004 (a study of Japanese television interview discourse with respect to gender and culture); Valverde, 2006 (on *Law and Order* and its images, meanings and myths).
- Television and its influence in politics and elections: Ayish, 2003 (on Arab television and political, economic, cultural and technological patterns due to globalization); Shenkman, 2008 (TV and voting in the US).
- Representation of race, inequality, gender, age, etc. on television: Abelman, 1998 (critical analysis of television entertainment); Heineken, 2003 (feminist cultural analysis of the female body in popular media); Lee, 2006; Sengupta, 2010.
- Visual narratives, visual literacy: Stafford, 2011.

- Television and the public; audience research: Attallah, 2000 (public broadcasting in Canada and its audience); Bromley, 2001; Schmitz, 1996 (television viewing behaviour); Webster, 2009.
- Violence and war on TV and in film: Gunter, 2001 (content analysis of violence on British programs); Haarman, 2009 (linguistic analysis of television news reporting of the 2003 Iraqi war in American, British and Italian television).
- Advertising on television: There are an enormous number of studies on advertising, using different methodologies for analyzing its contents, values, and strategies of persuasion. I want to list a few randomly: Cumberbatch, 1990 (sex role stereotyping in television advertising); Koiviston, 1997 (a cross-cultural semiotic analysis of European and Japanese advertisements); Lee, 2006 (content analysis of the portrayal of older people in television advertisements in the US and South Korea); Schmidt & Kess, 1986 (discourse analysis of persuasive language in television advertising); Windschuttle, 1985 (television and advertising in Australia); Zhang, 2004 (comparative content analysis of individualist and collective values and orientations in global and local television advertising in China).

Selected research with short abstracts:

Attallah, Paul (2007). *A usable history for the study of television.* *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 37(3), 325-349. Available online at:

http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/canadian_review_of_american_studies/v037/37.3attallah.pdf.

Abstract: “The article examines the ways in which television is usually studied. The usual approach of putting television in opposition to film, while useful, contains numerous aporias and leads to particular types of questions. [...] Finally, television’s historical ties to film are often most appreciated when they highlight the tragedy of Hollywood’s passing. In the case of Canada, the study of television has been hampered by its absorption into the narrative of cultural defence and into the rationale of the policy apparatus justified by that narrative. The article proposes, therefore, three avenues for the reform of television studies. The first is to attend to actual audience behaviour through theoretically informed empirical study. The second is to attend to the historical forms of the institutionalization of television within its specific contexts. The third is to abandon the narrative of cultural defence with its attendant focus on the policy apparatus in favour of a more nuanced evaluation of the entire constellation of discourses which make up the television institution.”

Bromley, Michael (2001). *No news is bad news: Radio, television and the public.* Harlow, UK: Longman. Book description available online at:

http://www.amazon.ca/No-News-Bad-Television-Public/dp/058241833X#reader_058241833X.

Abstract: “This volume of collected essays provides a wide-ranging survey of the state of radio and television, especially the idea of public service broadcasting, and of news, current affairs and documentary programming in America, Australia, the UK and the rest of western Europe. Among the key issues it addresses are the ‘dumbing down’ of TV news, the infotainment factor in current affairs shows and the disappearance of the documentary. Using contemporary cases and examples [...] the essays link the performance of radio and television at the turn of the millennium with the

processes of deregulation, liberalization and digitalization which have been evident since the 1980s. ... [The book] offers analyzes of not only the ‘problems’ associated with news, current affairs and documentary broadcasting in an era of a declining public service ethos and the apparent triumph of the market, however. The essays also explore the potential of alternative radio and television, new forms of communication, such as the Internet, and changing practices among journalists and programme makers, as well as the resilience of public broadcasting and the powers of the public to ensure that the media remain relevant and accountable” (from Back Cover).

Guzmán, Isabel Molina (2006). Competing discourses of community: Ideological tensions between local general-market and Latino news media. *Journalism*, 7(3), 281-298. Abstract available online at: <http://jou.sagepub.com/content/7/3/281.abstract>.

Abstract: “Based on a critical analysis of the news coverage and editorial content regarding the Elián González international custody case in *The Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald*, this article explores the ideological tensions between local general-market and Latino news outlets during moments of increased social crisis. Specifically, it documents the newspapers’ relationship with each other and analyzes the competing discourses of ethnic, community and national identity embedded in the journalistic texts. The study suggests that, as US ethnic and racial demographics continue shifting in its major cities, particular attention must be paid to the dynamic role of the ethnic media. Examining the production of meanings in ethnic and general-market news coverage in relation to one another presents an opportunity for rethinking the role of journalism in public negotiations over constructs of community, national identity, and ethnic and racial difference.”

van Rees, M.A. (2007). Discourse analysis and argumentation theory: The case of television talk. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(8), 1454-1463. Abstract available online at: <http://www.mendeley.com/research/discourse-analysis-argumentation-theory-case-television-talk/>.

Abstract: “This paper, in discussing the six studies that make up this special issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics* on argumentation and television talk shows, offers reflections on the relationship between discourse analysis and argumentation theory. First, a brief sketch of both discourse analysis and argumentation theory is given. This is followed by some general remarks about argumentation in TV shows. Matters of interest pertaining to the relationship between discourse analysis and argumentation theory in the six articles are then discussed in more detail. The paper concludes with a summarising view on how argumentation theory and discourse analysis can benefit from each other.”

1.3.4 Internet

- Writing on the Internet: Beahr, 2010 (real communication in virtual space).
- Ideology; exchange of ideology and values on the Internet: Bauer, 2000 (on the change of culture and ideology due to the Internet); Iseke-Barnes, 2002 (see Abstract below); Nigel, 2001 (on the ideology of conspiracism on the Internet); Zhang et al., 2009/10.
- Group dominance and the Internet: Bailey, 2004 (see Abstract below).

- Narrative and interactive storytelling on the Internet: Aylett, 2010; Hellekson, 2006 (on fan fiction and fan communities).
- Internet addiction; group relations: Kima et al., 2006 (see Abstract below); Yablon et al., 2001 (see Abstract below).

Selected research with short abstracts:

Bailey, Stanley R. (2004). Group dominance and the myth of racial democracy: Antiracism attitudes in Brazil. *American Sociological Review*, 69(5), 728-747. Available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3593036>.

Abstract: “Group dominance perspectives contend that ideologies are central to the production and reproduction of racial oppression by their negative effect on attitudes toward antiracism initiatives. The Brazilian myth of racial democracy frequently is framed in this light, evoked as a racist ideology to explain an apparent lack of confrontation of racial inequality. Data from a 2000 probability sample of racial attitudes in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, contradict this long-held assertion, showing that most Brazilians in this state recognize racism as playing a role in Brazilian society, support the idea of affirmative action, and express interest in belonging to antiracism organizations. Moreover, opinions on affirmative action appear more strongly correlated with social class, as measured by education level, than race. As compared with results from the United States regarding opinions on similar selected affirmative action policies, the racial gap in Brazilian support for affirmative action is only moderate. Results also show that those who recognize the existence of racial discrimination in Brazil are more likely to support affirmative action. Implications for race theorizing from a group dominance perspective in Brazil as well as for antiracism strategies are addressed.”

Iseke-Barnes, Judy M. (2002). Aboriginal and Indigenous people’s resistance, the Internet, and education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 5(2), 171-198. Available online at: <http://educ.ubc.ca/faculty/bryson/565/AborigInternet.pdf>.

This study is part of a larger research project on discursive contexts of Internet conversations and websites about and amongst Aboriginal peoples focusing on issues of identity, community, culture and pedagogy.

Abstract: “This article examines exchanges in an Internet newsgroup which is focused on issues pertaining to Aboriginal peoples. The examination of these exchanges highlights cyberspace as sites where colonial misunderstandings are evident and resistance to these dominant discourses is possible. Issues of pedagogy and Aboriginal peoples on the Internet are explored. Given that home and school use of the Internet is ever increasing, it is of growing importance for educators and academics to consider ways that cultural groups are represented in this context. Internet texts, just as texts, books, and media before them, produce cultural narratives in regard to Aboriginal peoples. How are cultures represented? Who controls these representations? This article provides examples of resistance to colonial discourses about Aboriginal peoples but cautions that there are risks with the increasing commercialisation of the Internet that dominant discourses might prevail.”

Methodology: Content and discourse analysis.

Kim, K., Ryu, E., Chon, M-Y, Yeun, E-J, Choi, S-Y, Seo, J-S & Nam, B-W (2006). Internet addiction in Korean adolescents and its relation to depression and suicidal ideation: A questionnaire survey. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 43(2), 185-192. Abstract available online at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/16427966>.

Abstract: “This study examined the relationship of Internet addiction to depression and suicidal ideation in Korean adolescents. The participants were 1573 high-school students living in a city who completed the self-reported measures of the Internet Addiction Scale, the Korean version of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children-Major Depression Disorder-Simple Questionnaire, and the Suicidal Ideation Questionnaire-Junior. A correlational survey design was employed. Among the samples, 1.6% was diagnosed as Internet addicts, while 38.0% was classified as possible Internet addicts. The prevalence of Internet addiction did not vary with gender. The levels of depression and suicide ideation were highest in the Internet-addicts group. Future studies should investigate the direct relationship between psychological health problems and Internet dependency.”

Methodology: Cross-sectional and descriptive correlational design (SPSS).

Yablon, Yaacov B. & Katz, Yaacov J. (2001). Internet-based group relations: A high school peace education project in Israel. *Educational Media International*, 38(2&3), 175-182. Abstract available online at: <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/routledg/remi/2001/00000038/F0020002/art00015>.

Abstract: “This study describes how the Internet-based group communications was used as the major strategy to promote the societal values of understanding, equality, tolerance and peace between Israeli Jewish and Bedouin high school students. The Internet-based communications project formed the backbone of a project designed to confront one of the major conflicts in Israeli society, which focuses on the Jewish-Arab axis. Israeli Jews and Arabs are wary of each other and latent hostility permeates the atmosphere between the two societal groups and is directly related to the Israeli-Arab conflict. In the project the societal values of understanding, equality, tolerance and peace were intensely promoted through the medium of three different complementary educational strategies. Students participated in workshops conducted by experts trained in the art of mediation and bridge building, and participated in two day-long face-to-face meetings. The major strategy was an Internet-based weekly chat-room and e-mail session which lasted for the full length of the project. All three strategies were specially designed to complementarily promote understanding, equality, tolerance and peace between Jewish and Bedouin Arab students. The results of the project indicate that Jewish students adopted more favourable attitudes toward Bedouins and that Bedouin students’ attitudes towards Jewish students remained positive throughout the duration of the project. The prognosis for long-term change and cooperation between the Jewish and Bedouin students who participated in the project is discussed.”

1.3.5 Weblogs and blogs

Topics on weblogs and blogs:

- Internet at social networks: Curow, 2008 (see Abstract below); Döring, 2010; Krauss, 2008.

- Resistance and the Internet: Schoneboom, 2008 (see Abstract below).
- International weblogs: Engelmann, 2010 (Muslim weblogs in Germany); Ludke, 2009 (weblogs in Iran; see Abstract below); Wang, 2010 (Chinese weblogs and social control; see Abstract below).
- Representation of society on weblogs, democracy, elections: Berkman Center's Internet & Society at Harvard University, 2008; Estep, 2008 (see Abstract below); Gardner, 2010 (see Abstract below); Siu, 2009 (social influence and opinion change of weblogs; see Abstract below); Tang, 2008 (see Abstract below); Zúñiga et al., 2009 (change of the political environment through weblogs; see Abstract below).

Selected research with short abstracts:

Curow, Ashley Dallas (2008). *Live from "Africa": Representations and reflections in volunteer weblogs.* Unpublished Dissertation. Montréal, QC: Concordia University. Abstract available online at: <http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/thesis/view/98>.

Abstract: "This thesis investigates the role of Canadian weblogs or blogs (personal, chronological records of thoughts published on a web page) and the blogosphere (the online community of blogs) in discourse concerning Western representations of "Africa." It examines potential relationships between concepts of international integration that animate much of the discussion of the World Wide Web, and the concept of foreign aid at the level of the individual volunteer. This thesis also seeks to contextualize the writing within wider narratives of travel and tourism, and questions whether or not foreign aid discourse within the blogosphere can be used as a site for investigating the intersection between issues of social justice and new media technologies for expanding notions of volunteerism, international inter-responsibility and global citizenship."

Methodology: Discourse Analysis, including content analysis of 30 blogs.

Estep, Julie D. (2008). *A sieve order: Weblog design, democracy and deliberative space.* Unpublished Dissertation. Houghton, MI: Michigan Technological University. Abstract available online at: <http://gradworks.umi.com/32/93/3293038.html>.

Abstract: "This cultural ethnography captures a temporal snapshot of a nationally prominent weblog in its developing medium, tracing its trajectory of growth as a deliberative writing space. This study specifically examines the tension perpetually attending this weblog, called DailyKos, as its members sought both to establish the site as a mainstream force for Democratic (party) politics offline, and to accommodate the influx of users who, at this historical moment in particular, hungered for a virtual reconstruction of a Habermasian (democratic, "ideal") community-space.

This endeavor also analyzes the specific design structure of DailyKos and its "nodal networks" – specifically, how its "media grammars," and the use-choices that activate them, worked to shape, facilitate, and constrain democratic communication, and how each recursively affected the circulation and character of felt-agency among users, especially those occupying more-subaltern subject positions. This study concludes that the distinctive many-to-many architecture of this

particular blog served a Habermasian ideal of a “deliberative democracy” in its facilitation of rapid networking and collaborative research, as well as in its use as a “magnifier,” “amplifier,” and as an electronic “repeater” for subaltern voices and perspectives.

This study concludes conversely that DailyKos’ pursuit of success as a political agent in the offline world, enforced by the virtual use-choices its “feudal” leaders made in developing and applying its unique economy of social capital, at times dramatically compromised the quality of its democratic exchange, its sometime pretence of collective ownership, and its consideration of vulnerable sub-alternatives.

However, this study also finds that the playing-out of novel forms of virtual resistance that many DailyKos participants exerted in favour of a more egalitarian free-speech zone acted to forge ideological and discursive territory that led to the creation of new kinds of community landscapes, and new uses of “media languages” that arguably came far closer than DailyKos to achieving the kind of “ideal speech situation” and “deliberative democratic space” towards which Habermas and other pedagogical thinkers continue to argue and reach.”

Methodology: Virtual ethnography.

Gardner, Lori Ann (2010). *Gender bias as evidenced on political blogs in the 2008 presidential election.* Dissertation. Little Rock, AR: University of Arkansas at Little Rock.

Abstract: “Political blogs played a significant role in the 2008 presidential election serving not only as news sources on the latest political coverage, but also as communities where people expressed political opinions, interacted with others who shared similar beliefs, as well as attempt to persuade and influence the audience members, often making calls to action. A rhetorical analysis, drawing from gendered mediation and frame theory, of 183 political blog posts revealed that gendered mediation was quite common on blog posts in the 2008 presidential election. Further, the mediation was often followed by gendered discourse that was much more blatant in content among audience members. The significance of this analysis is that gendered mediation on political blogs, as they become more widely used, could have an impact on individual and social constructs of female political candidates, perhaps even influencing the outcome of presidential elections.”

Ludtke, Melissa (2009). *Publishing and mapping Iran’s Weblogistan.* *Nieman Reports*, 63(2), 45. Abstract available online at: <http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reportsitem.aspx?id=101482>.

Abstract: “Harvard University's Berkman Center for Internet & Society has been home to two unique efforts that make more visible to Western audiences what Iranian bloggers are writing. One of the center’s projects involves mapping and analyzing the social networks formed by Iranian bloggers; the other, Global Voices, began as a blog at Berkman and is now a global community of freelance and volunteer editors, authors and translators who bring newsworthy blogs from many parts of the world, including Iran, to the attention of Western audiences by translating them and posting them on the Web site.”

Schoneboom, Abigail (2008). *Hiding out: Creative resistance among anonymous workbloggers.* Dissertation. New York, NY: City University of New York. Available online at: http://www.abbyschoneboom.com/pdfs/diss/schoneb_hiding_all.pdf.

Abstract: “Anonymous workbloggers—employees who write online diaries about their work—are often simultaneously productive workers and savage critics of the corporate cultures in which they toil. Writing under an assumed identity, these workers create satirical portraits of their supervisors and colleagues, rail against management gurus and corporate buzzwords, celebrate time-wasting capers, and daydream about quitting. Their irreverent and fictionalized accounts of work, which are shielded from the gaze of co-workers and supervisors, reveal how office workers critically negotiate a labor process that, increasingly, demands their hearts and minds.”

Methodology: Discourse analysis, including content analysis of weblogs, online observations, personal interviews, online observations, offline in-person interviews, and content analysis of supplementary materials (virtual ethnography).

Siu, Alice (2009). *Look who’s talking: Examining social influence, opinion change, and argument quality in deliberation.* Unpublished Dissertation. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University. Abstract available online at: <http://gradworks.umi.com/33/43/3343885.html>.

Abstract: “While a variety of scholars have written about deliberation and its effects [...] almost all the empirical evidence has been based on pre and post deliberation responses on questionnaires or through analyzing outcomes. Moreover, even less is understood about the process of deliberation and how we can analyze argument quality. Based on the theories of deliberative democracy and transcripts of actual deliberation in five Deliberative Polls, this dissertation constructed a method to measure argument quality, issue positions, and other discussion variables. These variables examine their impact on small group mechanisms, such as polarization and social dominance, and policy opinion change. While the sample is limited to a particular design of deliberation, the normative basis makes the model applicable to studying a variety of other deliberative scenarios. This dissertation presents results contrary to two major criticisms of deliberation: social dominance and polarization in deliberations. Furthermore, this dissertation demonstrates that it is the most informed, and not the most privileged, who have higher quality argumentation and are less affected by the imbalance of arguments in deliberations.”

Tang, Qi (2008). *Foreigners’ archive: Contemporary China in the blogs of American expatriates.* Dissertation. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University. Available online at: <http://etd.ohiolink.edu/send-pdf.cgi/Tang%20Qi.pdf?bgsu1225464916>.

Abstract: “In this study I scrutinize blogs written by American expatriates in China of the 21st century. Two primary objectives are involved. One is to explore how China is represented in such blogs. The other is to understand the discursive processes through which the American bloggers utilize the blogging technology to narrate their (mis)conceptions of the Chinese realities. Equally important to these two focuses is an emphasis on revealing a delicate interplay between the production of the digital discourses about contemporary China in blog sphere, the bloggers’ assumptions of the Chinese government’s encompassing control of the Internet, and the surging nationalism exhibited by the Chinese readers of the blogs.

Drawing from the postcolonial and discursive perspectives of Edward Said, Mary Louise Pratt, David Spurr, and Nicolas Clifford, I see those blogs not merely as a platform for self expression, an open field of identity experiment, or a grassroots journalistic outlet. Rather, I argue that the blogs examined here consist of a distinct discursive space of cultural representation and contestation. They are also interpreted as a digital extension of conventional Euro-American travel writing as they share with the genre a set of rhetorical conventions and face the same set of

problems of representing the cultural Other. These assumptions guided the multimodal discourse analyzes of the blogs by three American individuals. The study revealed that the bloggers used three prominent metaphors to convey their perceptions of contemporary China, which echo the conventional Western knowledge of the country. During the process, the bloggers are concerned with the Chinese censorship of the Internet and give little attention to the challenge voiced by nationalistic Chinese readers.”

Methodology: Multimodal discourse analysis (with discussion of historical context and representational resources ranging from texts, graphics, audio and video to hypertexts).

Wang, Shaojung Sharon (2010). *The Internet battle between the authorities and the public: The power and the limits of social control and informational capitalism in China's blogosphere.* Unpublished Dissertation. Buffalo, NY: State University of New York at Buffalo. Abstract available online at: <http://gradworks.umi.com/34/23/3423543.html>.

Abstract: “While the Internet facilitates communication and interactions between individuals, blogs have further changed the way people put forward concepts in new forms of advocacy and reach genuine interactions with their audiences. In essence, blogging as the emergent new communication platform is playing an important role in transforming China’s society after its economic openness due to its crucial function in building and encouraging a wild variety of conversations. The expansion of the blogosphere has inevitably involved critical reactions, particularly in a society in which control over information still prevails. This study explores the implication of blogging in Post-socialist China on the country’s social changes, cultural characteristics, and political empowerment within the contexts of the gaze through the panoptic and synoptic structures. It seeks to answer perplexing questions in regards to the extent to which Internet censorship influences the proponents of a networked public sphere and nascent civil society.”

Methodology: Mixed analysis; case study.

de Zúñiga, Homero Gil, Puig-I-Abril, Eulàlia & Rojas, Hernando (2009). *Weblogs, traditional sources online and political participation: An assessment of how the Internet is changing the political environment.* *New Media & Society*, 11(4), 553-574. Abstract available online at: <http://nms.sagepub.com/content/11/4/553.abstract>.

Abstract: “Research has shown consistently that news consumption both online and offline is related positively to interpersonal discussion, political involvement and political engagement. However, little consideration has been given to the role that new sources of information may exert on different forms of political engagement. Based on secondary analysis of data collected by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, this article contrasts the influence of traditional sources of information online with that of emergent sources (blogs) in predicting further political discussion, campaigning and participation in both the online and the offline domains. The results show that the use of traditional sources online is related positively to different types of political engagement, both online and offline. Most interestingly, the article finds that blog use emerges as an equally important predictor of political engagement in the online domain. Its analyzes provide support for the contention that asserts the democratic potential of the internet.”

1.4 Further literature and research of interest for E-HELM

Gilsenan, Michael (1996). *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence and narrative in an Arab society*. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press. Preview available online at:

http://books.google.de/books?id=WHQ2ebMllGIC&printsec=frontcover&dq=narratives+of+hierarchie&source=bl&ots=cXWlbbzG_n&sig=1FUMHvVh2gzFNM66rJ3kMaVS7o&hl=de&ei=DFSLTYmIN8T0sgbGufChCg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDsQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Abstract: “*Lords of the Lebanese Marches* looks at relations between different forms of power, violence and hierarchy in Akkar, the northernmost province of Lebanon, during the 1970s. Often regarded as ‘backward’ and ‘feudal,’ in reality this area was controlled mainly by groups with important roles in government and business in Beirut...Using both material collected during his stay in Akkar and a variety of historical sources, Gilsenan analyzes the practices that guaranteed the rule of the large landowners and traces shifts in the discourses of domination in the area. He also examines the importance of narratives and rhetoric in constituting social honor, collective biography and shared memory/forgetting. The result is an exceptionally lively account of how changes in hierarchy were expressed in ironic commentary on the narratives of idealized masculinity and violence, how subversive laughter and humour counterpointed the heroic ethic of challenge and revenge, and how peasant narratives both countered and reproduced the values of hierarchy.”

Lee, Ezra Yoo-Hyeok (2005). Globalization, ideology, and narratives of the East Asian financial crisis. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 7(3). Abstract available online at: <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol7/iss3/8>.

Abstract: “In his paper, “Globalization, Ideology, and Narratives of the East Asian Financial Crisis,” Ezra Yoo-Hyeok Lee analyzes the narratives of the East Asian financial “crisis” in 1997-98, arguing that it took place in the course of restructuring the world economy so that the first world would keep its hegemonic power. The East Asian financial crisis spread rapidly to the rest of the globe and in this urgent situation, the IMF: International Monetary Fund played its now typical role as a “savior of the world.” Before the financial crisis, the East Asian economy was considered to be an exemplary model from which Western countries could learn. But after the financial crisis, in the course of “saving” East Asian countries, the IMF produced a completely different discourse that was readily accepted in the West. The IMF claimed that the lack of the “transparency” and cronyism of the East Asian economy were the main causes of the financial crisis in the region. The IMF then began to “restructure” the East Asian economy that had already been structured over the last three decades according to the Western “standard” without considering carefully enough the impact on the lived experience of East Asian people. Lee examines how the IMF constructs a new Orientalism in order to rationalize its harsh cure for the East Asian financial crisis and attempts to unmask the doubleness of the Western economy, particularly the American economy, by analyzing how the discourse of “transparency” is applied differently to its own economic problems, as, for instance, in the case of Enron.”

Episkenew, Jo-Ann (2009). *Taking back our spirits. Indigenous literature, public policy, and healing*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press. Book description available online at: <http://uofmpress.ca/books/detail/taking-back-our-spirits>.

Abstract: “From the earliest settler policies to deal with the ‘Indian problem,’ to contemporary government-run programs ostensibly designed to help Indigenous people, public policy has played a major role in creating the historical trauma that so greatly impacts the lives of Canada’s Aboriginal peoples. *Taking Back Our Spirits* traces the link between Canadian public policies, the injuries they have inflicted on Indigenous people, and Indigenous literature’s ability to heal individuals and communities. Episkenew examines contemporary autobiography, fiction, and drama to reveal how these texts respond to and critique public policy, and how literature functions as ‘medicine’ to help cure the colonial contagion” (from Book Description).

1.5 Bibliography

Abelman, R.(1998). *Reaching a critical mass: A critical analysis of television entertainment*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Åberg, C. (1999). *The sounds of radio: On radio as an auditive means of communication*. Stockholm, SE: Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, Stockholm University.

Ackerman, A. (1984). *Victorian ideology and British children's literature: 1850 – 1914*. Ann Arbor, MI.: University Microfilms International.

Allan, S. (2004). *News culture*. Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press.

Arno, A. (2009). *Alarming reports: Communicating conflict in the daily news*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Attallah, P. (2000). Public broadcasting in Canada: Legitimation crisis and the loss of audience. *Gazette: International Journal for Communication Studies*, 62(3-4), 177-203.

Attallah, P. (2007). A usable history for the study of television. *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 37(3), 325-349.

Attallah, P. (2010). Television discourse and situation comedy. *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 40(1), 1-24.

Ayish, M. (2003). *Arab world television in the age of Globalisation: An analysis of emerging political, economic, cultural and technological patterns*. Hamburg, DE : Dt. Orient-Inst.

Aylett, R., Lim, M., Louchart, S., Petta, P. & Riedl, M. (eds.) (2010). *Interactive storytelling. Third Joint Conference on Interactive Digital Storytelling, ICIDS 2010, Edinburgh, UK, November 2010; Proceedings*. Berlin, DE: Springer.

Baehr, C. & Schaller, B. (2010). *Writing for the Internet: A guide to real communication in virtual space*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press.

Bailey, S. (2004). Group dominance and the myth of racial democracy: Antiracism attitudes in Brazil. *American Sociological Review*, 69(5), 728-747.

Bal, M. & Bryson, N. (1991). Semiotics and art history. *Art Bulletin*, 73, 174-208.

- Banks, M. (2001). *Visual methods in social research*. London, UK: Sage.
- Barthes, R. (1973). *Mythologies*. London, UK. Paladin.
- Bauer, Z. (2000). People in the Net: Is the Internet going to change our culture and ideology? *Emergo: Journal of Transforming Economies and Societies*, 7(4), 54-70.
- Bell, P. (2001). Content analysis of visual images. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp.10-34). London, UK: Sage.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyd, A. (2008). *Broadcast journalism. Techniques of radio and television news*. Amsterdam, NL: Elsevier.
- Boyd, D. (1977). *Egyptian radio: Tool of political and national development*. Lexington, KY: AEJ.
- Bradford, C. (2001). *Reading race: Aboriginality in Australian children's literature*. Melbourne, AU: Melbourne University Press.
- Bradford, C. (2007). *Unsettling narratives. Postcolonial readings of children's literature*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press.
- Bradford, C., Mallan, K., Stephens, J. & McCallum, R. (eds.) (2008). *New world orders in contemporary children's literature*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bromley, M. (2001). *No news is bad news: Radio, television and the public*. Harlow, UK: Longman.
- Brown, J. (2011). *Immigration narratives in young adult literature: Crossing borders*. Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press.
- Brown, R. (1998). *Manipulating the ether: The power of broadcast radio in thirties America*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
- Buhle, P. (ed.) (1987). *Popular culture in America*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Burns, G. (1989). *Television studies: Textual analysis*. New York, NY: Praeger.
- Carey, J. (1990). *Media, myths and narratives. Television and the press*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Chantler, P. (2009). *Essential radio journalism. How to produce and present radio news*. London, UK: A & C Black.

- Char, C. (1985). *Stories through sound: Children's comprehension of radio stories and the role of sound effects and music in story comprehension*. Ann Arbor, MI.: UMI.
- Cheng, C. (1986). *A content analysis of mainland China's television programming from 1981 to 1985: An increasing role for entertainment?* Unpublished Dissertation. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- Cumberbatch, G. (1990). *Television advertising and sex role stereotyping: A content analysis*. London, UK: BSC.
- Curow, A. (2008). *Live from "Africa": Representations and reflections in volunteer weblogs*. Unpublished Dissertation. Montréal, QC: Concordia University.
- Dambrun, M., Guimond, S. & Duarte, S. (2002). The impact of hierarchy-enhancing vs. attenuating academic major on stereotyping: The mediating role of perceived social norm. *Current Research in Social Psychology*, 7(8), 114-136.
- David, J. (2007). *Radio broadcasting journalism in India*. New Delhi, IN: Cyber Tech Publications.
- Davis, D. (1993). *The five myths of television power, or, why the medium is not the message*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Desai, M. (2009). *Television and cultural crisis: An analysis of transnational television in India*. New Delhi, IN: Concept Publishing Company.
- Devi, M. (2009). *Radio and television journalism*. New Delhi, IN: Alfa Publication.
- Diem-Wille, G. (2001). A therapeutic perspective: The use of drawings in child psychoanalysis and social science. In T van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp.119-133). London, UK: Sage.
- Döring, N. & Gundolf, A. (2010). Your life in snapshots: Mobile weblogs. In P. Navar (ed.), *The new media and cybercultures anthology* (pp.515-525). Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Doty, W. (2004). *Myth: A handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Dundes, A. (ed.) (1984). *Sacred narrative: Readings in the theory of myth*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Engelmann, K. (2010). *Muslimische weblogs: Der Islam im deutschsprachigen Internet*. [Muslim weblogs: The Islam in German-speaking Internet] Berlin, DE: Frank & Timme.
- Episkew, J. (2009). *Taking back our spirits. Indigenous literature, public policy, and healing*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Estep, J. (2008). *A sieve order: Weblog design, democracy and deliberative space*. Unpublished Dissertation. Houghton, MI: Michigan Technological University.

- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London, UK: Longman.
- Fiske, J. (1989). *Understanding popular culture*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Fiske, J. (1990). *Reading the popular*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Fortner, R. (1994). *Public diplomacy and international politics. The symbolic constructs of summits and international radio news*. Westport, CT.: Praeger.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge*. London, UK: Tavistock Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. London, UK: Allen Lane.
- Freud, S. (1916/17). *Introductory lectures on psycho-analysis*, 15-16. London, UK: Hogarth Press, 1950-74.
- Gardner, L. (2010). *Gender bias as evidenced on political blogs in the 2008 presidential election*. Dissertation. Little Rock, AR: University of Arkansas at Little Rock.
- Garro, L. (2000). Remembering what one knows and the construction of the past: A comparison of cultural consensus theory and cultural schema theory. *Ethos*, 28, 275-319.
- Gee, J. (2005). *An introduction to discourse analysis*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gilsenan, M. (1990). *Recognizing Islam: Religion and society in the modern Middle East*. London, UK: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.
- Gilsenan, M. (1996). *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence and narrative in an Arab society*. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press.
- Gilton, D. (2007). *Multicultural and ethnic children's literature in the United States*. Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press.
- Graber, D. (2003). The media and democracy: Beyond myths and stereotypes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 6, 139-160.
- Gudykunst, W. (ed.) (2003). *Cross-cultural and intercultural communication*. London, UK: Sage.
- Gunter, B. (2001). *Violence on television. An analysis of amount, nature, location and origin of violence in British programmes*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Guzmán, I. (2006). Competing discourses of community: Ideological tensions between local general-market and Latino news media. *Journalism*, 7(3), 281-298.
- Haarman, L. (2009). *Evaluation and stance in war news: A linguistic analysis of American, British and Italian television news reporting of the 2003 Iraqi war*. New York, NY: Continuum.

- Hall, S. (1997). Introduction. In S. Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp.1-12). London, UK: Sage.
- Hall, S. (ed.) (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London, UK: Sage.
- Harrison, M. (1985). *TV news: Whose bias? A casebook analysis of strikes, television and media studies*. Hermitage, UK: Policy Journals.
- Heaven, P. & Greene, R. (2001). African Americans' stereotypes of whites: Relationships with social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and group identity. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 141(1), 141-143.
- Heidt, E. (1984). *Television in Singapore: An analysis of a week's viewing*. Singapore, SG: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Heinecken, D. (2003). *The warrior women of television: A feminist cultural analysis of the new female body in popular media*. New York, NY: Lang.
- Hellekson, K. (ed.) (2006). *Fan fiction and fan communities in the age of the Internet: New essays*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
- Hodge, E. (1995). *Radio wars: Truth, propaganda and the struggle for Radio Australia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodge, R. & Kress, G. (1988). *Social semiotics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Hogg, M. & Abrams, D. (eds.) (2001). *Intergroup relations. Key readings in social psychology*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis.
- Iedema, R. (2001). Analyzing film and television: A social semiotic account of Hospital: An Unhealthy Business. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp.183-204). London, UK: Sage.
- Interactive Persian Blogosphere Map. Cambridge, MA: Berkman Center's Internet & Society at Harvard University. Available online at: http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2008/Mapping_Irans_Online_Public/interactive_blogosphere_map (Access date: 30 March 2011).
- Iseke-Barnes, J. (2002). Aboriginal and indigenous people's resistance, the Internet, and education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 5(2).
- James, K. (2011). *Death, gender and sexuality in contemporary adolescent literature*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kern, J. (2008). *Sound reporting. The NPR guide to audio journalism and production*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Kim, K., Ryu, E., Chon, M-Y, Yeun, E-J, Choi, S-Y, Seo, J-S & Nam, B-W (2006). Internet addiction in Korean adolescents and its relation to depression and suicidal ideation: A questionnaire survey. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 43(2), 185-192.
- Knowles, E. (2007). *Understanding diversity through novels and picture books*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited.
- Knowles, M. & Malmkjær, K. (1996). *Language and control in children's literature*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Koivisto, J. (1997). *Television advertisements as cultural symbols: A cross-cultural semiotic analysis of a European and a Japanese baby napkin advertisement*. Helsinki, FI: HSE Press.
- Kottak, C. (2009). *Prime-time society: An anthropological analysis of television and culture*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast.
- Krauss, S. (2008). Weblogs als soziale Netzwerke: eine qualitative Beziehungsanalyse [Weblogs as social networks: A qualitative relationship analysis]. In A. Vaß, M. Welker & J. Schmidt (eds). *Kommunikation, partizipation und wirkungen im social Web – Vol.1: Grundlagen und methoden: von der gesellschaft zum individuum* (pp.327-347). Köln, DE: Halem.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lee, B. (2006). The portrayal of older people in television advertisements: A cross-cultural content analysis of the United States and South Korea. *The International Journal of Aging & Human Development*, 63(4), 279-297.
- Lee, E. (2005). Globalization, ideology, and narratives of the East Asian financial crisis. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 7(3).
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1963). *Structural anthropology*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1977). *Structural anthropology*. Vol. 2. London, UK: Allen Lane.
- Lidchi, H. (1997). The poetics and the politics of exhibiting other cultures. In S. Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp.151-222). London, UK: Sage.
- Lillis, T. & McKinney, C. (2003). *Analyzing language in context: A student workbook*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books.
- Lorenzo-Dus, N. (2010). Television discourse: Analyzing language in the media. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 14(2), 280-283.
- Ludtke, M. (2009). Publishing and mapping Iran's Weblogistan. *Nieman Reports*, 63(2), 45.
- Lutz, C. & Collins, J. (1993). *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Massey, K. (1996). *Television criticism: An introduction to reading, writing and analysis*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.
- Matovu, B. (1996). *A survey of listeners' attitudes towards Radio Uganda*. Fribourg, CH : Institut de Journalisme et des Communications Sociales.
- McCallum, R. (1999). *Ideologies of identity in adolescent fiction: The dialogic construction of subjectivity*. New York, NY: Garland Publishing.
- Mueller, D. (2001). *Hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating legitimizing myths and the context-specific components of social dominance orientation*. M.A. Thesis. Miami, FL: Department of Psychology, Miami University.
- Narr, A. (1988). *Verständlichkeit im magazinjournalismus. Probleme einer rezipientengerechten Berichterstattung im Hörfunk*. Frankfurt am Main, DE: Lang.
- Navis, C. & Glynn, M. (2010). How new market categories emerge: Temporal dynamics of legitimacy, identity, and entrepreneurship in satellite radio, 1990 – 2005. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55(3), 439-471.
- Nigel, J. (2001). Militias, the Patriot Movement, and the Internet. The ideology of conspiracism. In J. Parish & M. Parker (eds.), *The age of anxiety: Conspiracy theory and the human sciences* (pp.63-92). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Nussbaum, M. (1997). Narratives of hierarchy: *Loving v. Virginia* and the literary imagination. *Quinnipiac Law Review*, 19, 337-355.
- Paltridge, B. (2006). *Discourse analysis: An introduction*. London, UK: Continuum.
- Panofsky, E. (1970). *Meaning in the visual arts*. Hermondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Patrick, C. & Bucci, S. (2001). Right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and personality: An analysis using the IPIP measure. *European Journal of Personality*, 15(1), 49-56.
- Patton, L. & Doniger, W. (eds.) (1996). *Myth and method*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Pearce, S. (2004). Book review – *Reading race: Aboriginality in Australian children's literature*. *Australian Literary Studies*, 21(3), 401.
- Phillips, L. & Jørgensen, M. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London, UK: Sage.
- Postman, N. (1987). *Amusing ourselves to death: Public discourse in the age of show business*. London, UK: Methuen.
- Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1994). Analyzing discourse. In A. Bryman & R. Burgess (eds), *Analyzing qualitative data* (pp.47-66). London, UK: Routledge.

Poveda, D., Morgade, M. & Alonso, B. (2009). Storytellers of children's literature and their ideological construction of the audience. *Oral Tradition*, 24(1), 227-248.

Quaglio, P. (2009). *Television dialogue: The sitcom "Friends" vs. natural conversation*. Amsterdam, NL: Benjamins.

Richardson, K. (2010). *Television dramatic dialogue: A sociolinguistic study*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Rose, G. (2010). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*. London, UK: Sage.

Schlickau, S. (1996). *Moderation im Rundfunk. Diskursanalytische Untersuchungen zu kommunikativen Strategien deutscher und britischer Moderatoren* [Radio moderation: Discourse analysis on the communication strategies of German and British radio moderators]. Frankfurt am Main, DE: Lang.

Schmidt, R. and Kess, J. (1986). *Television advertising and televangelism: Discourse analysis of persuasive language*. Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Schmitz, B. (1996). Reactive effects of a survey on the television viewing behavior of a telemetric television audience panel: A combined time-series and control-group analysis. *Evaluation Review*, 20(2), 204-229.

Schoneboom, A. (2008). *Hiding out: Creative resistance among anonymous workbloggers*. Dissertation. New York, NY: The City University of New York.

Segal, R. (2004). *Myth: A very short introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Seib, P. (2006). *Broadcasts from the Blitz: How Edward R. Murrow helped lead America into war*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books.

Seiler, R. (no date) "Semiology // Semiotics". Available online at: <http://people.ucalgary.ca/~rseiler/semiolog.htm> [Access date: 4 April 2011]

Sengupta, M. (2010, 6 March). Altruism at the Oscars: Legitimizing racism, inequality and imperial design. *rabble.ca*. Available online at: <http://www.rabble.ca/news/2010/03/altruism-oscarslegitimizing-racism-inequality-and-imperial-design> (Access date: 29 March 2011).

Sheehan, H. (1987). *Irish television drama: A society and its stories*. Dublin, IE: Radio Telefís Éireann.

Shenkman, R. (2008). *Just how stupid are we? Facing the truth about the American voter*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Sidanius, J. & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

- Sidanius, J., Levin, S., Federico, C. & Pratto, F. (2001). Legitimizing ideologies: The social dominance approach. In J. Jost & B. Major (eds.), *The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relation* (pp. 307-331). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Singley, C. (2011). *Adopting America: Childhood, kinship, and national identity in literature*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Siu, A. (2009). *Look who's talking: Examining social influence, opinion change, and argument quality in deliberation*. Unpublished Dissertation. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University.
- Stafford, T. (2011). *Teaching visual literacy in the primary classroom: Comic books, film, television and picture narratives*. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Staniszewski, B. (1998). *The power of display: A history of exhibition installation at the Museum of Modern Art*. London, UK: MIT Press.
- Starkey, G. (2009). *Radio journalism*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.
- Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 7(17).
- Stephens, J. (1992). *Language and ideology in children's fiction*. London, UK: Longman.
- Stephens, J. (ed.) (2002). *Ways of being male: Representing masculinities in children's literature and film*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Stephens, J. & McCallum, R. (eds.) (1998). *Retelling stories, framing culture: Traditional story and metanarratives in children's literature*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Stephens, J., Watson, K. & Parker, J. (eds.) (1994). *From picture book to literary theory*. Sydney, AU: St Clair Press.
- Story, J. (2003). *Cultural studies and the study of popular culture*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.
- Strinati, D. (2000). *An introduction to studying popular culture*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Strinati, D. (2004). *An introduction to theories of popular culture* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Superle, M. (2011). *Contemporary English-language Indian children's literature: Representations of nation, culture, and the New Indian Girl*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Zilber, T., Tuval-Mashiach, R. & Lieblich, A. (2008). The embedded narrative. Navigating through multiple contexts. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(6), 1047-1069.
- Tanaka, L. (2004). *Gender, language and culture: A study of Japanese television interview discourse*. Philadelphia, PA : Benjamins.

- Tang, Q. (2008). *Foreigners' archive – Contemporary China in the blogs of American expatriates*. Dissertation. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University.
- Thornham, S. (1997). *Passionate detachments: An introduction to feminist film theory*. London, UK: Arnold.
- Tonkiss, F. (1998). Analyzing discourse. In C. Seale (ed.), *Researching society and culture* (pp.245-260). London, UK: Sage.
- Trites, R. (1994). Manifold narratives: Metafiction and ideology in picture books. *Children's Literature in Education*, 25(4), 225-242.
- Valverde, M. (2006). *Law and order: Images, meanings, myths*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge-Cavendish.
- van Dijk, T. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283.
- van Dijk, T. (2006). Discourse, context and cognition. *Discourse Studies*, 8(1), 159-177.
- van Leeuwen, T. & Jewitt, C. (eds.) (2001). *Handbook of visual analysis*. London, UK: Sage.
- van Leeuwen, T. (2001). Semiotics and iconography. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp.92-118). London, UK: Sage.
- van Rees, M. (2007). Discourse analysis and argumentation theory: The case of television talk. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(8), 1454-1463.
- Walls, N. (2005). *Modern forms of prejudice in the social dominance theoretical framework: Positively valences attitudes as hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths*. Unpublished Dissertation. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame.
- Wang, S. (2010). *The Internet battle between the authorities and the public: The power and the limits of social control and informational capitalism in China's blogosphere*. Unpublished Dissertation. Buffalo, NY: State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Warren, J. (1986). *Chinese television news: A content analysis*. Unpublished Dissertation. Knoxville, TN.: University of Tennessee.
- Webster, J. (2009). *Ratings analysis: The theory and practice of audience research*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. & Yates, S. (eds.) (2001a). *Discourse and data*. London, UK: Sage.
- Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. & Yates, S. (eds.) (2001b). *Discourse theory and practice*. London, UK: Sage.
- Williamson, J. (1978). *Decoding advertisements: Ideology and society*. London, UK: Croom Helm.

Windschuttle, K. (1985). *The media: A new analysis of the press, television, radio and advertising in Australia*. Ringwood, UK: Penguin Books.

Yablon, Y. & Katz, Y. (2001). Internet-based group relations: A high school peace education project in Israel. *Educational Media International*, 38(2&3), 175-182.

Zaidi, A. (2008). Legitimizing myth and the search for meaning. *Theory in Action*, 1, 114-122.

Zhang, X., Zhenjiao, C., Vogel, D. & Guo, C. (2009/10). Exchange ideology as a moderator of knowledge sharing in virtual teams: A social exchange theory perspective. *International Journal of Internet and Enterprise Management (IJIEM)*, 6, 143-163.

Zhang, Y. (2004). *Good for me or for us? A comparative content analysis of individualist and collectivist values and orientations in global and local television advertising in China*. Unpublished Dissertation. Chapel Hill, NC: School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of North Carolina.

de Zúñiga, H., Puig-I-Abril, E. & Rojas, H. (2009). Weblogs, traditional sources online and political participation: An assessment of how the Internet is changing the political environment. *New Media & Society*, 11(4), 553-574.

2 Investigating techniques for eliciting hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths

Aleksandar Bogdanic (Banja Luka College of Communications, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

2.1 Introduction

In order to elicit hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths (HELM) in a specific cultural setting, a number of different methods and techniques can be used, the choice of which may be dependent, among other things, upon the social and cultural features and underpinnings of the culture in question (Garro, 2000).

The method that is being proposed here is a type of twofold research, corroborated by some additional techniques and methods. Namely, bearing in mind the potential complexity and opacity of different cultural entities and corresponding legitimizing myths, as well as the fact that, in most of today's societies, myths are also mass-mediated (e.g., Hardt, 2004; Nimmo & Combs, 1991), information from both individual or micro-cultural and social or macro-cultural sources should be gathered, organized and analyzed. The information analyzed, it can also be compared and or/correlated, as in agenda-setting theory research (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The methods to be used are qualitative, but they can easily be modified or corroborated by quantitative techniques, such as those used in agenda-setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007) or proposed by cultural consensus theory (Garro, 2000; Lende, 2009; Weller, 2007).

2.2 Brief description of the method

For the researcher of cultural phenomena it is always useful to spend ample time in the field and carry on participant observation, to familiarize himself or herself with the language, type of culture in question [for example, *high-context* or *low context* (Hall, 1989)], typical communication practices, styles and discourses. Participant observation is also necessary for identifying social organization, which is important for sampling and sourcing of potential informants. Social organization also contains information on dominant or favorable social groups and a (hierarchical) structure of society (classes, clans, castes, ethnic groups, occupational groups, governmental bodies, political parties, etc.). The major mass media sources and shows can also be identified, as well as their chief features.

However, the method for soliciting HELM would be a) key informant narrative interviewing (KIN) and (narrative) analysis (Brewer, 2000; Davies, 1999; Elliot, 2005; Gubrium & Holstein, 2001; Weisner, 1997) and b) identification and narrative analysis of media content (content analysis): political speeches, news stories and, in some cases, even melodramas and commercials (Frisch, 2009; Luedicke, Thompson & Giesler 2010). Myths are stories. To find such stories and to find out what they mean one has to look for them among stories.

2.2.1 Key informant narrative interviewing

There are several fundamental issues in KIN. The first issue is sample selection, i.e., the selection of the individuals to be interviewed. Conditions allowing, quantitative research on social dominance orientation (SDO) using the SDO scale proposed by Pratto, Sidanius, and Levin (Pratto, Sidanius & Levin, 2006; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994) would be beneficial. Alternatively, or in addition to this, one could use the socio-cultural determinants of the particular entity researched by Hofstede (2001) [Jones (2007) reviews criticism and usability of Hofstede's cultural dimensions], or conduct original research to determine micro-cultural features of individualism – collectivism, and power distance (Basabe & Ros, 2005; Gouveia & Ros, 2000). However, if any such research is not feasible, then it may be sufficient to follow the body of research already conducted in the field of social dominance theory (Pratto, Sidanius & Levin, 2006) in selecting the informants. In either case, a *purposive sample* (Babbie, 1989: 204) of informants high in SDO should be chosen. If the latter method is chosen, the informants should be adult males, middle-aged or older, belonging to one or more of the dominant social groups (Foels & Pappas, 2004; Pratto, Sidanius & Levin, 2006). It can be assumed that these informants will harbor HELMs. Namely, “hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing ideologies” tend to be positively associated with members of “high-status groups” (Levin, Sidanius, Rabinovitz & Federico, 1998). [If the myths elicited are to be subjected to cultural consensus research, then in-depth interviewing rather than narrative interviewing should be considered, and/or the answers should be coded, and the sample should contain at least 25 interviewees (Weller, 2007: 351).]

The second issue is the type of interview and questions to be posed. Both of these are related to the general features of myths to be elicited and to the specific characteristics of interviews. For both reasons, a good choice would be a narrative interview or a narrative essay – depending on the educational background of the informants and other contingent sensitivities. These narratives can be later analyzed and coded, more or less, in the same manner as the media narratives.

Of course, an equally important issue here is the question(s) to be posed or, rather, the topics to be discussed during the interview. They obviously depend on the features of the myths sought, which will be delineated below. However, these questions should directly tackle major issues that plague the society under scrutiny. For example, *please describe what [nation/ethnic group]hood means to you? Please describe in detail three to five most important components of your nationality/ethnicity/group? How and why did [the conflict] begin? Please describe in detail three to five most sacred principles/things in your life? Could you, please, list and describe three to five most important events that have, in your opinion, defined the current conflict/situation. What are the three main problems that plague today's [country's] society? Describe three to five main wrongs of the other side [to the conflict].*

In some environments, depending on the sample population, it may be doable to assign essays or essay competitions for reward if the informants fit the sample (Nedeljković, 2006). The topics of the essays should include subtopics or explanations in the form of questions. In other environments, interviews, recorded or otherwise documented, should be conducted.

2.2.2 Media narratives

Media narratives are the discourses disseminated by major electronic media, especially television. They include speeches and interviews of key political figures, stories from the main news shows,

and current affairs documentaries, but locally produced telenovelas and advertising can also be included in the sample. The sample of the narratives can be purposive or random, based on a time frame. In many societies, these individuals (leaders) and institutions (media) are also hierarchy-enhancing (Pratto, Sidanius & Levin, 2006: 276-278; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991) and it could be assumed that the discourses they produce will contain HELMs.

2.2.3 Narrative analysis of interviews and media content

While there may be minor structural and narrational differences in the myths told by individuals and those by the media, their mythical underpinnings should be the same. How do we elicit the myths? While research of this type will be exemplified below, the following elements that define myths should be used:

- Stories about *salient* events in the recent past, or stories that are related to or partially based on some salient but distant events in the past, or such stories or story fragments (Bottici, 2007; Bottici & Challand, 2006; Levi-Strauss, 1963; Wiseman, 2009).
- Stories about a specific event that are general, incomplete, euphemistic or contradictory (Barthes, 1991; Gras, 1981; Jacopin, 1988; Levi-Strauss, 1963).
- Stories that justify one's actions, complain of others' wrongs and blame the others (Bandura, 2001; Bottici, 2007).
- Stories that are metaphorical, or have specific connotational signification (Barthes, 1991).
- Trigger words that suggest mythical content (Esch, 2010).
- Trigger words and symbols that suggest certain connotations or implications (Esch, 2010; Langer, 1948; Rafaeli & Worline, 2001; Suzuki, 1984).
- Pragmatic markers of assessment (Fraser, 1996).
- Why-questions or rhetorical questions attributing the blame to the other side: "why did they do that then?" (Bolden & Robinson, 2011).

Namely, myths can be elicited by identifying the embedded words functioning as lexical triggers that activate the mythical meaning of a narrative (Esch, 2010: 387). In most cases, however, for something to qualify as a HELM, it should contain the majority of the elements listed.

Once the information from KIN and media narratives has been gathered and analyzed, a comparison of the stories, usually in the form of correlation (e.g., McCombs & Shaw, 1972) should also yield narratives or meanings that qualify as HELMs.

2.2.4 An alternative method

Ernest Bormann developed a general theory of communication called *symbolic convergence theory* (SCT) (Bormann, 1985, 1989; Bormann, Cragan & Shields, 1994, 2003; Bormann,

Knutson & Musolf, 1997) to account for the process of “fantasy sharing” within a group of people, in various contexts, from small group communication to social and intercultural communication. The central idea of SCT is that humans are narrative beings and that certain narratives play a part in creating a common rhetorical vision within their rhetorical community. Namely,

“To understand SCT, it is necessary to see how concepts such as dramatizing message, fantasy, fantasy chaining, fantasy type, and rhetorical vision are interrelated. The central focus of the SCT is on the relationships among a dramatizing message, a fantasy chain of sharing the drama, and the resultant shared group fantasy. SCT asserts that in all communication contexts where the source produces dramatic messages the audience members may, under certain conditions, become involved in the dramatic action. They find some aspect of the message that catches and focuses their attention until they imaginatively participate in images and actions stimulated by the message. The key message concept is that of dramatizes. Dramatizing comments are rich in imaginative language and consist of the following: puns, word play, double entendres, figures of speech, analogies, anecdotes, allegories, parables, fables, jokes, gags, jests, quips, stories, tales, yarns, legends, and narratives.” (Bormann, Knutson & Musolf, 1997: 254)

Following the basic tenets of grounded theory (Jensen, 2002), once one becomes familiar with stories that can qualify as myths within a culture, SCT may be useful in eliciting those myths. To elicit the myths, i.e., “shared fantasies”, Q-methodology is used. Q-methodology may be a practical tool in the field because a very small sample is necessary to yield generalizable conclusions. Typically, in Q-methodology, a general, fairly large topic or theme is chosen which serves as the basis for drawing a number of different statements of opinion about the topic. Then a purposive sample of respondents is chosen, which can be as small as five. The respondents are given the statements, usually written on cards, randomly numbered. Then the respondents are asked to sort or to evaluate the statements on a score sheet, in terms of favourability, as well as to rank them in terms of importance. Afterwards, a Q-sorts factor analysis is conducted (for an overview of Q-methodology see, for example, Van Exel & De Graf, 2005).

2.3 Sample of relevant literature and references

See end of document.

2.4 Study examples of researchers using the methods

Nedeljković (2006) analyzes the role of myth in Serbia around the NATO intervention during the Kosovo crisis. The research was conducted by informant interviewing and by content analysis of the military journal *Vojaska*, using, more or less, grounded theory. The informants (n=181) wrote essays on the topic of “Serb-hood.”

Esch (2010) uses qualitative content analysis of over fifty media texts containing official White House narratives to identify the political myths of *American exceptionalism* and *civilization vs.*

barbarism. The research uses lexical triggers to identify the myths and demonstrate how the myths were used in legitimizing the war on terror.

A fairly comprehensive bibliography of Q-methodology audience studies can be found in Davis (2011). Bormann, Cragan and Shields (2001) offer an extensive review of research based on symbolic convergence theory. An example of qualitative fantasy theme analysis (not based on Q-methodology) using Bormann's symbolic convergence theory is Ronald Bishop's analysis of Fred Rogers media coverage (Bishop, 2003).

2.5 Summary of sources and methods

In the paper "Rethinking political myth: The clash of civilizations as a self-fulfilling prophecy" Bottici and Challand (2006) view political myth as an active development of a "common narrative" by means of which social groups explain their political context and experience. This study is an analysis of the "clash of civilizations" myth and its contemporary social and political implications.

Sheldon, Jayaratne and Petty (2007) explore racial prejudice as a HELM in negative stereotyping of African Americans and their position in society.

Although dated, the study of "Myth in communication" offers useful generalizations about myths in (mass) communication that can be both tested or applied in myth elicitation. Sykes (1970) delineates myth as "a story that embodies certain ideas and at the same time offers a justification for those ideas. [...] The actual truth or falsity of the story is irrelevant; what is important is that the story and the ideas that it embodies are accepted and believed to be true." Second, myth is usually a holistic, general story that is not easy to break down and analyze. It is, on the other hand, also concise, simple and concrete, easy to understand. However, it is not easy to analyze because it is imprecise. Most importantly, myth arouses emotional responses by means of the emotive use of language (Sykes, 1970: 17-20).

HELMs have quite similar structure to those of communication frames as posited by framing research. Namely, framing, as myths, implies selection and salience. "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation." Thus communication frames, quite like myths, identify and describe problems, identify their causes, pass moral judgments and offer solutions (Entman, 1993).

The cultivation theory of media effects (Gerbner, 2000) might also serve as a useful starting point in identifying HELMs in the media, especially contemporary myths.

That television is mythical is a theme of a study on the impact of TV stories with myths about organ donation (Morgan, King, Smith & Ivic, 2010).

"Myth, ritual and political control" is an exploratory study in how myth is used in American political communication (Bennett, 1980).

Stereotyping in television news can legitimize bias in the perception of outgroup members (Gorham, 2006). Using content analysis to elicit its structure, Smith (1979) posits that television

news is structured as myth and breaks down its structure into “story subjects,” “actors,” “acted-upon,” “narrative types,” “themes,” and “symbols” (pp.76-79). Knight and Dean (1982) demonstrate how news is structured as myth by content analysis of Canadian media news content of the British recapturing of the Iranian embassy in London. Vartanov (1991) also explores television myths on Russian/Soviet television.

Lozano (1992) demonstrates how melodramatic serials, such as American soaps and Latin American telenovelas, are both structured and function as myth.

Visual communication texts also function as mythical discourses. Shawn J. Parry-Giles and Trevor Perry-Giles (1999) analyze “meta-images” of political communication in the film “The War Room.” Evans (2005) sees advertising billboards in Egypt as “fata morganas” in the desert.

Rumors and gossip share many features with myths and are actually occasionally carriers of myth (Rosnow, 1988). Among other features, this study, that explores rumors as communication, indicates that rumors and gossip share the suspension of disbelief, which, of course, is a typical feature of myth.

Zimelis (2010) contrasts the myth of nationalism as postulated by Anderson (1991) with Austrian right-wing nationalism.

Schwalbe and Mason-Shrock (1996) provide “empirical illustrations” of how myth is used in the creation of group identity.

Schwarzkopf (2009) traces the historical roots of the myth of “consumer choice” as a democratic tool of “consumer sovereignty” which has “helped legitimize the marketing profession culturally and socially” (p. 238).

The myths of “the magic of the market,” “the inefficient public sector,” “the objective media” and “American exceptionalism” are conceptualized and explained within the post-structuralist paradigm of Roland Barthes by Zaidi (2008).

Quist and Resendez (2002) studied prejudice as a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth with high SDO individuals. Their research corroborated the predictions that threat perceptions and SDO were related to stereotyping and legitimizing myths. Hodson and Esses (2005) examined lay perceptions of ethnic prejudice, and identified associations between perceived causes and solutions, as well as certain solutions that legitimize ethnic bias.

Lopez, Gurin and Nagda (1998) review cultural, cognitive and systemic reasons for the bias in understating causes of intergroup inequalities in the United States.

Liu, Wilson, McClure and Higgins (1999) investigated historical perceptions of indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups in New Zealand, which, among other things, were found to be related to their positions on current political issues. The study is supportive of findings in social identity theory and social dominance theory.

By exploring agricultural production of the historical ruling Inca, Bauer (1996) describes how myths and rituals were used to legitimize the position of the power and authority. “The source of social inequality is defined and justified through primordial actions of cultural heroes” (p.333).

By analyzing the “Yukuna mythical system” in speech, Jacopin (1988) attempts to extract “the syntactic” structure of myth.

Friedman (1992) discusses the construction of “political identity” by means of the mythical construction of history as the product of social positions.

Lemieux and Pratto (2003) discuss the relationship between prejudice as HELM and justification of poverty.

The study on “anti-egalitarians for Obama” is an exploration of the idea that the candidate Obama was used as a HELM for the maintenance of racial inequalities. The research supported the idea that some anti-egalitarian voters voted for Obama to strengthen the idea that there was no more racism in the USA (Knowles, Lowery & Schaumberg, 2009).

Žarkov (2007) explores the ideas of ethnicity and gender as legitimizing myths in the break-up of Yugoslavia. Especially interesting is the role of victimhood in myth creation analyzed in the former Yugoslav media content. The usage of myth in the Yugoslav context is also discussed by Despotović, Šljukić, Gavrilović, Perica and Velikonja (2010). Personality and leader cults in communist dictatorships are described in Apor, Behrends, Jones and Rees (2004).

Edensor (2002) investigates the construction of nationality and national identity in Great Britain, and Dant (2003) explores the idea of culture being transmitted as myth and identifies two types of myth: historical stories and timeless stories. They are typically fictitious but have a moral message.

History education has been traditionally the source and means of HELM transmission. Contemporary myths can be elicited by content analysis of history textbooks (Koulouri, 2002).

Chermak (2003) analyzes terrorism as a fear construct using frame analysis. From a critical and social interactionist perspective, Altheide (2002, 2006, 2009) analyzes terrorism as a construct of fear in the overall construction of social reality created by the media.

Language is not only a means of communication. It also functions as a constituent of social identity (e.g., Anderson, 1991; Hymes, 1964, 1978, 1980; Sapir, 1963). When language is used or constructed as a means of social or ethnic identity, it can also assume the role of hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing ideology, prejudice or stereotyping. It also, in such cases, to a varying extent, deprives those using it of its first and foremost role of communication (Kachru, 1998; Kordić, 2010).

In human society there always exists the potential of “demythologization” (Stoller, 2011). Adequate education for particular group members is what Jennifer Riedl Cross and Tracy Cross (2005) see as a solution to social dominance problems in intergroup relations. Similarly, the knowledge of science appears to be hierarchy-attenuating, according to the research of Dambrun, Kamiejski, Haddadi and Duarte (2009). Intergroup contact and forgiveness were positively

associated in research on antecedents and consequences of intergroup forgiveness in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Cehajic, Brown & Castano, 2008).

A somewhat neglected, but in my view, extremely important line of research in finding solutions for overcoming the problems of intergroup conflict created by HELMs is that of communicative competence as posited and researched by linguistic anthropologist Dell Hymes (1964, 1978, 1980, 1992). Namely, social and communicational connotations of certain social and ethnic dialects and languages create inequalities among speakers, and language itself becomes a hierarchy-enhancing instrument. Research in communicative competence – the knowledge of language use which, among other things, includes rules for understanding and using referential and social meanings – would be a step in the right direction.

Another useful theory and research for overcoming communicative inequalities and fear in cross-cultural and trans-cultural communication is that of “coordinated management of meaning” (Pearce, 2007). Education and use of dialogic or cosmopolitan communication and, in general, of communication may be a good method in overcoming inter-group conflict (Ellis, 2006).

2.6 Bibliography

2.6.1 References

Altheide, D. (2002). *Creating fear: News and the construction of crisis*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Altheide, D. (2006). *Terrorism and the politics of fear*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Altheide, D. (2009). *Terror post 9/11 and the media*. New York, NY: Lang.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. ed.). London, UK: Verso.

Apor, B., Behrends, J., Jones, P. & Rees, E. (eds.) (2004). *The leader cult in communist dictatorships: Stalin and the Eastern bloc*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Babbie, E. (1989). *The practice of social research* (5th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 1-26.

Barthes, R. (1991). *Mythologies* (A. Lavers, trans.). New York, NY: Noonday. (Original work published 1957).

Basabe, N. & Ros, M. (2005). Cultural dimensions and social behavior correlates: Individualism-collectivism and power distance. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 18(1), 189-225.

Bauer, B. (1996). Legitimization of the state in Inca: Myth and ritual. *American Anthropologist*, 98, 327-337.

- Bennett, W. (1980). Myth, ritual, and political control. *Journal of Communication*, 30(4), 166-179.
- Bishop, R. (2003). The world's nicest grown-up: A fantasy theme analysis of news media coverage of Fred Rogers. *Journal of Communication*, 53, 16-31.
- Bolden, G. & Robinson, J. (2011). Soliciting accounts with *why*-interrogatives in conversation. *Journal of Communication*, 61, 94-119.
- Bormann, E. (1985). Symbolic convergence theory: A communication formulation. *Journal of Communication*, 35(4), 128-138.
- Bormann, E. (1989). *Communication theory*. Salem, WI: Sheffield.
- Bormann, E., Cragan, J. & Shields, D. (1994). In defense of symbolic convergence theory: A look at the theory and its criticisms after two decades. *Communication Theory*, 4, 259-294.
- Bormann, E., Cragan, J. & Shields, D. (2001). Three decades of developing, grounding, and using symbolic convergence theory. In W. Gudykunst (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 25* (pp.271-313). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum and the International Communication Association.
- Bormann, E., Cragan, J. & Shields, D. (2003). Defending symbolic convergence theory from an imaginary Gunn. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 89, 366-372.
- Bormann, E., Knutson, R. & Musolf, K. (1997). Why do people share fantasies? An empirical investigation of a basic tenet of the symbolic convergence communication theory. *Communication Studies*, 48(3), 254-276.
- Bottici, C. (2007). *A philosophy of political myth*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bottici, C. & Challand, B. (2006). Rethinking political myth: The clash of civilisations as a self-fulfilling prophecy. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9, 315-336.
- Brewer, J. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Cehajic, S., Brown, R. & Castano, E. (2008). Forgive and forget? Antecedents and consequences of intergroup forgiveness in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Political Psychology*, 29, 351-367.
- Chermak, S. (2003). Marketing fear: Representing terrorism after September 11. *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media*, 1, 5-22.
- Cross, J. & Cross, T. (2005). Social dominance, moral politics, and gifted education. *Roeper Review*, 28, 21-29.
- Dambrun, M., Kamiejski, R., Haddadi, N. & Duarte, S. (2009). Why does social dominance orientation decrease with university exposure to the social sciences? The impact of institutional socialization and the mediating role of "geneticism". *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39, 88-100.

- Dant, T. (2003). *Critical social theory: Culture, society and critique*. London, UK: Sage.
- Davies, C. (1999). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Davis, C. (2011). *Q-methodology in audience research*. Available online at: <http://www.ryerson.ca/~c5davis/Q-studies-of-audiences.pdf>.
- Despotović, L., Šljukić, S., Gavrilović, D., Perica, V. & Velikonja, M. (2010). *Mitovi epohe socijalizma* [The myths of the socialism epoch]. Novi Sad, CS: Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje.
- Edensor, T. (2002). *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Elliot, J. (2005). *Using narrative in social research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ellis, D. (2006). *Transforming conflict: Communication and ethno-political conflict*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Esch, J. (2010). Legitimizing the “war on terror”: Political myth in official-level rhetoric. *Political Psychology, 31*, 357-391.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43*(4), 51-58.
- Evans, G. (2005). Fata Morgana: Mirage in the desert – A sequence of images. *Journal of African Media Studies, 1*, 91-100.
- Foels, R. & Pappas, C. (2004). Learning and unlearning the myths we are taught: Gender and social dominance orientation. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, 50*, 743-757.
- Fraser, B. (1996). Pragmatic markers. *Pragmatics, 6*, 167-190.
- Friedman, J. (1992). Myth, history, and political identity. *Cultural Anthropology, 7*, 194-210.
- Frisch, N. (2009). Nationalismus im Sonderangebot – Coca-Cola-Werbung zwischen Lifestyle-Kreation und politischer Mythenbildung [Nationalism to go – Coke commercials between lifestyle and political myth]. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs, 38*(2), 85-120.
- Garro, L. (2000). Remembering what one knows and the construction of the past: A comparison of cultural consensus theory and cultural schema theory. *Ethos, 28*, 275-319.
- Gerbner, G. (2000). Cultivation analysis: An overview. *Communicator, 11-12*.
- Gorham, B. (2006). News media’s relationship with stereotyping: The linguistic intergroup bias in response to crime news. *Journal of Communication, 56*, 289-308.

- Gouveia, V. & Ros, M. (2000). Hofstede and Schwartz's models for classifying individualism at the cultural level: Their relation to macro-social and macro-economic variables. *Psicothema*, 12, 25-33. Available online at: <http://www.psicothema.es/pdf/395.pdf>.
- Gras, V. (1981). Myth and the reconciliation of opposites: Jung and Levi-Strauss. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 42, 471-488.
- Gubrium, J. & Holstein, J. (2001). *Handbook of interview research: Context & method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hall, E. (1989). *Beyond culture*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Hardt, H. (2004). *Myths for the masses: An essay on mass communication*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Hodson, G. & Esses, V. (2005). Lay perceptions of ethnic prejudice: Causes, solutions, and individual differences. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 35, 329-344.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hymes, D. (1964). Introduction: Toward ethnographies of communication. *American Anthropologist*, 66(6), 1-34.
- Hymes, D. (1978). *Language in education: Forwards to fundamentals. Keynote addresses from the Horace Mann lecture series and the Paul Masoner international lecture series, 1972-1978*. Available online at: <http://www.eric.ed.gov/>.
- Hymes, D. (1980). *Language in education: Ethnolinguistic essays*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Hymes, D. (1992). Inequality in language: Taking for granted. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 8(1), 1-30.
- Hymes, D. & Farr, M. (1982). *Ethnolinguistic study of classroom discourse. Final report to the National Institute of Education* (Report ED 217 710). Available online at: <http://www.eric.ed.gov/>.
- Jacopin, P. (1988). On the syntactic structure of myth, or the Yukuna invention of speech. *Cultural anthropology*, 3, 131-159.
- Jensen, K. (ed.) (2002). *A handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Kachru, B. (1998). English as an Asian language. *Links & Letters*, 5, 89-108.
- Knight, G. & Dean, T. (1982). Myth and the structure of news. *Journal of Communication*, 32, 144-161.

Knowles, E., Lowery, B. & Schaumberg, R. (2009). Anti-egalitarians for Obama? Group-dominance motivation and the Obama vote. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*, 965-969.

Kordić, S. (2010). *Jezik i nacionalizam* [Language and nationalism]. Zagreb, HR: Durieux.

Koulouri, C. (ed.) (2002). *Clio in the Balkans. The politics of history education*. Thessaloniki, GR: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe.

Langer, S. (1948). *Philosophy in a new key: A study in the symbolism of reason, rite, and art*. New York, NY: The New American Library.

Lemieux, A. & Pratto, F. (2003). Poverty and prejudice. In S. Carr & T. Sloan (eds.), *Poverty and psychology: From global perspective to local practice* (chap. 8). New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Lende, D. (2009). Culture and the organization of diversity: Reflections on the future of quantitative methods in psychological anthropology. *Ethos, 37*, 243-250.

Levin, S., Sidanius, J., Rabinowitz, J. & Federico, C. (1998). Ethnic identity, legitimizing ideologies, and social status: A matter of ideological asymmetry. *Political Psychology, 19*, 373-404.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1963). *Structural anthropology* (Claire Jacobson & Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, trans.). New York, NY: Basic Books.

Liu, J., Wilson, M., McClure, J. & Higgins, T. (1999). Social identity and the perception of history: Cultural representations of Aotearoa/New Zealand. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*, 1021-1047.

Lopez, G., Gurin, P. & Nagda, B. (1998). Education and understanding structural causes for group inequalities. *Political Psychology, 19*, 305-329.

Lozano, E. (1992). The force of myth on popular narratives: The case of melodramatic serials. *Communication Theory, 2*, 207-220.

Luedicke, M., Thompson C. & Giesler, M. (2010). Consumer identity work as moral protagonism: How myth and ideology animate a brand-mediated moral conflict. *Journal of Consumer Research, 36*, 1016-1033.

McCombs, M. & Shaw, D. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36*, 176-187.

Morgan, S., King, A., Smith, J. & Ivic, R. (2010). A kernel of truth? The impact of television storylines exploiting myths about organ donation on the public's willingness to donate. *Journal of Communication, 60*, 778-796.

Nedeljković, S. (2006). Mit, religija i nacionalni identitet: Mitologizacija u Srbiji u periodu nacionalne krize [Myth, religion and national identity: The process of mythologization in Serbia during the period of national crisis]. *Etnoantropološki problemi (nova serija)*, 1(1), 155-179.

Nimmo, D. & Combs, J. (1990). *Mediated political realities* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Longman.

Parry-Giles, S. & Parry-Giles, T. (1999). Meta-imaging, *The War Room*, and the hyperreality of U.S. politics. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 28-45.

Pearce, W. (2007). *Making social worlds: A communication perspective*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J. & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 17, 271-320.

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. & Malle, B. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 741-763.

Quist, R. & Resendez, M. (2002). Social dominance threat: Examining social dominance theory's explanation of prejudice as legitimizing myths. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 24, 287-293.

Rafaeli, A. & Worline, M. (2001). Symbols in organizational culture. In N. Ashkanasy, C. Wilderom & M. Peterson (eds.), *Handbook of organizational culture and climate* (pp.71-116). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rosnow, R. (1988). Rumor as communication: A contextualist approach. *Journal of Communication*, 38(1), 12-28.

Sapir, E. (1963). *Selected writings in language, culture and personality*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Scheufele, D. & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20.

Schwalbe, M. & Mason-Schrock, D. (1996). Identity work as group process. *Advances in Group Processes*, 13, 113-147.

Schwarzkopf, S. (2009). The "consumer jury": Historical origins and social consequences of a marketing myth. *Proceedings of the 14th Conference on Historical Analysis and Research in Marketing*, 14, 238-253. Available online at <http://faculty.quinnipiac.edu/charm/>.

Sheldon, J., Jayaratne, T. & Petty, E. (2007). White Americans' genetic explanations for a perceived race difference in athleticism: The relation to prejudice toward and stereotyping of Blacks. *Athletic Insight – The Online Journal of Sport Psychology*, 9(3), 31-56.

Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1991). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. New York, NY: Longman.

Smith, R. (1979). Mythic elements in television news. *Journal of Communication*, 29(2), 75-82.

Stoller, P. (2011). Myth, politics and the erosion of the American dream. *The Huffington Post*, 11 March. Available online at: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/>.

Suzuki, T. (1984). *Words in context: A Japanese perspective on language and culture* (A. Miura, trans.). Tokyo, JP: Kodansha International. (Original work published 1973).

Sykes, A. (1970). Myth in communication. *Journal of Communication*, 20, 17-31.

van Exel, J. & de Graff, G. (2005). *Q methodology: A sneak preview*. Available online at: <http://www.qmethodology.net/PDF/Q-methodology%20-%20A%20sneak%20preview.pdf>.

Vartanov, A. (1991). Television as spectacle and myth. *Journal of Communication*, 41(2), 162-171.

Weisner, T. (1997). The ecocultural project of human development: Why ethnography and its findings matter. *Ethos*, 25, 177-190.

Weller, S. (2007). Cultural consensus theory: Applications and frequently asked questions. *Field Methods*, 19, 339-368.

Wiseman, B. (ed.) (2009). *The Cambridge companion to Lévi-Strauss*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Zaidi, A. (2008). Legitimizing myth and the search for meaning. *Theory in Action*, 1(4), 114-122.

Žarkov, D. (2007). *The body of war: Media, ethnicity and gender in the break-up of Yugoslavia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Zimelis, A. (2010). Imagining nations: Benedict Anderson's imagined communities and Jorg Haider's "Austrian" nationalism. *Crossroads*, 9(2), 5-25.

2.6.2 Other sources consulted

Acar, A. (2005). The "communicative competence" controversy. *Asian EFL Journal*, 7(3), 55-60.

Alexandre, M. (2008). *The ambiguity of race and racial inequality*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of Scuola di dottorato in Economia Politica – Università degli Studi di Siena, Siena, Italy. Available online at: http://www.econ-pol.unisi.it/dottorato/pagine/doc/annual_meeting_2008.html.

Andressen, C. (2002). *A short history of Japan: From Samurai to Sony*. Crows Nest, AU: Allen & Unwin.

- Andreychik, M. (2007). *Social explanatory style as a foundation of social orientation*. Available online at: <http://jsaw.lib.lehigh.edu/archive.php>.
- Angold, M. (ed.) (2006). *The Cambridge history of Christianity: Vol. 1. Eastern Christianity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Arntson, P. (1982). Testing Basil Bernstein's sociolinguistic theories. *Human Communication Research*, 9(1), 33-48.
- Baker, A. (n.d.). *Invisible eagle: The history of nazi occultism*. Available online at: <http://www.scribd.com/>.
- Balinisteanu, T. (2009). *Narrative, social myth, and reality in contemporary Scottish and Irish women's writing: Kennedy, Lochhead, Bourke, Ni Dhuibhne, and Carr*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars.
- Bandyopadhyay, S. (2004). *Caste, culture and hegemony: Social domination in colonial Bengal*. New Delhi, IN: Sage.
- Batalha, L. (2008). *Intergroup relations: When is my group more important than yours?* Dissertation. Uppsala, SE: Uppsala Universitet. Available online at: <http://uu.diva-portal.org/>.
- Baum, S. (2005). *The cultural transmission of hate*. Available online at: <http://stevebaum.com/pdf/culttrans.pdf>.
- Bennett, W. & Iyengar, S. (2008). A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of political communication. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 707-731.
- Bird, S. (1999). Gendered construction of the American Indian in popular media. *Journal of Communication*, 49(3), 61-83.
- Boas, F. (1911a). *Handbook of American Indian languages* (Pt. 1). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Boas, F. (1911b). *The mind of primitive man*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Boas, F. (1921). Ethnology of the Kwakiutl based on data collected by George Hunt. In *Thirty-fifth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1913-1914* (Pt. 1). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Boas, F. (ed.) (1938). *General anthropology*. Boston, MA: Heath.
- Boas, F. (1962). *Anthropology and modern life*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Booth, K. (2007). *Theory of world security*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourguignon, E. (1983). Sex bias, ethnocentrism, and myth building in anthropology: The case of universal male dominance. *Central Issues in Anthropology*, 5(1), 59-79.

- Boyer, D. & Lomnitz, C. (2005). Intellectuals and nationalism: Anthropological engagements. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34, 105-120.
- Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30, 745-778.
- Bryder, T. (2008). Conceptual elements for a theory of visual political propaganda. *Psicologia Política*, 37, 101-117.
- Bugeja, M. (2005). *Interpersonal divide: The search for community in a technological age*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Campos, J. (2002). Ideas on Atlantic culture in the Northwest Iberian Peninsula: "Myths" and "realities". *Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe*, 2(2), 35-44.
- Caputo, J. (ed.) (1997a). *Deconstruction in a nutshell: A conversation with Jacques Derrida*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.
- Caputo, J. (1997b). *Prayers and tears of Jacques Derrida: Religion without religion*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Casson, R. (1981). *Language, culture, and cognition: Anthropological perspectives*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Cazden, C. (1996). *Communicative competence, 1966-1996*. Paper presented at the 18th annual meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics, Chicago, IL. Retrieved from: ERIC database. (ED399764)
- Clifford, J. (1996). *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Coleman, P. (2000). Power and conflict. In M. Deutsch & P. Coleman (eds.), *The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and practice* (chap. 5). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Connolly-Ahern, C. & Castells i Talens, A. (2010). The role of indigenous peoples in Guatemalan political advertisements: An ethnographic content analysis. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 3, 310-333.
- Culler, J. (1979). Semiotics and deconstruction. *Poetics Today*, 1(1/2), 137-141.
- Culler, J. (1982). *On deconstruction: Theory and criticism after structuralism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dalsheim, J. (2007). Deconstructing national myths, reconstituting morality: Modernity, hegemony and the Israeli national past. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 20, 521-554.
- Dambrun, M. (2007). Understanding the relationship between racial prejudice and support for the death penalty: The racist punitive bias hypothesis. *Social Justice Research*, 20, 228-249.

- Dambrun, M., Duarte, S. & Guimond, S. (2004). Why are men more likely to support group-based dominance than women? The mediating role of gender identification. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 43, 287-297.
- Daum, C. & Ishiwata, E. (2010). From the myth of formal equality to the politics of social justice: Race and the legal attack on native entitlements. *Law & Society Review*, 44, 843-876.
- Đerić, G. (2005). *Pr(a)vo lice množine. Kolektivno samopoimanje i predstavljanje: Mitovi, karakteri, mentalne mape i stereotipi* [The first person plural: Collective self-imagining and presentation: Myths, personalities, mental maps and stereotypes]. Belgrade, CS: Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju.
- Derrida, J. (1986). *Glas* (J. Leavey, Jr. & R. Rand, trans.). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. (Original work published 1974).
- Derrida, J. (1997). *Of grammatology* (G. Spivak, trans.). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press. (Original work published 1967).
- Dingley, J. (2008). *Nationalism, social theory and Durkheim*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dobbin, F., Simmons, B. & Garrett, G. (2007). The global diffusion of public policies: Social construction, coercion, competition, or learning? *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33, 449-472.
- Dodd, C. (1995). *Dynamics of intercultural communication* (4th ed.). Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark.
- Doise, W. (1988). Individual and social identities in intergroup relations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18, 99-111.
- Douglas, M. (ed.). (1973). *Rules and meanings: The anthropology of everyday knowledge*. Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books.
- Downing, L. (2008). *The Cambridge introduction to Michel Foucault*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Druckman, D. (2001). Nationalism and war: A social-psychological perspective. In D. Christie, R. Wagner & D. Winter (eds.), *Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology for the 21st century* (chap. 4). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Duriez, B. & van Hiel, A. (2002). The march of modern fascism: A comparison of social dominance orientation and authoritarianism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 32, 1199-1213.
- Durkheim, E. (1962). *Socialism* (C. Sattler, trans.). New York, NY: Collier Books.

Durrheim, K. (1998). The relationship between tolerance of ambiguity and attitudinal conservatism: A multidimensional analysis. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 731-753.

Eco, U. (2008). *Turning back the clock: Hot wars and media populism* (A. McEwen, trans.). Orlando, FL: Harcourt. (Original work published 2006).

Edgar, A. & Sedgwick, P. (eds.) (2002). *Cultural theory: The key concepts*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Fleischmann, F. (2007). *The relationship between ethnic and civic identification: A test of social dominance theory across multi-ethnic contexts*. Master's thesis. Utrecht, NL: Utrecht University. Available online at: <http://www.uu.nl/uupublish/content/FleischmannFenella.pdf>.

Früchtel, J. (2008). *Our enlightened barbarian modernity and the project of a critical theory of culture. Inaugural lecture delivered on the appointment to the Chair of Philosophy of Art and Culture at the University of Amsterdam on Friday 22 February 2008*. Available online at: <http://www.oratiereeks.nl/>.

Gabb, S. (2007). *Cultural revolution, culture war: How Conservatives lost England and how to get it back*. London, UK: Hampden Press.

Gattino, S., Miglietta, A. & Tartaglia, S. (2009). *The influence of social dominance orientation on state concepts and attitudes towards immigrant inclusion: A study on adolescents*. Paper presented at the 4th Conference "Young People & Societies in Europe and Around the Mediterranean", Forli, Italy. Available online at: <http://www.giovaniesocieta.unibo.it/paper/1b/gattino.pdf>.

Gavrilović, D., Despotović, L., Perica, V. & Šljukić, S. (2009). *Mitovi nacionalizma i demokratija* [The myths of nationalism and democracy]. Novi Sad, CS: Centar za istoriju, demokratiju i pomirenje.

Ghouas, N. (2005). Understanding anthropology through interpretation of symbolic forms of expression. *A Parte Rei: Revista de Filosofia*, 39. Available online at: <http://serbal.pntic.mec.es/~cmunoz11/>.

Griffin, R., Mallett, R. & Tortorice, J. (eds.) (2008). *The sacred in twentieth-century politics: Essays in honour of professor Stanley G. Payne*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gudykunst, W. & Mody, B. (2002). *Handbook of international and intercultural communication* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Guimond, S., Dambrun, M., Michinov, N. & Duarte, S. (2003). Does social dominance generate prejudice? Integrating individual and contextual determinants of intergroup cognitions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 697-721.

Hajdinjak, M. (2001). *Yugoslavia – Dismantled and plundered: The tragic senselessness of the war in Yugoslavia and the myths that concealed it*. Master's thesis. Budapest, HU: Central European University. Available online at: <http://web.ceu.hu/nation/theses/hajdinjak0001.pdf>.

- Haley, H. & Sidanius, J. (2005). Person-organization congruence and the maintenance of group-based social hierarchy: A social dominance perspective. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 8, 187-203.
- Haley, H. & Sidanius, J. (2006). The positive and negative framing of affirmative action: A group dominance perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 656-668.
- Hanson, J. & Hanson, K. (2006). The blame frame: Justifying (racial) injustice in America. *Harvard Civil Rights–Civil Liberties Law Review*, 41. Available online at: <http://harvardcrcl.org/>.
- Hart, R., Jarvis, S. & Lim, E. (2002). The American people in crisis: A content analysis. *Political Psychology*, 23, 417-437.
- Hartley, J. (2005). *Communication, cultural and media studies: The key concepts* (3rd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Hartling, L. (2005). *Humiliation and assistance: Telling the truth about power, telling a new story*. Paper presented at the 5th Annual Meeting of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies “Beyond Humiliation: Encouraging Human Dignity in the Lives and Work of All People”, Berlin, Germany. Available online at: <http://www.humiliationstudies.org/documents/hartling/HartlingBerlin05meeting.pdf>.
- Heatheron, A. & Walcott, V. (eds.) (2009). *Handbook of social interactions in the 21st century*. Hauppauge, NY: Nova.
- Henshall, K. (2004). *A history of Japan: From stone age to superpower* (2nd ed.). Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hodson, G. & Costello, K. (2007). Interpersonal disgust, ideological orientations, and dehumanization as predictors of intergroup attitudes. *Psychological Science*, 18, 691-698.
- Hodson, G., Rush, J. & Macinnis, C. (2010). A joke is just a joke (except when it isn't): Cavalier humor beliefs facilitate the expression of group dominance motives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 99, 660-682.
- Hogg, M. & Abrams, D. (eds.) (2001). *Intergroup relations: Essential readings*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Hornsey, M., Gallois, C. & Duck, J. (2008). The intersection of communication and social psychology: Points of contact and points of difference. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 749-766.
- Hostettler, U. (2002). Review of the book *Nationalist myths and ethnic identities: Indigenous intellectuals and the Mexican state*, by Natividad Gutiérrez. *Ethnohistory*, 49, 888-890.
- Huddy, L. (2004). Contrasting theoretical approaches to intergroup relations. *Political Psychology*, 25, 947-967.
- Hunsberger, B. & Jackson, L. (2005). Religion, meaning, and prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61, 807-826.

- Hutchinson, W. (2006). Information warfare and deception. *Informing Science*, 9, 213-223.
- Hymes, D. (1974). Linguistics, language, and communication. *Communication*, 1(1), 37-53.
- Hymes, D. (1975). From space to time in tenses in Kiksht. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 41(4), 313-329.
- Hymes, D. (ed.) (1981). *Ethnographic monitoring of children's acquisition of reading/language arts skills in and out of the classroom. Final report to the National Institute of Education* (Report ED 208 096). Available online at: <http://www.eric.ed.gov/>.
- Ishii, K. & Kitayama, S. (2010). Outgroup homogeneity effect in perception: An exploration with Ebbinghaus illusion. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*. Advance online publication.
- Jacobs, D. & Maier, R. (1998). European identity: Construct, fact and fiction. In M. Gastelaars & A. de Ruijter (eds.), *A united Europe. The quest for a multifaceted identity* (pp. 13-34). Maastricht, NL: Shaker.
- Janoff-Bulman, R. & Werther, A. (2008). The social psychology of respect: Implications for delegitimization and reconciliation. In A. Nadler, T. Malloy & J. Fisher (eds.), *Social psychology of inter-group reconciliation: From violent conflict to peaceful co-existence* (pp. 145-171). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Jayarathne, T., Ybarra, O., Sheldon, J., Brown, T., Feldbaum, M., Pfeffer, C. & Petty, E. (2006). White Americans' genetic lay theories of race differences and sexual orientation: Their relationship with prejudice toward Blacks, and gay men and lesbians. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 9, 77-94.
- Johnstone, B. & Marcellino, W. (2010). Dell Hymes and the ethnography of communication. In R. Wodak, B. Johnstone & P. Kerswill (eds.), *The Sage handbook of sociolinguistics*. London, UK: Sage.
- Jones, M. (2007). *Hofstede – Culturally questionable?* Paper presented at Oxford Business & Economics Conference, Oxford, England. Available online at: <http://ro.uow.edu.au/commpapers/370>.
- Joseph, L., Mahler, M. & Auyero, J. (eds.) (2007). *New perspectives in political ethnography*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Jost, J. (2001). *System justification theory as compliment, complement, and corrective to theories of social identification and social dominance* (Graduate School of Business Research Paper No. 1672). Stanford, CA: Stanford University. Available online at: <http://gsbapps.stanford.edu/researchpapers/library/RP1672.pdf>.
- Jost, J., Banaji, M. & Nosek, B. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, 25, 881-919.

- Jost, J., Glaser, J., Kruglanski, A. & Sulloway, F. (2003). Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129, 339-375.
- Jost, J. & Major, B. (eds.) (2001). *The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kagarlitsky, B. (2008). *Empire of the periphery: Russia and the world system* (R. Clarke, trans.). London, UK: Pluto Press.
- Karganović, S., Simić, L., Herman, E., Pumphrey, G., Maher, J. & Wilcoxson, A. (2011). *Deconstruction of a virtual genocide: An intelligent person's guide to Srebrenica*. Belgrade, CS: Srebrenica Historical Project.
- Kaufmann, E. (1998). Review of the book *Anglo-Saxonism and the construction of social identity*, by Allen J. Frantzen & John D. Niles (eds.). *Humanist Sociology*, 22(3).
- Kaufmann, E. (1999). American exceptionalism reconsidered: Anglo-Saxon ethnogenesis in the 'universal' nation, 1776-1850. *Journal of American Studies*, 33, 437-457.
- Kemmelmeier, M., Broadus, A. & Padilla, J. (2008). Inter-group aggression in New Orleans in the immediate aftermath of hurricane Katrina. *Analyzes of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 8, 211-245.
- Kirksey, S. & Helmreich, S. (2010). The emergence of multispecies ethnography. *Cultural Anthropology*, 25, 545-576.
- Koch, G. (2009). Intercultural communication and competence research through the lens of an anthropology of knowledge. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 10(1).
- Kosambi, D. (1962/1983). *Myth and reality: Studies in the formation of Indian culture* [PDF version]. Available online at: <http://www.arvindguptatoys.com/>.
- Kreuzer, P. (2006). Violent civic nationalism versus civil ethnic nationalism: Contrasting Indonesia and Malay(sia). *National Identities*, 8, 41-59.
- Krijnen, T., Alvares, C. & van Bauwel, S. (eds.) (2011). *Gendered transformations: Theory and practices on gender and media*. Bristol, UK: Intellect.
- Krüger, S. (2008). *Ethnography in the performing arts: A student guide*. Lancaster, UK: Palatine.
- Langness, L. (1974). *The study of culture*. Corte Madera, CA: Chandler & Sharp.
- Leach, E. (1974). *Claude Lévi-Strauss* (Rev. ed.) [PDF version]. Available online at: <http://www.scribd.com/>.
- Leach, E. (1976). *Culture and communication: The logic by which symbols are connected. An introduction to the use of structuralist analysis in social anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1952). *Race and history*. Paris, France: UNESCO.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1961). *Tristes Tropiques* (J. Russell, trans.). New York, NY: Criterion Books. (Original work published 1955).
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1965). The future of kinship studies. *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1965, 1965*, 13-22. Available online at: <http://www.scribd.com/>.
- Loveman, M., Muniz, J. & Collares, A. (2008). Brazil – Sociology. In *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (Vol. 63). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Luce, L. & Smith, E. (eds) (1987). *Toward internationalism: Readings in cross-cultural communication* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.
- Magee, R. (1994). The myth of the good cop and the inadequacy of fourth amendment remedies for black men: Contrasting presumptions of innocence and guilt. *Capital University Law Review*, 23(1), 151-219.
- Mannak, M. (2007). *Social dominance orientation in an organizational setting*. Master's thesis. Maastricht, NL: Maastricht University. Available online at: <http://arno.unimaas.nl/show.cgi?fid=11326>.
- Martin, J. & Nakayama, T. (1999). Thinking dialectically about culture and communication. *Communication Theory*, 9, 1-25.
- McAlexander, M. (2009). *An examination of the role of attractiveness and self-esteem in jury decision making*. Senior honors thesis. Mansfield, OH: The Ohio State University at Mansfield. Available online at: <https://kb.osu.edu/>.
- McNair, B. (1999). *An introduction to political communication* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Mizoguchi, N. (2007). *Strength of White identification and perceived causes of racial disparity*. Master's thesis. Athens, OH: Ohio University. Available online at: <http://etd.ohiolink.edu/>.
- Moerman, M. (1988). *Talking culture: Ethnography and conversation analysis*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mortensen, C. (1991). Communication, conflict, and culture. *Communication Theory*, 1, 273-293.
- Munin, A. (2004). *Redefining history: An analysis of presidential speeches regarding the G.I. bill and affirmative action*. Master's thesis. Chicago, IL: DePaul University. Available online at: <http://www.artmunin.com/aboutart.html>.
- National Network to End Domestic Violence Safety Net Project (2008). *Myths & realities of identity change* [Brochure]. Available online at: http://www.nnedv.org/docs/SafetyNet/NNEDV_IdentityChange_MythsAndRealities.pdf.

- Newheiser, A., Tausch, N., Dovidio, J. & Hewstone, M. (2009). Entitativity and prejudice: Examining their relationship and the moderating effect of attitude certainty. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*, 920-926.
- Nygren, A. (1998). Struggle over meanings: Reconstruction of indigenous mythology, cultural identity, and social representation. *Ethnohistory, 45*, 31-63.
- O'Brien, J. (1993). Ethnicity, national identity and social conflict. *Nordic Journal of African Studies, 2*(2), 60-80.
- O'Connor, P. (2010). *Derrida: Profanations*. London, UK: Continuum.
- Ohno, A. (2006). Communicative competence and communicative language teaching. In *Internal publication of the Bunkyo Gakuin University* (pp. 25-31). Available online at: <http://cicero.ubunkyo.ac.jp/lib/kiyo/fsell2002/>.
- Page, J. & Duffy, M. (2009). A battle of visions: Dueling images of morality in U.S. political campaign TV ads. *Communication, Culture & Critique, 2*, 110-135.
- Parkinson, B. (1996). Emotions are social. *British Journal of Psychology, 87*, 663-683.
- Pearce, W. (2005). *Toward communicative virtuosity: A meditation on modernity and other forms of communication*. Paper presented to the seminar "Modernity as a Communication Process (Is Modernity 'on time?')", Moscow, Russia.
- Poch, J. & Roberts, S. (2003). The influence of social dominance orientation and masculinity on men's perceptions of women in the workplace. *Colgate University Journal of the Sciences, 35*, 171-186.
- Poitevin, G. (2004). Myth & identity III: Narrative construction of one's social entity by Parit Communities in Maharashtra. *Indian Folklore Research Journal, 1*(4), 1-35.
- Poole, E. & Richardson, J. (eds.) (2006). *Muslims and the news media*. London, UK: I.B. Tauris.
- Potter, W. (1993). Cultivation theory and research: A conceptual critique. *Human Communication Research, 19*, 564-601.
- Power, J., Murphy, S. & Coover, G. (1996). Priming prejudice: How stereotypes and counter-stereotypes influence attribution of responsibility and credibility among ingroups and outgroups. *Human Communication Research, 23*, 36-58.
- Prado, C. (2000). *Starting with Foucault: An introduction to genealogy* (2nd ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Rabinowitz, J. (1999). Go with the flow or fight the power? The interactive effects of social dominance orientation and perceived injustice on support for the status quo. *Political Psychology, 20*, 1-24.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. (1931). *The social organization of Australian tribes*. Melbourne, AU: Macmillan.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. (1958). *Method in social anthropology*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. & Forde, D. (eds.) (1950). *African systems of kinship and marriage*. London, UK: Oxford University Press.

Rawls, A. (2004). *Epistemology and practice: Durkheim's The elementary forms of religious life*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Recchi, E. & Nebe, T. (2003). *Migration and political identity in the European Union: Research issues and theoretical premises. State of the art report* (PIONEUR Working Paper No. 1). San Vicente del Raspeig, ES: Universidad de Alicante. Available online at: http://www.obets.ua.es/pioneer/bajaarchivo_public.php?iden=39.

Reese, G., Berthold A. & Steffens, M. (2010). *We are the world – And they are not: Prototypicality for the world community, legitimacy, and responses to global inequality*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Globalization in an Interdependent World “A World Without Walls 2010”, Berlin, Germany. Available online at: http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/culturaldiplomacynews/content/articles/participantpapers/2010/www/Prototypicality_for_the_World_Community_Legitimacy_and_Responses_to_Global_Inequality.pdf.

Renker, C. (2004). *Imperial motherhood: The German civilizing mission in Bülow's Im Lande der Verheissun*. Master's thesis. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University. Available online at: <http://sophie.byu.edu/sophiejournal/thesis.htm>.

Reyna, C., Henry, P., Korfmacher, W. & Tucker, A. (2005). Examining the principles in principled conservatism: The role of responsibility stereotypes as cues for deservingness in racial policy decisions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 109-128.

Ridley-Duff, R. (2009). *Emotion seduction & intimacy: Alternative perspectives on human behaviour* (2nd ed.). Available online at: <http://www.scribd.com/>.

Robinson, P., Goddard, P., Parry, K. & Murray, C. (2009). Testing models of media performance in wartime: U.K. TV news and the 2003 invasion of Iraq. *Journal of Communication*, 59, 534-563.

Rocker, R. (1978). *Nationalism and culture* (R. Chase, trans.) [PDF version]. Available online at: http://www.anarchyisorder.org/CD%234/Layouted%20texts/PDF-versions/Rocker%20Rudolf%20-%20Nationalism%20and%20Culture%20%28partly_%20no%20lay-out%29.pdf [Access date: 26 February 2011].

Rogers, M. (1996). *Multicultural experiences, multicultural theories*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

- Rouch, J. (2003). *Ciné-ethnography* (S. Feld, trans.). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rueschemeyer, D. & vom Hau, M. (2009). *Social identities* (Brooks World Poverty Institute Working Paper 83). Manchester, UK: University of Manchester. Available online at: <http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/resources/Working-Papers/bwpi-wp-8309.pdf>.
- Rutherford, J. (ed.). (1990). *Identity: Community, culture, difference*. London, UK: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Salmon, K. (2010). *Storytelling ili pričam ti priču: Mašina za proizvodnju priča i formatiranje uma* (I. Brdar & T. Stamenković, trans.) [Storytelling: Bewitching the modern mind]. Belgrade, CS: Clio. (Original work published 2008).
- Santos-Granero, F. (1998). Writing history into the landscape: Space, myth, and ritual in contemporary Amazonia. *American Ethnologist*, 25, 128-148.
- Sapir, E. (1921). *Language: An introduction to the study of speech*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace.
- Sarup, M. (1996). *Identity, culture and the postmodern world*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Schmidt, M. (2002). Political performance and types of democracy: Findings from comparative studies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41, 147-163.
- Sherratt, Y. (2002). *Adorno's positive dialectic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Shizha, E. (2006). Legitimizing indigenous knowledge in Zimbabwe: A theoretical analysis of postcolonial school knowledge and its colonial legacy. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 1(1), 20-35.
- Shweder, R. (1991). *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sibley, C., Wilson, M. & Robertson, A. (2007). Differentiating the motivations and justifications underlying individual differences in Pakeha opposition to bicultural policy: Replication and extension of a predicative model. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 36, 25-33.
- Sidanius, J., Feshbach, S., Levin, S. & Pratto, F. (1997). The interface between ethnic and national attachment: Ethnic pluralism or ethnic dominance? *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61, 102-133.
- Sidanius, J., van Laar, C., Levin, S. & Sinclair, S. (2004). Ethnic enclaves and the dynamics of social identity on the college campus: The good, the bad, and the ugly. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 96-110.
- Simon, B. & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319-331.

- Simpson, C. (1996). Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's "spiral of silence" and the historical context of communication theory. *Journal of Communication*, 46(3), 149-171.
- Singelis, T. & Brown, W. (1995). Culture, self, and collectivist communication: Linking culture to individual behavior. *Human Communication Research*, 21, 354-389.
- Smith, C. (1996). Myths, intellectuals, and race/class/gender distinctions in the formation of Latin American nations. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 2(1), 148-169.
- Stephan, W., Ybarra, O. & Morrison, K. (2009). Intergroup threat theory. In T. Nelson (ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 43-59). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Tepper, R. (2004). *Foucault's apparatus*. Senior thesis. Baltimore, MD: Goucher College. Available online at: <http://binghamton.academia.edu/RowanTepper/Papers>.
- Thompson, K. (ed.). (2004). *Readings from Emile Durkheim* (Rev. ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Todosijević, B. (1998). *Relationships between authoritarianism and nationalist attitudes*. Paper presented at Symposium "Authoritarianism and Prejudices in an International and Inter-Generational Perspective", Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Available online at: <http://www.personal.ceu.hu/students/>.
- Todosijević, B. (2004). Nationalism and socialist ideology: The case of Yugoslavia. In M. Kovács & P. Lom (eds.), *Studies on Nationalism from CEU* (pp. 219-236). Budapest, HU: Central European University.
- Tönnies, F. (1963). *Community & society* (C. Loomis, trans.). New York, NY: Harper & Row. (Original work published 1887).
- Tsai, R. (2004). Fire, metaphor, and constitutional myth-making. *The Georgetown Law Journal*, 93, 181-239.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Turjačanin, V., Majstorović, D., Turjačanin, M., Milosavljević, B., Dušanić, S. & Lovrić, S. (2011). *Tolerancija u društvu* [Tolerance in society]. Banja Luka, BA: Centar za kulturni i socijalni popravak.
- Tyler, T. (2006). *Why people obey the law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Utz, S. (2009). The (potential) benefits of campaigning via social network sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14, 221-243.
- Vaknin, S. (2003). *After the rain: How the West lost the East* (2nd ed.). Skopje, MK: Narcissus.

Walls, N. (2005). *Modern forms of prejudice in the social dominance theoretical framework: Positively valenced attitudes as hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths*. Dissertation. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame. Available online at: <http://etd.nd.edu/ETD-db/>.

Wilson, D. (2010). Perceptions about the amount of interracial prejudice depend on racial group membership and question order. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 74, 344-356.

Wohl, M. & Branscombe, N. (2009). Group threat, collective angst, and ingroup forgiveness for the war in Iraq. *Political Psychology*, 30, 193-217.

Yabar, Y. & Hess, U. (2007). Display of empathy and perception of out-group members. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 36, 42-49.

Yates, M. (2009). *Congressional debates over prisoner education: A critical discourse analysis*. Dissertation. Atlanta, GA: Georgia State University. Available online at: http://digitalarchive.gsu.edu/eps_diss/.

Young, T. (2008). *Studying English literature: A practical guide*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

3 Seeing behind entrenched legitimizing myths: Examples from post-genocide Rwanda

Susan Thomson (Hampshire College, Amherst, USA)

Post-genocide Rwanda is a good case to consider when thinking about how legitimizing myths are communicated and maintained among local populations. Study of the Rwandan case provides compelling evidence of not only the techniques and strategies that governments employ to legitimize their right to govern, but also the ways in which the presence of centralized, top-down myths are enacted at the level of the local population. In keeping with the purpose of the broader project of which this chapter is a part, my contribution is focused on identifying the beliefs and attitudes of the ordinary Rwandans that I consulted in the course of the research for my doctoral dissertation. It argues that researchers aligned to the Canadian Forces (CF), and members of the Forces posted in rural settings can successfully gain access to local populations in ways that go behind the veil of the operational legitimizing myth. My contribution is grounded in the assumption that the government propagates a particular legitimizing myth in remote areas of the territory under its control through agents of the state (military and police officers, local government officials, etc.), who in turn make specific demands on the local population to act and behave within the parameters of the myth.

The first goal of my contribution is to provide an overview of the demands, difficulties and tactics used to gain access to local populations in post-conflict and hence highly politicized research sites like post-genocide Rwanda. Thinking about issues of access before entering the field is essential as *how* you interact with local populations, *whom* you talk to, and *what* you talk about can help you navigate intensely political post-conflict environments where foreign actors are unlikely to be viewed by local actors as neutral or altruistic. With knowledge of and continued sensitivity to local realities, researchers and other actors can mitigate the difficulties of looking behind the rhetoric of legitimating myth and better assess the often biased or self-interested evidence that is often grounded in an overarching official narrative that shapes everyday life after conflict. I illustrate the importance of continued awareness of local realities in two concrete examples, one with a respondent and one with government.

My research took place within a context of discreet government surveillance as well as chronic violence and extreme human duress, which further limited my ability to gain access to the social spaces and enter the private locations where ordinary Rwandans live. It also involved extensive interviewing with a respondent pool that was difficult to access as few are willing to talk openly about their experiences during the 1994 genocide. Exacerbating access to potential respondents is the prevalence of emotional trauma among Rwandans—Hutu, Tutsi and Twa—who survived the genocide.⁶ My research also involved obtaining permission from the Rwandan government, and the need to identify and work with government-approved local partners.

⁶ Ndayambajwe found that 95 percent of his sample exhibited symptoms of trauma or post-traumatic stress (2001: 17-24). The psychosocial unit of AVEGA, the main organization working with women survivors of the genocide, estimates that 78% of their beneficiaries show symptoms of trauma (interviews, 2006).

The second purpose of the chapter is to explore government interference in the research process. Interference can take a variety of forms from the obvious milling about of a state agent during an interview, to questioning and/or intimidating the respondent after the researcher has left about the content of the interview, to more direct obstacles like failing to produce promised permissions documents or openly misleading the researcher. In my case, the interference was subtle as a number of actors worked on behalf of the government to make sure I would “write about only what I saw”—something that other actors interested in sustainable peace after conflict will also likely confront. I first discuss the tactics of interference that I identified towards the end of my fieldwork. I then explain the techniques employed to safeguard the identity of the folks I consulted in the course of my research, while assuring my safety as well as that of my research assistants in ways that protected the integrity of the research. I also consider the possible impact of government interference on my research findings, and suggest ways to deal with the possibility of interference when designing and implementing a research project. Before moving to procedures, I first set out Rwanda’s legitimizing myth—namely that the country has recovered from “the scourge of genocide” to become a country for all post-conflict societies to emulate in the transition from war to peace.

3.1 Crafting a legitimizing myth: Rwanda is a nation rehabilitated

In April 2010, President Paul Kagame, speaking to an audience of international diplomats and other dignitaries, proclaimed Rwanda “a nation rehabilitated from the scourge of genocide and war”. At the level of rhetoric, there is considerable evidence to suggest Rwanda’s admirable recovery from the events of 1994—a feature that makes its legitimizing myth all the more difficult to deconstruct and look beyond. The post-genocide state, strong and centralized under the leadership of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), has made significant gains in “restoring peace, unity and reconciliation to all corners of the country”; has facilitated rapid reconstruction; and, unlike most African nations, is able to exercise its territorial control exceedingly well. The institutions of the state have been rebuilt and infrastructure such as roads, bridges and airports have been restored and, in some areas, upgraded. Rwanda is a leader on the African continent in terms of service delivery in education and health. It is consistently cited by international donors—notably the UK, US, EU and the World Bank—as a country with low levels of corruption and with institutional accountability. The recovery of the economy is outstanding. Not only has urban poverty decreased as national income rises, but the economy continues to grow at an average of 5% per year since the genocide.

At the same time, many have criticized Rwanda’s reconstruction and reconciliation process. The RPF seeks to dominate all levels of socio-political life, from the lowest levels of administration to the office of the President. The government maintains a tight rein on political expression and, in 2003, banned any public manifestation of “ethnic divisionism” (between Tutsi and Hutu), “promoting genocide ideology” (against Tutsi), or “preaching genocide negationism” (i.e. questioning that exclusively Tutsi died in 1994). These laws are vaguely worded and arbitrarily applied to anyone who makes public statements that the government perceives as critical. The government also targets journalists as the purveyors of divisionist opinion and strictly controls civil society organizations and other forms of associational life. While Human Rights Watch and other international human rights and advocacy groups highlight the government’s lack of commitment to basic human rights such as the right to life and to free expression, President Paul

Kagame stresses the importance of state intervention to maintain the ethnic unity that he claims to be the basis of present and future security in Rwanda.

Such dramatically different perceptions and claims about post-genocide Rwanda—as a model of peace and reconstruction versus a violent and oppressive regime—raise the question of what everyday life there is really like. Has Rwandan society rebuilt itself as effectively as the government claims, or has rapid economic development come at the expense of political liberties? The answer depends on who is being asked. The government directs its critics to the broad-based support that its policies enjoy among Rwandans “particularly at the grassroots” as evidence of its moral legitimacy to govern with a heavy hand in the interests of peace and security. Rwandan elites—educated, gainfully employed and resident in urban areas—tend to benefit most from the post-genocide policies of the RPF. Those who benefit least are the rural poor—the majority of the population—who are subject to RPF-empowered local leaders and who must perform the government-prescribed rituals of national unity and reconciliation regardless of their lived realities.

3.2 Research procedures

3.2.1 Permission to enter “the field”

In post-genocide Rwanda, as in many other countries in Africa, academics and other foreign actors require permission from the highest level of government for three reasons. One, to allow governments to ensure that the research is appropriate to their development or peacebuilding agenda; two, as a way for the government to register and keep track of foreign researchers; and three, to provide a letter of introduction to government officials and local partner organizations who work with the researcher on a more regular basis during the period of fieldwork. My project required permission from the Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), who authorized interview topics and informed local government officials that I had its permission to be in rural areas to talk to ordinary Rwandans. The research also included interviews and participant observation in several of Rwanda’s prisons; speaking to prisoners required an additional letter of permission, addressed to the director of each prison I visited, from the Ministry of Internal Security (MININTER).

Before the government would even consider my request for a research permit, I first needed to identify a local partner who would “sponsor” my research. I knew that my choice of partner would impact who I could talk to and how. For this reason, I decided to pursue partnerships with two local partners⁷, one who I knew had close ties to government (partner A) while the other (partner B) had more autonomy and was even critical of government policy on occasion. I nurtured the relationships with both local partner organizations about 18 months prior to entering the field. We worked largely by e-mail. One of my partner organizations only had three computers for a staff of 27, meaning that most of our correspondence was by post with the occasional telephone call. Rwanda has reliable postal and telecommunications networks and this was never a hindrance. Both partner organizations have websites and before contacting them by email to request that they sponsor my research, I researched their respective mandates,

⁷ I do not identify my local partner organizations by name for fear of creating problems for my research respondents, my research assistants or representatives of the organizations.

programmes and activities, target audience and beneficiaries. I also met with representatives of each organization in the diaspora and tried to learn as much as I could before approaching them. This knowledge was valuable as we negotiated the nature and scope of our partnership. In my initial letter to each organization requesting that I be taken on as a partner, I was able to show where my research dovetailed with their activities. My requests to partner with each organization were approved in late 2005.

My research about the life stories of ordinary Rwandans before, during and after the genocide was broadly in line with the type of research that the Rwandan government wanted to support. It took about a week to get the letter of permission from MINALOC, and the process required several face-to-face meetings with the personal assistant of the Minister. The process was quick, with four to six weeks being the average length of time for the government to grant its permission. I attribute this to pre-fieldwork preparations, notably the choice to partner with a local organization that worked with foreign researchers on a regular basis. What I did not realize at the time was that my primary local partner, partner A, was charged with reporting back to the assistant to the Minister at MINALOC about whom I spoke to in the field and what we spoke about.

Surveillance appeared early in my relationship with partner A. Meetings with eight senior members of government, including two ministers and three senators, were “necessary” before I could apply for a research permit from MINALOC. During these meetings, I presented each official with a list of interview topics, my *curriculum vitae* to show my ability to carry out the project, and a one-page overview of the research and its expected outcomes. The one-page overview included a paragraph on my chosen research partners and the nature of our relationship to show how we would work together and how each party would benefit from the partnership. Each meeting ended with the official waxing poetic on the success of the government in restoring peace and security since the genocide. I was reminded by everyone to keep regular contact with partner A, and not to believe everything people told me. Most interesting was the consistency of the message; there was virtually no variation in what each official told me. Even more interesting was the very different versions of the truth that arose as ordinary Rwandans were most willing (given the right introduction and conditions) to talk to me about their lives before, during and after the genocide. In highly politicized research environments, it is important to recognize the government’s version of events, as well as the narratives of other actors, and to understand how each version of the truth may impact fieldwork, notably accessing possible respondents and then interpreting the information they share with you. Knowledge of the government’s consensus version about life in post-genocide Rwanda proved helpful during interviews as I began to recognize it when I heard it and was able to modify my interview technique accordingly, and in some cases abandon the interview altogether if it was yielding biased or partisan information.

During the first month of fieldwork it became apparent that my partner A contact was “checking in” on me as he repeatedly suggested I not believe everything I heard from ordinary Rwandans, and asked numerous questions about how things were going with my conversations with “unimportant people” (i.e., not government officials or other agents of the state). At first, I perceived this as small talk but eventually came to appreciate the role of his organization, as well as my own role, in Rwanda’s information economy. Research involves making choices about which voices are heard and whose knowledge counts. The government was not necessarily interested in the life stories of all Rwandans; it was only keen on those voices that supported its vision. My contact at partner A understood this and I soon did as well, engaging in a cat-and-

mouse game of trying to gauge what he wanted to hear during my reporting sessions with what I was willing to tell him about what I was learning from my interviews with so many “unimportant” Rwandans. My strategy was to tell him as little as possible and to ask my respondents about the best ways to avoid having others—be it neighbours, government officials or civil society representatives like my contact with partner A—observe our conversations together. I did not try to hide the fact that my contact at partner A was asking about who was saying what. Instead, I shared with some of my respondents what partner A wanted from me, and asked them for suggestions on how to avoid telling him what was really being said. This usually resulted in a deepening of the interview relationship, as my respondents were delighted that I seemed to understand the constraints they were under in their daily lives and was willing to discuss how to avoid the glare of “people who make decisions in Kigali that affect us out here [in rural Rwanda]. Those people in Kigali tell us what to do when they come here. You ask me what I think and I tell you. Then you tell me next time how you took my news to [partner A contact] in Kigali. It is very good” (interview, 2006).

3.2.2 Respondent recruitment

None of the 37 individuals who agreed to participate in the research were identified through organizational contacts, although both the government and my local partners recommended that I do so. Instead, I accessed respondents principally through personal networks, ordinary people that I would meet at the market, walking in the hills or on the taxi-bus. I have a basic knowledge of Kinyarwanda, the sole language of more than 90% of Rwandans, and was able to speak about everyday things, such as shopping in the market, asking about one’s family or work, and ordering a drink at a local kiosk. I also kept Kinyarwanda language books (Overdulve, 1975; Shimamungu, 1998) with me at all times, both as a learning tool and to show that I was trying my best to speak to ordinary Rwandans in their mother tongue. I tracked potential respondents through their social networks as everyday life in Rwanda, like rural areas in other countries, is not confined to a geographical entity. Much like the footpaths and back roads that link individual homesteads to one another, I choose to follow the linkages between individuals.

In the early days of respondent recruitment and before agreeing to any formal interviews, I spoke informally with many ordinary Rwandans about their lives before, during and after the genocide. As the individual spoke, I made, with permission, notes about the individuals she referred to. Individuals spoke of family, friends, neighbours as well as their interactions with government officials before and after the genocide. Some of the relationships were positive, others negative. Regardless of the nature or quality of the relationship, I tried to follow up with each of the named individuals. This approach provided 167 names. I was able to contact 95 individuals of which 37 agreed to participate. Many of my respondents said that they agreed to participate in my research because I did not access them through organizational contacts and made an effort to meet them in the places “where they live” or “in the fields where they work” (interviews, 2006).

My contact at partner A provided a list of names of people I was supposed to interview. I still did not know at the time that my contact within my partner organization was reporting back to MINALOC about the progression of my research. As time passed, he became more interventionist in bringing members of his organization to my residence to interview, usually in his presence, demanding to see my research notes, and offering to “verify” the narratives of people he did not send to me as “all Rwandans are liars” (meaning they had spoken off topic outside the legitimating myth). After some wrangling, in which I repeatedly refused to share even

the names of my respondents, let alone the content of our discussions, we agreed that I would inform him of my interview schedule. My strategy was to share with him the date of select interviews, but never the time. I then organized to meet respondents very early in the morning, from 4am in some cases, in the rural areas where they lived. Respondents were willing to speak with me early in the morning. City-folk, such as my partner A contact or local government officials, did not keep “country-hours” and I never saw any officials during the dawn hours, a point that was not lost on any of my respondents as they spoke freely with me, pleased with the opportunity to speak to an outsider. The words of one respondent are emblematic: “It is good for me to talk to an outsider like you because I can’t share my stories with people around here” (interview, 2006).

Another sign of interference was the repeated requests from partner A for a summary of what was being said by whom; as he became more forceful in requesting the information, I was glad that several safeguards to maintain the confidentiality of interview material were in place. Pre-fieldwork preparation proved invaluable once again as I had already instituted a system of not recording the names of respondents anywhere in my fieldnotes and of using a fresh notebook for each meeting, lest I lose the notes, or a local official ask to see them. Where a name might appear in an audio recording, I blanked out that section of the tape before transcription with the help of a member of the research assistance team.⁸ I also blanked out any information that could be used to identify a particular respondent, such as the names of relatives or friends, or associational memberships. These safeguards were enacted to protect the anonymity of respondents in case the government wanted to see the interview notes, and also to ensure their confidence as part the trust-based relationship I shared with respondents. Meticulously following these safeguards meant that any backlash during the research process, or as a result of any publications that ensued from the research, would ensure that Rwandan government officials would be unable to locate individual respondents.

I eventually learned that partner A was concerned that respondents were making negative comments about the government, and could bring sanction against his organization. He was, after all, accountable to the government for my actions. Once this concern became apparent, I interviewed the individuals he brought to my doorstep, treating them as a collective voice about the power dynamics between the government and civil society, but also between civil society organizations and their membership.⁹ The circumscribed autonomy of partner A and the way in which it impacted the research provided important insights on the surveillance of foreign research projects and local power dynamics within civil society organizations in particular and the community level more generally. It also provided increased rapport with some respondents in the shared experience of dealing with local elites, which became a bonding one. For example, the rapport I shared with ordinary Rwandans, as well as the density of social networks in Rwanda, was confirmed when I met one of my respondents during a trip to the market. His sister’s cousin was one of the individuals brought to my home by my partner A contact. She said that members of the organization in a community where some of my respondents live were told by my contact what they could and could not say during the interview. If the individual spoke on themes other

⁸ I relied on the assistance of four translators/transcribers, all of whom were unknown to each other. As an additional safeguard, each member of the assistance team signed a written contract attesting that they would do their utmost to safeguard the narratives of each individual whose voice they were translating.

⁹ Like many highly-stratified societies, civil society in Rwanda has been co-opted by government, and its mandate is broadly to implement the government’s development agenda.

than those “authorized”, the privileges of membership would be revoked, including loss of access to health care and support for school fees.

3.3 Gaining access

3.3.1 Access to respondents

I knew from my previous period of residence that it would not be easy to gain access to the personal lives of people who had their lives torn asunder by genocide and war. To facilitate access and to demonstrate my seriousness, I lived, as much as a white foreigner could, as ordinary Rwandans lived. I walked everywhere, and only took public transportation when I had to go any extended distance (I managed distances of less than 10 kilometres on foot; my translator for the day would often meet me at the agreed site rather than walk). This gave me a certain cachet as it became evident to many people that I was ready and willing to travel considerable distances to see them. Some of the most revealing conversations were in the hills surrounding the valley where I lived, where I walked every evening and met a broad cross-section of ordinary Rwandans, some of whom were participating in the life history aspect of the research. When I bumped into participants outside the formal interview setting, I did not say hello unless they greeted me first. This was out of respect for their privacy as questions about how and why we knew each other could have arisen.

I anticipated that Rwandans would speak their minds when they felt secure and comfortable. And speak they did; the life history approach resulted in 348 hours of raw interview material, with an average of 9.4 hours per respondent. I was sensitive that some topics would have to go untouched. The approach was to listen empathetically to what individuals deemed important, and not to pry. I never pressed individuals to speak about things they did not want to discuss; I proved my reliability with my awareness of and sensitivity to the fact that there were people, things and places I did not seek to know. The close relationships that developed were a reaction to my interest in people’s understanding of and feelings about events and changes in their lives, particularly since the genocide. That I was only interested in what individuals were willing to share and the fact that I had a permission letter from the government minimized personal risk for respondents as my presence in communities was officially sanctioned; respondents who agreed to participate in the research understood its risks and some weighed this against the therapeutic benefits of having a sympathetic outsider to talk to.

In fact, many individuals thought that if I was researcher, and so interested in their lives as few before had been, then I must by definition be a therapist. Most individuals were aware of the role of therapists since the genocide as the post-genocide government had organized post-traumatic stress counseling units for survivors of the genocide and for individuals who needed emotional support following participation in the *gacaca* grassroots justice courts. “Therapist” was a role I could not escape, and many individuals asked me during the long walks to and from interview sites if their behaviour was “normal”, or confided to me their troubles and heartaches. This was an added layer of stress for me as I spent most of my days listening to the narratives of individuals who survived the genocide, had been raped, or tortured, or had witnessed killings, or who had killed. While personally difficult as I sometimes took on the pain and suffering that individuals shared with me, the therapist image also meant that the combination of my empathy

and respect made me privy to significant and intimate details of people's lives that could have been otherwise unobtainable.

3.4 Layers of surveillance, modes of interference: two examples

Two principal examples from fieldwork illustrate the demands of research in highly politicized environments and highlight the importance of continued sensitivity to local realities. The first example shows how an empathetic act can potentially threaten relationships with respondents and undo hard-earned trust and respect. In the second example, I discuss the experience of having my research permit withdrawn and share the strategies I used to assure my safety as well as that of my respondents.

3.4.1 “What made you think you could touch her?”

A condition of my research permit was the need to pay a visit to the local government official in each administrative centre the first time I visited the community in question. This was the norm, and I gladly paid these courtesy calls to present my letter of permission from the central government. Meeting local officials gave an air of respectability to the research, and respondents understood that I was serious about hearing their life experiences, which was further evidenced by my repeated visits at the agreed upon times at the agreed locations. As fieldwork progressed, and I met and spent time with more people, the importance of understanding alliances in Rwandan social life became more apparent, as the following example shows.

During a courtesy call at the administrative offices of a rural community about 40 kilometers southwest of Butare town, a woman whom I did not know was wailing uncontrollably and was screeching at the end of a long hallway of closed doors. Who or what was upsetting her was unclear. About ten minutes later, I was called in to meet the official I had come to see, and he asked me what was going on with this crying woman. I said I did not know as he ushered me out the door, having approved my request to conduct interviews with some of the residents in his bailiwick. I had expected my courtesy call to take much longer, and so I sat outside on a low wall to wait for one of my translators so we could walk the short distance to the agreed interview meeting place. Shortly after, the wailing woman was unceremoniously dumped outside onto the concrete slab that served as the front entrance of the office block. She eventually stopped crying, laying prostrate and seemingly exhausted from whatever bad news she had just received. She eventually pulled herself together, and I gave her a meek smile as she walked past where I was sitting. There were about 15 Rwandans in attendance. I did not think about this event again, as incidences of heartbreak and sorrow such as the one I had just witnessed were relatively commonplace.

The next week, I was back and was leaning on the same wall outside the offices of the local authorities as I waited for my translator to arrive. I was about fifteen minutes early and the same woman who had been wailing the week before appeared. The government had organized a wake to symbolically rebury the bodies of those individuals from the area who had died during the 1994 genocide. The government had instituted a new policy in early 2006 that local offices were to become the official repositories of the remains of genocide dead, officially as a genocide memorial, but also to control access to the memorials as some tombs were being broken into as

people sought to bury even unidentified remains on their own land. The woman was upset because she believed her husband and two of her children were among the bodies to be reburied, and she had spent significant time and energy asking for their bones to be given to her so she could bury them “properly” on their land. The wake was scheduled to start, and I slipped into the crowd to bear witness. The wailing woman of the previous week was standing two or three people in front of me, and I could see her hunched shoulders and hear her efforts to choke back tears. The ceremony lasted about 20 minutes, and as the crowd dispersed, the woman stood motionless over the new, official burial site. Soon, we were the only two standing before the gravestone. She sighed deeply and I put my arm around her shoulder and gave her a gentle squeeze to say “sorry for your trouble”. She winced, and I pulled away. We stood silently over the gravesite for another 15 minutes or so. She left and I continued milling about, waiting for my now-late translator to arrive.

When I eventually arrived at the agreed upon interview location, the woman I was scheduled to interview was incensed: How could I have offered my support to her enemy? Didn't I know that her husband had been killed by the husband of that Hutu woman I touched? Didn't I know that the woman was making trouble at the offices of the local authorities? She thought I knew Rwandans better than that! I did not know much about this woman's life history as we had yet to have our first formal interview. Taken aback by the vehemence of her questioning, I offered to leave. Which raised her ire even more: “So now my stories are not good enough for your project? I thought you cared about me. Ha, you are just like the authorities. You take what you need and then leave us [not clear who ‘us’ refers to]. I thought you were different...”. I explained that I had offered to leave as a sign of respect for her feelings. I explained that I did not know the woman in question but that I was truly sorry for her loss, just like I was sad and sorry for all that my respondent had suffered during and since the genocide.¹⁰ We sat quietly together, and I held her hands in mine for about 20 minutes. She soon sat up straight, and we looked at each other in silence for a few minutes, and she went on to explain that I had to be more careful about who I spent my time with and to remember that I was an “important person” (someone with social standing). We talked for a long time, well into the late afternoon, about her perceptions on government policy and how it keeps people apart rather than bringing them together. I was never sure of the nature of our “alliance” (to use her word) after this, but I certainly understood that something important had happened as it became clear that this respondent expected me to defend her interests; she saw me as her ally, and in treating other Rwandans in what I perceived to be a similar situation in the same way, was revealing to me. In entering the private spaces of my respondents, I was not only revealing the obvious inequalities between researcher and researched, but also began to open the door on the arbitrariness that constrained the lives of both women, my respondent and the stranger. Even a compassionate touch of the “wrong” individual could bring unexpected negative consequences although in this case the incident resulted in a stronger relationship with this particular respondent. I never saw the woman that I met at the local office again although I did think of her whenever I saw a grave-site, a regular occurrence in post-genocide Rwanda.

¹⁰ At this point, I dispatched my translator to bring a phone card so that the respondent could call a trauma counselor if she wanted to. She was exhibiting the tension and anxiety of a person in the midst of a traumatic episode. I had organized with partner B to give a list of names and phone numbers to persons who had their trauma triggered as a result of our conversations.

3.4.2 “We don’t need that kind of research”

Part of my research design was to interview prisoners accused of genocide. I received the appropriate permissions from MININTER and began interviewing prisoners in early August 2006. I knew that the Director of Prisons for the local prison I was visiting would ask the head of prisoners (male and female) to identify individuals for me to interview. There was no question of informed consent in the prisons because of the power relationship between the prison administration and the prisoners themselves. I was supposed to submit a list of names of individuals that I wanted to interview. Instead, I asked for six individuals, three women and three men, who had confessed to their crimes and had already gone through the *gacaca* traditional justice process, as well as six individuals who had not confessed their crimes and were awaiting trial. As expected, the heads of prisoners were brought to me and they identified several individuals who were willing to speak to me.¹¹ About three weeks into the process of meeting unnamed prisoners, the Director called me into his office to ask for a list of the names of the individuals who had “agreed” to speak to me. I did not record anything except the necessary demographic details for each participant as a safety precaution; the focus was on recording the narrative. I suspect that the Director knew the names of each prisoner, but his insistence and my inability to share the names resulted in a summons from the Ministry of Local Government asking me to come to Kigali (the capital city) “to discuss my research project”.

I sat outside the office of the individual who requested to see me for three days before I was called in to explain what I was doing interviewing “Hutus about their experiences of genocide. We know what they did, and we don’t need that kind of research”. I showed my research permit to the assistant of the Minister, as well as the research summary and list of interview topics that supported my application for a research permit to show that I was well within the boundaries of what I was “allowed” to do. The official suggested at this point that perhaps my research project “be shut down” as it was clearly against government policy. It eventually emerged that the research looked too favourably on the experiences of prisoners, and that “what I needed was to stop talking to ordinary people who were filling my head with negative ideas”. The official then told me to stop interviewing and that I would have to undergo “re-education”. My interviews with survivors continued, but all other interviews were stopped. My passport was taken away, with a promise to return it when my “re-education” was complete. The official also gave me a list of government officials in Kigali to see, and assigned a junior government official to escort me to five *ingando* (citizenship re-education) sessions and take me to seven *gacaca* court sessions so that I could observe “the good work of the government in restoring peace and security” to Rwanda (fieldnotes, 2006). I was required to check in with this person every night; in turn he informed his superiors of what I was doing and whom I was with.

When the government stopped my research, the safety of everyone associated with the research was a grave concern. I never felt that my physical safety was at stake as relations with the government remained cordial, if sterile, throughout. However, I was deeply concerned for the safety of my respondents and my research assistants. I understood that the government considered my research findings to be potentially threatening. For that reason, I submitted to

¹¹ The life history interview allowed prisoners to speak in their own voice about the conditions of their detention. The information gathered was qualitatively different than that gathered outside as the interview setting was more sterile, and was certainly surveilled as we sat in a dark corner in the room outside the Director’s office.

their plan of “re-education”, and did exactly as my government handler asked me to do when asked. The process included a requirement of meeting senior members of the government, the RPF. My handler gave me a list of names and phone numbers of the most senior party officials from government, civil society and the private sector. I visited each one dutifully, half expecting admonishment on every occasion. Usually, and somewhat surprising to me, very few of them knew why I was visiting and we often just chatted for a few minutes about my research. Some had heard of my “situation” and were uninterested in receiving me. Others spoke for more than an hour about the accomplishments and achievements of the RPF in stopping the genocide and restoring peace and security “to all of Rwanda”.

During these visits in Kigali, I was also able to visit the Canadian embassy and request a new passport. That process took about four weeks, and I snuck out of Rwanda early one Sunday morning in October 2006. I took the bus from Butare to Kigali late Saturday afternoon, bought my ticket to Nairobi with cash, checked in at a five-star hotel under an assumed name, hopped a taxi at 4:30am and checked in at the airport. I timed my departure to correspond with Rwanda’s Patriotism Day celebrations, which I knew would be heavily attended by members of the security forces. I also thought I could leave once I got my passport as the government knew I was stranded until they returned the document to me. There were no police checks from town to the airport, and the airport was on a skeleton staff, which did little to calm me until the aircraft successfully left Rwandan airspace.

3.5 Surveillance and interference: Some reflections

My research, as evidenced by the two examples presented above, experienced both surveillance and interference from ordinary people and government officials alike. While embarrassed by my female respondent for not understanding the politically sensitive nature of alliances and status in a rural community, I learned an important lesson about empathetic listening. Had I left the home of my respondent when I first felt the need to go that could have negatively impacted the outcome of my research as it could have closed off access to the private lives of some of my respondents in a particular community. The main concern was not that I touched the wailing/mourning woman, but that I was insensitive to what it meant for my respondent. If I am offering support to her perceived enemy, then I had better offer at least that and more to her. Her reaction was more than traumatic; it was also evidence of the weak political and social position of Tutsi widows of the genocide. Fortunately, I was able to learn from this experience, and while the respondents’ emotional safety (and perhaps mine) was at risk, there was never a concern of lasting enmity. This is an important consideration in polarized research settings and affirms the need to think about whom you will interview and how at the research design stage while allowing for enough flexibility to adapt the research to suit local constraints. Another lesson is to engage tense situations with respondents and to prepare yourself to deal with such situations. Individuals who have lived through violence can exhibit strong reactions to seemingly compassionate acts in unexpected ways. Intense interviews on sensitive topics are grueling for respondent and researcher alike, and while it is necessary to accommodate the preferences of respondents, it is also important to protect yourself. I did this by trying to interview only in the mornings so that I could spend the afternoon recuperating if necessary.

The experience of having my research cut short impacted the research in a number of positive ways. First, in offering to “re-educate” me, the government actually availed a frontline look at

the tactics and techniques it uses to control Rwanda's political and social landscape. Initial feelings of fear, both for my physical safety and that of my respondents, soon subsided to a sense of privilege of being able to spend so much time in the company of Rwandan élites. Since my research was grounded in the voices of ordinary Rwandans, I quickly recognized the sweeping generalizations and over-simplifications of Rwandan history that the government relied upon to legitimize its rule, which allowed me to further contextualize and situate the narratives of my respondents. The government's attempt to influence my thinking on its reconstruction and reconciliation successes since the 1994 genocide was equally revealing as I was able to see first hand how the government organizes the flow of information and determines what counts as the "truth" in post-genocide Rwanda. Talking to Rwandan élites was not part of my research design, but listening to them speak positively influenced my research in the end. Government interference and surveillance is likely in intensely political research sites such as post-genocide Rwanda, and it is important to listen to as many possible viewpoints from a broad cross-section of actors. Indeed, awareness of multiple viewpoints is helpful in understanding and interpreting the individual "truths" that people share with you, as is the ability to compare and contrast these alternate versions with the dominant version of the truth.

The insights and knowledge gained during my "re-education" also provided a source of solidarity between some of my respondents and me. The embedded nature of the life history interview method meant that I had spent considerable time over several months getting to know people, listening to life stories and sharing everyday experiences with them, and word spread quickly that I was no longer allowed to work. None of my respondents were surprised with the news, most of whom would pass by my residence to pay a visit, as is custom in Rwanda. This surprised me as I had expected respondents to keep their distance, given my precarious situation. More than half of my respondents visited me at home, and several sent their hellos. I was heartened by the continued interest of many respondents in the research despite the obvious interference of the government.

The many steps I had taken during the design phase of my research and the modifications I made early on in my fieldwork to assure that each of my respondents understood the purpose of the research, and its attendant risks, before agreeing to participate paid off when my work was halted. Several respondents shared with me that they were proud to be part of a project that the government recognized as critical of its policies. This spoke to individual convictions for the research, and verified that the consent they had accorded at the outset of the research was still valid. This was an important lesson as it raised questions about the validity of informed consent over an extended period of time in politically volatile environments. Had my respondents reacted differently to the news that the government was stopping my research, I could have confronted a situation where the majority, if not all, of my respondents withdrew their consent in the final days of the project.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that research in environments where the legitimizing myth is firmly entrenched is both necessary and possible with forethought and planning that takes into consideration local realities from a variety of perspectives. A sense of humility is a useful starting point as is maintaining a sense of flexibility in adapting to field conditions. Equally important is the need to identify how the local information economy operates as this directly

impacts access to both the field site and to possible respondents. Maintaining good working relationships with actors on all sides of the political divide is also important. The strategies I employed during fieldwork, notably my efforts to gain the trust and protect the safety of my respondents, were thought out prior to entering the field and tweaked to local conditions during fieldwork. The primary lesson of the chapter is that research in highly politicized environments must be grounded in a nuanced understanding of local conditions, and an awareness of whom to talk to, how to speak with them and on what topics is critical.

3.7 References

Ndayambajwe, J. (2001). *Le génocide au Rwanda: Un analyse psychologique*. Butare, RW: Université Nationale du Rwanda/ Centre Universitaire de Santé Mentale.

Overdulve, C. (1975). *Apprendre la langue rwandaise*. The Hague, NL/Paris, FR: Mouton.

Shimamungu, E. (1998). *Le Kinyarwanda: Initiation à une langue bantu*. Paris, FR: L'Harmattan.

4 Insurgent group formation: An illustrative Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) model

James Finan (Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Canada)

Editor's Note: This presentation was given at the Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society (CSAFS)/Royal Military College of Canada (RMCC) Red Teaming Conference, 17-18 March 2011, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. It describes the application of the Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) as a tool for selecting between a number of different methods that might be used to elicit hierarchy-enhancing (or hierarchy-attenuating) myths in real-world research. No speaking notes are available for this presentation.

Insurgent Group Formation: An Illustrative AHP Model



James S. Finan, Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus
Department of Political & Economic Science
Royal Military College of Canada

Multi-Attribute Decision Making

- Conflicting Objectives and Tradeoffs in Decision Problems
- Objectives with Different Attribute Scales
- Multi-Attribute Decision Making (MADM)
 - A study of methods and procedures that handle multiple attributes
 - Usages
 - Identify a single most preferred alternative
 - Rank alternatives
 - Shortlist a limited number of alternatives for subsequent detailed appraisal
 - Distinguish acceptable from unacceptable possibilities
- Analytic Hierarchy Process is a form of MADM
 - A widely used technique in a variety of areas from engineering to social sciences

Analytic Hierarchy Process

- AHP developed by Thomas L. Saaty 1980
- T.L. Saaty, *The Analytic Hierarchy Process*, McGraw-Hill, 1980.
 - Structure a problem as a hierarchy or as a system with dependence loops
 - Elicit judgments based on subjective assessments in terms of 1) importance 2) likelihood 3) preference
 - Represent those judgments with meaningful numbers
 - Synthesize results
 - Analyze sensitivity to changes in judgments
- AHP uses a method for assigning ratings and weights that is reliable and consistent

Aim of the AHP

- To structure complexity in gradual steps
 - from the large to the small
 - or from the general to the particular
- Purpose: to relate elements with greater accuracy in terms of our understanding
- To improve awareness by a synthesis of subjective knowledge
- AHP is an analytical tool designed to aggregate subjective judgments over 1) an array of elements 2) across a spectrum of analysts
 - AHP models can include combined evaluations in terms of a) preference b) importance c) likelihood
 - AHP models can incorporate the judgments of a number of analysts in relation to a specific problem

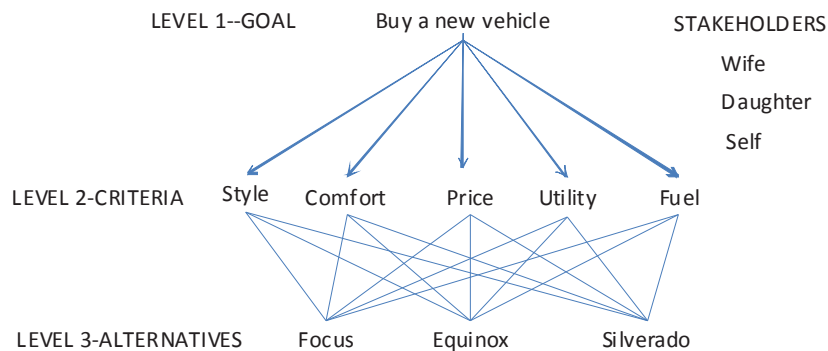
AHP Analytical Phases

- Phase 1: Present the problem as a hierarchy
 - Start with an identification of the criteria to be used in evaluating different alternatives, organized in a tree-like hierarchy
- Phase 2: Collect input data by pairwise comparisons of criteria at each level of the hierarchy and alternatives
- Phase 3: Estimate the relative importance, preference, likelihood (weights) of criteria and alternatives and check the consistency of the pairwise comparisons
- Phase 4: Aggregate the relative weights of criteria and alternatives to obtain a global ranking of each alternative in relation to the goal

Structuring an AHP Hierarchy

- How to Structure a Hierarchy
 - Identify the overall objective or goal
 - Identify criteria to satisfy the goal
 - Identify, where appropriate, sub-criteria under each criterion
 - Identify alternatives to be evaluated in terms of the sub-criteria at the lowest level
 - If the relative importance of the sub-criteria can be assessed and the alternatives can be evaluated in terms of the sub-criteria, the hierarchy is finished
 - Otherwise, continue inserting levels until it is possible to link levels and set priorities (relative weights) on the elements at each level in terms of the elements at the level above it

AHP Vehicle Model



AHP Vehicle Model

- Define the relative importance of criteria at each level of the hierarchy and relative importance of alternatives by means of pairwise comparisons
- In the vehicle selection sample, Level 2 Criteria are compared pair-wise as follows:
 - 1) style/comfort 2) style/price 3) style/utility 4) style/fuel 5) comfort/price 6) comfort/utility 7) comfort/fuel 8) price/utility 9) price/fuel 10) utility/fuel
- From the above set of comparisons, the need for parsimony in model design becomes apparent.

AHP Vehicle Model

- Criteria
 - Three of the five criteria lend themselves to purely subjective scoring
 - Style
 - Comfort
 - Utility (might develop other sub-criteria)
 - Frequency of use
 - Carrying capacity
 - Flexibility
 - Two remaining criteria have objective data
 - Price
 - Fuel

Pair-Wise Comparison Scale

- Scale for Pair-wise Comparisons

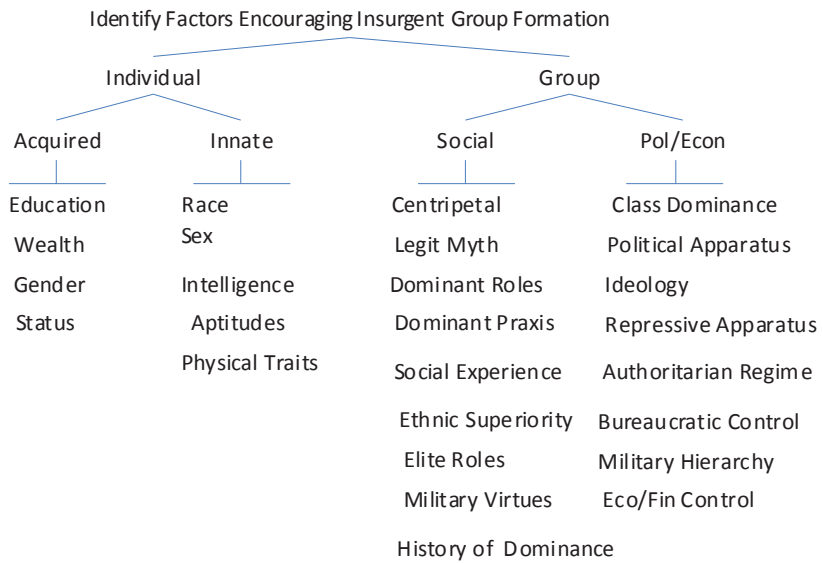
Pair-wise comparisons can be entered by number or verbal assessment that is converted

- 1. Equally preferred
- 3. One is moderately preferred over the other
- 5. One is strongly preferred over the other
- 7. One is very strongly preferred over the other
- 9. One is extremely preferred over the other
- 2,4,6,8 intermediate values
- Reciprocals for inverse comparison

AHP: Analytical Issues

- Final priorities are a function of clusters of factors that relate both to criteria sub-criteria and alternatives
- These factors vary in terms of their expected influence in different contexts and over time in terms of 1) their relative importance and 2) the intensity they exert
- It is often difficult to measure directly the influence various factors may have
- Individual analysts often present different but equally credible assessments
- There is a need to use an analytical technique that can aggregate judgments about relative importance and intensity in a single score for more than one analyst
- This aggregation is often most useful if it can be done over a time series so that the intensity can be tracked and forecasted.

AHP Insurgent Group Formation Model



Individual-Acquired AHP Priorities

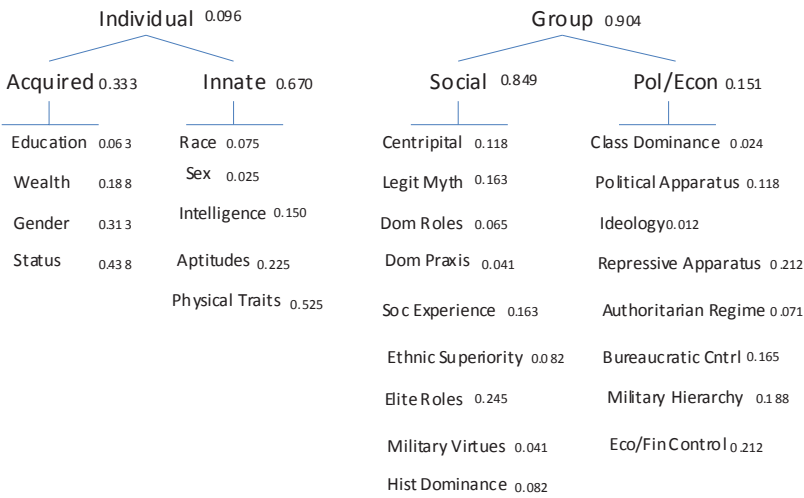
Individual-Acquired				
education	wealth	gender roles	social status	Priorities
1	1/3	1/5	1/7	0.061
3	1	1/2	1/3	0.164
5	2	1	1/1.5	0.313
7	3	2	1	0.462
				1.000

Group Social Criteria X Level 3 AHP

Group Social												
centripetal factors	legitimizing myths	dominant social roles	supporting social experience	dominant praxis	image of ethnic superiority	elite roles	group military virtues	history of dominance	Priorities	X Level 3 AHP		
1.000	0.500	1.250	2.000	0.500	1.000	0.333	2.000	1.000	0.085	0.091	centripetal factors	
2.000	1.000	2.500	4.000	1.000	2.000	0.667	4.000	2.000	0.169	0.125	legitimizing myths	
0.800	0.400	1.000	1.600	0.400	0.800	0.267	1.600	0.800	0.068	0.050	dominant social roles	
0.500	0.250	0.625	1.000	0.250	0.500	0.167	1.000	0.500	0.042	0.031	dominant praxis	
2.000	1.000	2.500	4.000	1.000	2.000	0.667	4.000	2.000	0.169	0.125	supporting social experience	
1.000	0.500	1.250	2.000	0.500	1.000	0.333	2.000	1.000	0.085	0.063	image of ethnic superiority	
3.000	1.500	3.750	6.000	1.500	3.000	1.000	6.000	3.000	0.254	0.188	elite roles	
0.500	0.250	0.625	1.000	0.250	0.500	0.167	1.000	0.500	0.042	0.031	group military virtues	
1.000	0.500	1.250	2.000	0.500	1.000	0.333	2.000	1.000	0.085	0.063	history of dominance	

AHP Model with Priorities

Identify Factors Encouraging Insurgent Group Formation



Final Alternative Weights & Index Values

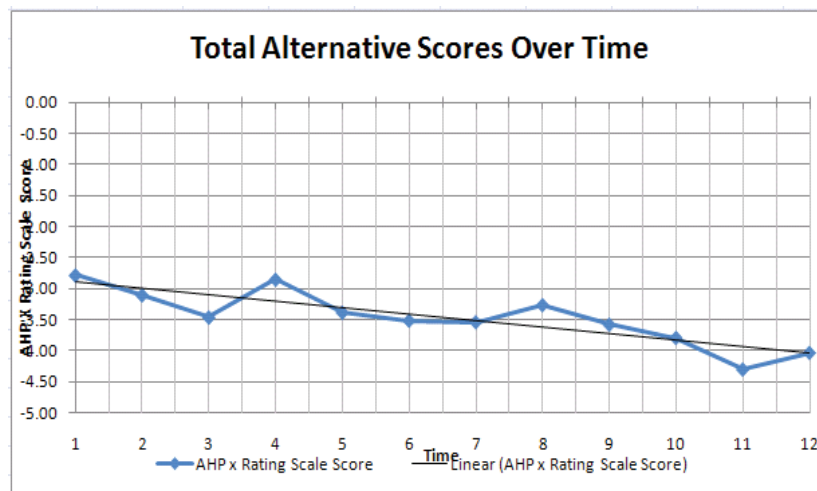
Level 3 Criteria	Alternatives	Priority	Index
Individual-Acquired	education	0.0017	1.1
	wealth	0.0051	3.2
	gender roles	0.0085	5.3
	social status	0.0120	7.5
Individual-Innate	race	0.0051	3.2
	sex	0.0017	1.1
	intelligence	0.0103	6.4
	aptitudes	0.0154	9.6
	physical traits	0.0359	22.4
Group Social	centripetal factors	0.0908	56.5
	legitimizing myths	0.1254	78.1
	dominant social roles	0.0501	31.2
	dominant praxis	0.0313	19.5
	supporting social experience	0.1254	78.1
	image of ethnic superiority	0.0627	39.0
	elite roles	0.1881	117.1
	group military virtues	0.0313	19.5
	history of dominance	0.0627	39.0
Group Political/Economic	class dominance	0.0032	2.0
	dominant political apparatus	0.0161	10.0
	mobilizing ideology	0.0016	1.0
	oppressive regime apparatus	0.0289	18.0
	authoritarian regime structure	0.0096	6.0
	bureaucratic control	0.0225	14.0
	control of military hierarchy	0.0257	16.0
	economic/financial control	0.0289	18.0

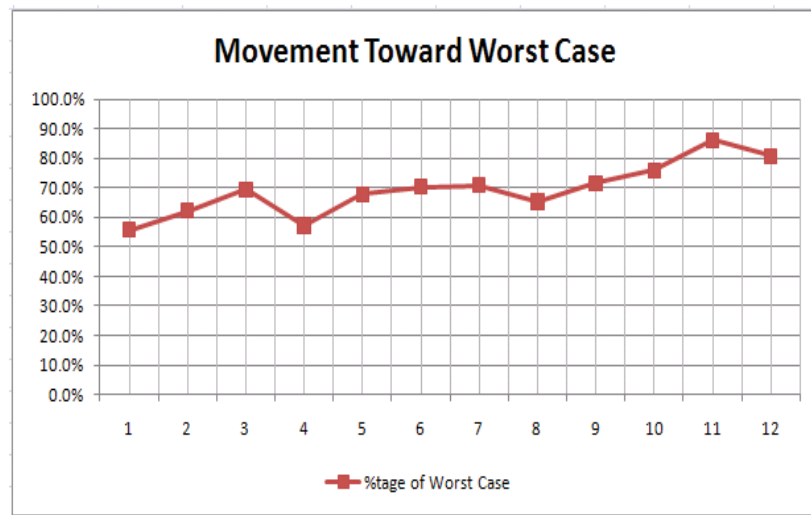
Index Values

- Index values are developed in relation to the alternative with the lowest priority
- Alternatives with high priorities/index values are those which are most significant in group formation/cohesion
 - Physical traits 22.4
 - Centripetal factors 56.5
 - Legitimizing myths 78.1
 - Dominant Social Roles 31.2
 - Supporting Social Experience 78.1
 - Ethnic superiority 39.0
 - Elite roles 117.1
 - History of dominance 39.0
- Presumably moderating/removing these factors more than others would inhibit in-group formation/persistence
- Analysis may offer guidance in developing a problem-solving strategy of intervention

Rating Scale

- Alternatives can be pair-wise compared in terms of relative importance
- Alternatives can also vary in their intensity over time
- In the AHP it is possible to use an Intensity Scale to assess subjectively the changes in alternatives
- In this model alternatives are negative in import and therefore the scale is in negative numbers
 - » Slight -1
 - » Moderate -2
 - » Strong -3
 - » Intense -4
 - » Extreme -5
- This approach allows overall alternative impacts to be tracked over time
- Worst Case: the rating scale allows the identification of a worst case against which scores in each time element can be measured.





Conflict Group Formation/Conflict Analysis

- Previous illustrative model's goal was to show how priorities for factors leading to conflict group formation might be established
- Another perspective in conflict modeling focuses on conflict parties & what they hope to gain from intergroup violence
- This second perspective is reflected in Saaty's conflict resolution approach
 - Thomas L. Saaty & Joyce Alexander, *Conflict Resolution: The Analytic Hierarchy Approach*, (Praeger, New York: 1989)

AHP: Forward & Backward Processes

- Forward process:
 - Level 1: Specific Conflict
 - Level 2: Actors (gov'ts, insurgent groups etc)
 - Level 3: Actor objectives
 - Level 4: Actor policies
 - Level 5: Outcome scenarios (desireable & undesirable)
- Standard AHP approach to a conflict problem

Backward Process

- Alternative backward processes reverses the normal analysis
- Level 2 elements are alternative scenarios at level 5 in the forward process
- Working backwards, opportunities & impediments to achieving desired outcomes are identified & given priorities
- An analysis of a given conflict may use both approaches

Software & Spreadsheets

- There are user friendly soft-wares available that can be used to develop AHP models
- The most common of these is **Expert Choice**
- AHP models can be readily developed in a spreadsheet format
- With **Expert Choice** and in spreadsheets pairwise comparing can be done using verbal comparison values

Some AHP Titles

- Z. Babic, N. Plazibat, Ranking of enterprises based on multi-criteria analysis, International Journal of Production Economics 56–57 (1–3) (1998) 29–35.
- A.R. Blair, et al., Forecasting the resurgence of the US economy in 2001: An expert judgement approach, Socio-Economic Planning Sciences 36 (2) (2002) 77–91.
- R. Ceha, H. Ohta, The evaluation of air transportation network based on multiple criteria, Computers and Industrial Engineering 27 (1–4) (1994) 249–252.
- A.P. Dobias, Designing a mousetrap using the analytic hierarchy process and expert choice, European Journal of Operational Research 48 (1) (1990) 57–65.
- I.C. Ehie, C.O. Benjamin, An integrated multi-objective planning model: A case study of Zambian copper mining industry, European Journal of Operational Research 68 (2) (1993) 160–172.
- James S. Finan and W. D. Macnamara, An illustrative Canadian strategic risk assessment, Canadian Military Journal, Autumn 2(3) (2001) 29–34.
- E.W.T. Ngai, Selection of web sites for online advertising using AHP, Information and Management 40 (4) (2003) 233–242.
- . Sarkis, A methodological framework for evaluating environmentally conscious manufacturing programs, Computers and Industrial Engineering 36 (4) (1999) 793–810.
- V. Shrinivasan, P.J. Bolster, An analytical bond rating based on analytic hierarchy process, European Journal of Operational Research 48 (1) (1990) 105–119.

5 Surviving ethical approval: Re-defining research

Daniel Lagacé-Roy (Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Canada)

5.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to reflect on ethical factors pertinent to any scientific work but more specifically to research that is pursued with non-state actors in the context of dangerous surroundings. The ethical factors discussed here are directly related to various ethical issues, such as risks and personal consent, that need to be addressed when human subjects are involved. These issues will be introduced under three different topics: description of the research itself; participants; and methodologies applied. These three topics speak, to a large extent, to the subject of ethical approval in unconventional fields of research from a choice of angles: What is the nature and purpose (s) of the research? What is the underlying rationale for “developing” this particular type of research? How would you select your participants? How would you obtain their consent to divulge information and how would you protect that data? Which methodology (or methodologies) would be used to obtain the desired (and/or anticipated) results? These questions, amongst others, are typical questions asked when ethical approval is sought. However, in the context of research dealing with “non-state actors” these questions become more refined and required careful attention.

The sequence of this chapter unfolds as follow. The first part describes briefly the *raison d'être* behind the need of an ethical protocol espoused by an institution. The second, third and fourth parts introduce the three topics mentioned above: research, participants, and methodologies, and developes each of them according to the Executive Summary of this Contract Report. The fourth part, called *ethical irregularities*, talks about what seems to be *ethically irregular* concerning the so-called parameters of research when it is conducted in unconventional fields. That part re-introduces each theme developed in the second, third and fourth parts with the purpose of examining the ethical climate to which this research would be subject. The intent of this assessment is to make available to researchers ethical recommendations that would guide their work. Finally, the conclusion brings together key aspects for further consideration.

5.2 Ethical protocol

In 1998 three federal agencies – the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) – adopted guidelines to guarantee ethical conduct in research involving humans. Since its first edition, the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS or the Policy) has supported and promoted the importance of research and research ethics in the context of academic freedom with an emphasis on the respect and protection of participants (as well as researchers). While the second edition published in 2010 reiterates the same concerns, it acknowledges “emerging ethical issues and new areas of research” that are pushing the boundaries of conventional research (e.g., collecting data via surveys) and therefore might redefine the meaning of research itself: where the research is conducted; the participants involved; and the way their consent is sought. The TCPS

understood that certain types of research have changed the spectrum of ethical considerations. In fact, these considerations are raising issues (e.g., physical safety) that need to be addressed in a way that relates to current research fields (e.g., violent environments). The long term objective of the TCPS's approach (and philosophy) is to help researchers in their respective fields; to encourage their quest for scientific knowledge; and to facilitate the acquisition of such knowledge through adequate ethical conduct.

5.3 Nature and purpose of the research

The primary objective of the Project on which this ethical section comments:

“[...] sought to find ways to identify, to learn about and to understand the narratives that groups use to justify their actions: what stories are they telling? What do the stories mean to them? What kinds of actions might they justify?” (see Executive Summary: iv).

The long-term objective focuses on the possibility of contributing to a “model of social behaviour” which in turn might disclose the way people (i.e., non-state actors) shape their system of thinking. Finally, such knowledge might help to “determine how and why they (groups) become so (violent), and how this can be influenced and prevented” (Ibid.).

The long-term objective of this research outlines two purposes: 1) one concerns the framework of narratives, 2) and the other one speaks to the “possibility” of influencing (i.e., modifying) behaviours. At first glance, we can easily recognize the legitimacy of both purposes. Firstly, the narrative's *episteme* dictates that stories are “constructions” of true or false realities. Therefore, the discovery of such narratives – regardless of their nature (e.g., myths, tales) – implies a framework that serves as their structural foundation. This type of research, especially when conducted in an unconventional field (i.e., conflict zones), finds its legitimacy in its novelty and its discoveries. Secondly, the motivation to influence behaviours as a possible consequence finds its legitimacy as an “extended” outcome of the research itself. The ultimate intent of any research is the dissemination of discovery and the pertinence of result. To that effect, this research wishes to apply (i.e., to validate) their findings by incorporating them into “practices.” This second purpose is laudable; however, it presents some ethical issues that are discussed later in section 4.6 **Ethical irregularities**.

5.4 Participants

The participants or target group in this Project have been identified as Armed Non-state Actors (ANSAs). An ANSA is defined as *an autonomously operating planned group that has the capacity to use violence to achieve political ends* (Moore 2011: 8). The objective of this research – as stated earlier – is to study the narratives that are promoted by these actors. However, it is important to emphasize that these narratives, in such environmental settings, become secondary in relation to the “story tellers” because the first target of investigation is the participants themselves. In other words, the search for *narratives' verbatim* leads to the action itself, which is the *participants relating the narratives*. This intertwined problematic was already underlined above when it was mentioned that this Project pursues two purposes: the establishment of a framework that describes the narratives process, and the change of behaviours (for the

participants) that might be adopted following that enterprise. The ethical debate concerning the use of non-state actors as participants is an important one and cannot be addressed lightly. Some aspects of this debate will be discussed in section 4.6 **Ethical irregularities**.

5.5 Methodologies

In the three papers prepared for this research, a range of methodologies are presented and suggested as potential working processes to help discover, identify and name narratives. The first one by Susemihl is comprised under the descriptive *Text*, even though *Textual analysis* might be more appropriate because it is more inclusive (sort of a *melange*) of the various sources, such as children's literature, radio, television, Internet and web-blogs, that could be studied via qualitative and quantitative design. The second method, offered by Bogdanic, embraces the possibility of interviewing (e.g., narrative interviews or active interviews) a small group of high-status individuals that reflects a "socially dominant orientation." These interviews would be comprised of open-ended questions, such as "what does your identity group mean to you?", that allow a smooth exchange between the researcher and the participant. The analysis of these interviews could be examined using theories such as Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT). The third and last method, prepared by Thomson, recommends a *life-history approach* that requires unstructured conversation with the objective of gaining trust and confidence. The creation of a certain "familiarity" is the foundation on which narratives could be shared. As for the concern regarding ethical clearance for these methods, the next section on ethical irregularities intends to focus on the interview method as the more problematic one.

5.6 Ethical irregularities

The title of this section is not a distraction from the subject of ethics. The meaning is quite simple: the appreciation of this Project from the point of view of ethical analysis reveals some *irregularities* when ethical conduct in research is no longer a matter of what is acceptable and unacceptable in terms of the choice of participants, the method of consent, the environment in which the research is conducted, and methodologies envisaged. Researchers shouldn't be surprised if they are informed that some Research Ethics Board (REB) members (as an example) find it a bit peculiar that researchers in disciplines such as anthropology and/or political science would take a certain amount of risks to obtain primary data. This remark is important because it serves as a reminder that *research in unconventional fields* is usually (or most of the time) perceived to be in conflict with regular (conventional) fields of investigation. Therefore, there is something *ethically irregular* about the so-called parameters of research. To be more specific, there is an underlying assumption (i.e., something irregular) that transpires when a project such as the one discussed in this Report is presented before an REB. Therefore, it is necessary to engage (and prevent a lack of understanding between) REBs and researchers in a discussion concerning the parameters of research: *what are they?* REBs and researchers have a duty to ask themselves the following question: what are the (new) boundaries (e.g., physical, psychological and temporal) that are defining (or re-defining) research fields? This chapter has already identified three areas (i.e., boundaries) of discussion: nature and purpose of the research, participants, and methodologies. (Proposals presented at REBs are studied individually in order to respect the specificity of each study. REBs have to be open to diverse possibilities.) The following sections examine these three areas with full knowledge that they remain objects of discussion.

5.6.1 Nature and purpose of the research

The scope of this Project is very interesting: *investigating stories that groups tell to justify their actions*. This investigation involves the collection of narratives in order to understand their structure; their way of influencing behaviours; and their way of distorting realities for the purpose of misinformation. The practice of studying narratives assists in gaining access to relevant information and influencing change. For these reasons, this Project is not only pertinent for research but is also required for the advancement of knowledge.

First question: Does this Project, as it is presented, raise concern from an ethical perspective? At first glance, this Project (or any project for that matter) is ethically neutral. This statement means that the *nature of a project itself* is not evaluated according to ethical standards. It is evaluated for its contribution to science. And this Project's main contribution is to learn about the use of narratives and how they work.

However, the *purposes* of the Project (identified in section 4.3) create ethical concerns. The end outcomes of this investigation are 1) to identify models of behaviours with 2) the intention of influencing and changing them. Second question: On what grounds can the researcher justify the intention of influencing participants' behaviours? It can be easily argued that there is nothing unethical in identifying models of behaviours. Behavioural psychologists, amongst others, would argue that their discipline is founded on that purpose. However, the heart of the debate is not about content, i.e., the findings. The contention is about *what researchers do with the findings*. There is a need for researchers to be very specific about what they *intend to do with their finding, that is, how they will exploit them*.

In this particular case, can the researcher justify ethically his/her action by arguing that violence could be avoided if patterns of behaviours are exposed? This is a very difficult question to answer because there are too many grey areas. Is it possible to achieve this end result? How do patterns of behaviours "work" in order to influence change? How many patterns do researchers need to see a transformation? Researchers have to be aware that a "higher purpose" such as the conversion from violence to a certain type of peace cannot be used as ethical grounds for ethical approval. When a project, such as this one, is presented for ethical approval, the REB's members have a duty to evaluate its feasibility and applicability. These two aspects speak directly to the *possibility of deception*. REBs also have a responsibility to inform researchers that the *issue of deception* exists not only for the participants but for them as well.

Recommendation: In the case of the Project that we are discussing, it is suggested that:

The nature of the research proposal is presented with no ambivalence in regards to its objective and purpose. The project's boundaries – especially in a study conducted in high-risk environments – have to be clearly identified in order to avoid confusion. It is recommended to separate the two purposes outlined above into two different projects. The first one (i.e., patterns of behaviours) would present less ethical concerns than the second one (i.e., influencing behaviours). Therefore, the results of the first would provide enough information (i.e., grounds) to elaborate in more detail the second proposal in order to avoid ethical pitfalls.

5.6.2 Participants

The research's success depends to a large degree on the choice of participants. The importance of choosing adequately is not about "good" or "bad" participants. It is about selecting individuals who are responding to the needs and requirements of a particular study, and are willing – without pressure, coercion or deception – to participate in and to contribute to it. The selected individuals for this current research are non-state actors. These actors have been engaged in violent acts and are still capable of adopting violence as a response to various situations.

First question: Who are these participants? This simple question becomes – in the context of this research – a complex problem because of the *descriptive character* of the chosen respondents. The *descriptive character* consists of the group's identity first and the individual's identity second. Non-state actors are "atypical" participants and as such demand more attention. While ethical factors, such as well-being, deception, remuneration and retribution are relevant across the spectrum of "typical" and "atypical" participants, some factors – especially the *assessment of risks* and the *transfer of power* – need to be addressed in a special fashion for "atypical" participants.

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that the study of *narratives' verbatim* leads to the investigation of the participants themselves engaged in their stories. According to Smyth (2009), participants in this type of environment are "research objects." In her article, Smyth alludes to the work of Brannan *et al.* (2001) and mentions that there is a profound reluctance to work with "terrorists" (who are "atypical" participants) because their role is "combat rather than a social phenomenon to be understood" (Ibid.: 196). Researchers have to clearly understand the dynamic that the dual label of subject/object creates. In practice, there might be a need for participants to be aware of this dual congruence ("what they say is what they do") in order to assure them that their identity (which is who they are as non-state actors and as players in the stories they describe) will not be violated by the conduct of the research. In that context, a certain unwritten *contract of mutual understanding* should be openly exchanged to recognize what participation in this research entails for both parties. In fact, this contract might be the place to evaluate the risks inherent to the research itself ("what should researchers expect when interviewing violent, armed actors?") but also the ones created by "association." The simple reality of "being associated with" could generate antagonistic violence against researchers and non-state actors.

Therefore, it is imperative that a *contract of understanding*, whatever the agreement by the parties, be considered and respected throughout the process. It will allow – as already mentioned above – the discussion of the *assessment of risks* but – equally as important – the establishment of a *position of power* within the research boundaries.

Second question: Who is in charge? This interesting question is at odds with the customary practice of research. In usual settings, main researchers are in charge of their work: they prepare the terrain; lead the way; and facilitate the engagement with participants. However, in unusual settings, roles (and rules) are inverted. Smyth (2009) makes reference to this phenomenon by stating:

"Knowledge of the specific rules places the local interlocutor in a position of power, whilst the lack of such knowledge can render the (outsider) researcher

vulnerable. The power relationship usually found between the researcher and the researched is inverted” (Ibid.: 200).

Her statement is a very commanding one because it emphasizes the nature of the relationship that will take place. This *transfer of power* cannot be ignored because it reinforces REBs’ preoccupation about issues such as safety, vulnerability and human dignity for both parties. It is also in that context that the decision *to consent* to provide information is negotiated. In conventional settings, a *letter of consent* is prepared by the researcher and presented for signature. Other forms of consent are also possible: verbal agreement, or the mere fact of answering a conducted survey. In the case of non-state actors, the consent to participate and to divulge information is a task that needs to be thought through carefully.

Third question: What kind of consent is required in the case of violent and/or armed non-state actors? What are the *factors* (e.g., whether or not to conceal the identity of participants) that both parties would agree on? Consent in this particular environment carries and creates a burden for the researchers more than for the participants. There is a very fine line between agreeing to provide information and to receive (and safeguard) information that might be of concern for, as an example, the country’s national interest. How does a researcher resolve such *ethical dilemmas*? Again, in this particular example, does consent outweigh the national interest?

Recommendation: It is in the best interests of research that:

*Participants are selected according to specific criteria that are known to the researchers. That type of knowledge can only be acquired by studying **inside-out** the world in which the participants function. This cultural knowledge of their world would provide researchers with a better comprehension of **how** to prepare themselves physically and emotionally; to assess risks and envision safety measures; and to help describe the current “atmosphere” and map the environments where the work will be conducted. The interest in their cultural familiarities can only advance the building of **trust** and **mutual appreciation**. In fact, **trust is paramount** to any discussion, and when **consent** is sought this **mutual trust** will be a **decisive factor** for its achievement.*

5.6.3 Methodologies

The collection of data involves diverse forms of research method usually categorized under the terms qualitative or quantitative. The method of amassing information is seen as unproblematic when the research design has no ethical consequences on human subjects. On the other hand, when consequences, potential and/or foreseen, are recognized, REBs have a responsibility to study them closely, to evaluate the degree of harm (i.e., minimal or maximal risk) that they might cause, and to see if they can be avoided by adopting, as an example, a different approach. In some cases, REBs may ask to exclude (without disturbing the whole research) some aspects of the study that are of concern. The extreme case (e.g., maximum danger that could result in severe injuries or even death) would be to deny ethical approval and therefore not to engage in the study in question.

The proposed research discussed in this Report presents diverse forms of research method using mostly qualitative design. This discussion classifies them under two categories: 1) collection of data via documents, and 2) collection of data via interviews.

5.6.3.1 Collection of data via documents

The focus of collecting data via documents is to recount information that sources such as children's literature can provide. This form of descriptive *Text* provides, without interaction with human participants, structural aspects central to the development of narratives. This type of collecting information doesn't require ethical approval because they are part of the public domain. The TCPS2 (2011) states that:

“Exemption from REB review is based on the information being accessible in the public domain, and that the individuals to whom the information refers have no reasonable expectation of privacy” (p.18).

However, there is a suggestion that Internet and/or web-blogs might be used for collecting information. These new sites of investigation cannot be automatically categorized as public domain because some sites such as Internet chat-rooms and self-help groups have restricted membership and require privacy expectation. In that particular context, it is recommended that researchers submit a research proposal to an REB to examine the best course of action .

5.6.3.2 Collection of data via interviews

The interview protocol – suggested for this research by Bogdanic and Thomson – is the method that needs more attention. This approach requires a well-defined framework in order for the researcher to maintain an objective viewpoint *vis-à-vis* the participants. The open-ended question technique suggested by Bogdanic is part of that framework and is a validated way of obtaining information.

Question: What would be the *underlying convergence* – which is in fact the *main focus* – of the overall questions? Questions such as “what does your identity group mean to you?” or “what are some of the sacred or essential aspects of your identity?” are valid probes; however, they might cover a (too) large area of material and could become confusing for the participants and the researchers. The *underlying convergence* of the questions asked is to collect “pieces” of information that the participants will reveal *on their own terms*. In this circumstance, the noun *term* is understood as *a condition to reveal what they want* and as an invitation to make use of *words* from their own terminology. If participants have agreed to collaborate in a research study, they will certainly be responsive to opening up about themselves (first) in general terms. A question such as “what can you tell me about yourself?” could go a long way especially if researchers pay attention to key words (i.e., identity or other words that convey the same message) already identified as important. However, this observation does not preclude precise questions prepared in advance. To the contrary, researchers need to prepare them. The point to remember is that the “right” questions prompt answers that usually generate other questions more aligned with the expected data.

The second interview method – proposed by Thomson – suggests a *life-history approach* for collecting information. This approach invites an “unstructured conversation” with the objective of gaining confidence and creates a certain familiarity on which trust could be based.

Recommendation:

The interview method proposed by Bogdanic and Thomson is an excellent way for collecting primary data. However, other methods (i.e., accessing children’s literature, Internet and web-blogs) should not be ignored because the data collected from these approaches would serve as a baseline for structuring and articulating questions needed for the interview method.

5.7 Conclusion

The Royal Military College of Canada (RMCC) through its Research Ethics Board (REB) has adopted the TCPS2 protocol and embraced its philosophy. The RMCC REB is fully aware of the challenges faced by new areas of research and recognizes that “context-specific ethical permissions” need to be considered seriously. However, the RMCC REB insists that the obligation to ethical conduct remains unchanged; it is mandatory for research. What could be questioned is the understanding of what constitutes – in today’s research environment – ethical conduct conducive to research.

The underlying intention of this chapter was to engage in a discussion about the meaning of ethical conduct in new fields of research. In fact, this chapter has addressed three areas of discussion (i.e., nature and purpose (s) of research, participants, and methodologies) related specifically to research in an unconventional setting with atypical participants. Furthermore, some ethical irregularities were articulated and recommendations made.

The final point in this Conclusion reiterates researchers’ responsibility to conduct research in an ethical manner. It is REBs’ duty to make sure that researchers receive full collaboration when ethical approval is sought. REBs want to avoid clashes with researchers especially when experience dictates that in some cases, in academic settings in particular, researchers don’t ask for ethical approval and pursue their research with full knowledge that they are putting their participants and themselves at risk. This chapter also acknowledges that some researchers have encountered difficulties with REBs, ignored their suggestions for improvement, and decided to proceed without their approval. It is very important to demystify the impression that REBs are “gatekeepers” of research knowledge and are inflexible in their approach as to what constitutes research. To the contrary, REBs’ mandate is to encourage research by identifying the benefits of any type of study. It is important to remember that research involving humans requires careful evaluation and REBs make sure that participants and researchers are protected from research-related harms. By insisting that ethical conduct is respected throughout the research process, REBs want to prevent physical, psychological and emotional damage produced by circumstances that could have been prevented. REBs cannot divest themselves of that responsibility. If researchers decide to adopt another way of approaching research, they have to accept the consequences of their conduct.

5.8 References

Brannan D., Esler P. & Strindberg N. (2001). Talking to “terrorists”: Towards an independent analytical framework for the study of violent substate activism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 24(1), 3-24.

Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2010). *Tri-Council policy statement: Ethical conduct for research involving humans*. December 2010. Available online at: http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/pdf/eng/tcps2/TCPS_2_FINAL_Web.pdf.

Moore, J. (2011). Understanding Armed Non-state Actors (ANSAs): Identities, roles and strategies. DRDC Toronto TM 2011-082. Defence R&D Canada – Toronto.

Smyth, M. (2009). Subjectivities, ‘suspect communities’, governments, and the ethics of research on ‘terrorism’. In R. Jackson, M. Smyth & J. Gunning (eds.), *Critical terrorism studies: A new research agenda* (pp.194-215). London, UK & New York, NY: Routledge.

Sriram, C., King, J., Mertus, J., Martin-Ortega, O. & Herman, J. (2009). *Surviving field research: Working in violent and difficult situations*. London, UK & New York, NY: Routledge.

Thomson, S. (2009). Developing ethical guidelines for researchers working in post-conflict environments. Research Report prepared for the Program on States and Security, City University of New York. Available online at: http://www.statesandsecurity.org/_pdfs/Thomson.FINAL.9.16.pdf.

DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA		
(Security classification of title, body of abstract and indexing annotation must be entered when the overall document is classified)		
<p>1. ORIGINATOR (The name and address of the organization preparing the document. Organizations for whom the document was prepared, e.g., Centre sponsoring a contractor's report, or tasking agency, are entered in section 8.)</p> <p>David Last Centre for Security, Armed Forces and Society Royal Military College of Canada</p>	<p>2. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION (Overall security classification of the document including special warning terms if applicable.)</p> <p>UNCLASSIFIED (NON-CONTROLLED GOODS) DMC A REVIEW: GCEC JUNE 2010</p>	
<p>3. TITLE (The complete document title as indicated on the title page. Its classification should be indicated by the appropriate abbreviation (S, C or U) in parentheses after the title.)</p> <p>Eliciting Hierarchy-Enhancing Legitimizing Myths (E-HELM): How do we learn about the stories that groups tell to justify their actions?</p>		
<p>4. AUTHORS (last name, followed by initials – ranks, titles, etc.. not to be used)</p> <p>David Last</p>		
<p>5. DATE OF PUBLICATION (Month and year of publication of document.)</p> <p>February 2013</p>	<p>6a. NO. OF PAGES (Total containing information, including Annexes, Appendices, etc..)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">133</p>	<p>6b. NO. OF REFS (Total cited in document.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">0</p>
<p>7. DESCRIPTIVE NOTES (The category of the document, e.g., technical report, technical note or memorandum. If appropriate, enter the type of report, e.g., interim, progress, summary, annual or final. Give the inclusive dates when a specific reporting period is covered.)</p> <p>Contract Report</p>		
<p>8. SPONSORING ACTIVITY (The name of the department project office or laboratory sponsoring the research and development – include address.)</p> <p>Defence R&D Canada – Toronto 1133 Sheppard Avenue West P.O. Box 2000 Toronto, Ontario M3M 3B9</p>		
<p>9a. PROJECT OR GRANT NO. (If appropriate, the applicable research and development project or grant number under which the document was written. Please specify whether project or grant.)</p> <p>10az01</p>	<p>9b. CONTRACT NO. (If appropriate, the applicable number under which the document was written.)</p> <p>PA 11002</p>	
<p>10a. ORIGINATOR'S DOCUMENT NUMBER (The official document number by which the document is identified by the originating activity. This number must be unique to this document.)</p>	<p>10b. OTHER DOCUMENT NO(s). (Any other numbers which may be assigned this document either by the originator or by the sponsor.)</p> <p>DRDC Toronto CR 2011-144</p>	
<p>11. DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY (Any limitations on further dissemination of the document, other than those imposed by security classification.)</p> <p>Unlimited</p>		
<p>12. DOCUMENT ANNOUNCEMENT (Any limitation to the bibliographic announcement of this document. This will normally correspond to the Document Availability (11). However, where further distribution (beyond the audience specified in (11) is possible, a wider announcement audience may be selected.)</p> <p>Unlimited</p>		

13. **ABSTRACT** (A brief and factual summary of the document. It may also appear elsewhere in the body of the document itself. It is highly desirable that the abstract of classified documents be unclassified. Each paragraph of the abstract shall begin with an indication of the security classification of the information in the paragraph (unless the document itself is unclassified) represented as (S), (C), (R), or (U). It is not necessary to include here abstracts in both official languages unless the text is bilingual.)

Hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths are stories told to justify domination, including in-group glorification (Canada is best) and out-group denigration (Canadians are better than Americans). This project explored alternative methods to elicit such myths, tested a tool to select the most appropriate method for particular circumstances, and prepared for a research ethics submission for subsequent work. For an information-saturated environment with ready access to mass media, Susemihl describes methods of eliciting myths communicated through literature, mass media, Internet and blogs. Textual analysis, content analysis, interpretive analysis, semiotics, psychoanalysis and discourse analysis are illustrated for children's literature, radio, television, Internet and blogs. Appropriate to a saturated or less dense communications environment, Bogdanic describes techniques including key informant narrative interviewing, purposive sampling, the application of Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT), and Q methodology. SCT focuses on shared fantasies that involve the audience in a drama. Q methodology has the advantage of drawing data from very small samples. Bogdanic also describes framing and stereotyping, which serve similar functions to myths. When access is difficult and information is scarce, anthropological techniques can still be used. Thomson describes gaining permission to enter, dealing with surveillance, recruiting respondents, and forms of interference by authorities. Finan demonstrated the use of analytic hierarchy process (AHP) as a tool to select the most appropriate method according to stakeholder considerations. Lagacé-Roy provided guidance on ethical considerations in approving research and remains available for consultation in the next phase of the study.

Les mythes de légitimation qui améliorent des hiérarchies sont des histoires que nous racontons pour justifier la domination. Ils incluent la glorification de groupe d'initiés (le Canada est le meilleur) et le dénigrement des groupes dehors (les Canadiens sont meilleurs que des Américains). Ce projet a exploré des méthodes de choix pour obtenir de tels mythes, a vérifié un outil pour choisir la méthode la plus appropriée, et préparé à une soumission d'éthique de recherches. Pour un environnement information-saturé avec l'accès facile aux médias, Susemihl décrit des méthodes d'obtenir des mythes communiqués par la littérature, les médias, l'Internet, et les blogs. L'analyse textuel, analyse du contenu, analyse interprétative, sémiotique, psycho-analyse et l'analyse de discours sont illustrées pour la littérature d'enfants, la radio, la télévision, l'Internet et les blogs. Utile dans un environnement saturé ou moins dense de transmissions, Bogdanic décrit des techniques comprenant des entrevues avec les informateurs principaux, choisissant une population témoin pour un but, l'application de la théorie de convergence symbolique (TCS), et méthodologie Q. La méthodologie Q a l'avantage des données de schéma des populations témoins très petits. Bogdanic décrit également encadrer et stéréotyper, qui remplissent les fonctions semblables aux mythes. Quand l'accès est difficile et l'information est rare, des techniques anthropologiques peuvent être utilisées. Thomson décrit gagner la permission d'entrer, traitant la surveillance, les répondants recruteurs, et les formes de l'interférence par des autorités. Finan a expliqué l'utilisation du processus de hiérarchie analytique (AHP) comme outil de choisir la méthode la plus appropriée selon des considérations de commanditaire. Lagacé-Roy a fourni des conseils sur des considérations morales et reste disponible pour la consultation pendant la phase suivante de la recherche.

14. **KEYWORDS, DESCRIPTORS or IDENTIFIERS** (Technically meaningful terms or short phrases that characterize a document and could be helpful in cataloguing the document. They should be selected so that no security classification is required. Identifiers, such as equipment model designation, trade name, military project code name, geographic location may also be included. If possible keywords should be selected from a published thesaurus, e.g., Thesaurus of Engineering and Scientific Terms (TEST) and that thesaurus identified. If it is not possible to select indexing terms which are Unclassified, the classification of each should be indicated as with the title.)

Legitimizing myths