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Contents

EDITORIAL

This issue of SEARCH: The Journal of the South East Asia Research centre for Communication and Humanities is made up of four papers from different communication perspectives.

The first article by Steve Beers explores whether social media made for a rational public sphere in Indonesian politics. He notes that parties that adopted a clear ideological slant engaged with the public better on the social media Twitter. Based on a content analysis of party messages, qualitative observation of party-constituent interactions, and a quantitative analysis of user response, he suggests that there is reason for modest optimism that the medium of Twitter encourages a less superficial brand of party communication.

The second article by Nur Azimah Zulkafli, Bahiyah Omar and Nor Hazlina studies factors influencing selective exposure to the online editions of two mainstream Malaysian newspapers. Using an experimental research design that exposes 51 subjects to two popular online Malay newspapers; *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia*, they highlight the importance of website usability for online newspapers wanting to harness audience selectivity.

The third article is by Ismail Sheikh Yusuf Ahmed Dhaha and Abdikarim Barqadle Igale. They investigate the motives for using Facebook and their effect on the addiction to the site among Somali youths. Their results suggest that there is a significant relationship between FB motives and FB addiction. Among the motives that promoted addiction to Facebook, entertainment and social interaction were the best predictors.

The fourth article by Norhafezah Yusof looks at the construction of city space and the ensuing communication problems in the city of Putrajaya. Using an ethnographic approach, she finds that sterile space, mobile space and virtually-linked community led to the phenomenon of transcultural communication. Transcultural communication involves hybridization which promotes the mixture of different cultures in the spirit of finding consensus in understanding one other.

It is hoped that readers will find the rich information contained in the above four articles are both stimulating as well as enriching. I would like to thank the authors for their contributions, the reviewers for providing valuable feedback, Ms. Stella Melkion of Taylor's Press for her work in ensuring quality for this journal and the management of Taylor's University for financial support in publishing this journal

We welcome suggestions for improvements to this journal and hope that all readers benefit through the contributions of this issue. As we are constantly endeavoring to improve the quality of this journal, we are happy to announce that SEARCH will now be hosted on the Springer's Global Science Journal platform from this issue onwards.

Associate Professor Dr Lokasundari Vijaya Sankar
Editor in Chief

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Shallow or Rational Public Spheres? Indonesian Political Parties in the Twitter-Sphere

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ABSTRACT

Despite the impressive democratic gains of the Indonesian political system since the fall of the authoritarian New Order regime, a noted weakness of the current political party system is the lack of clear ideological positions across parties and the difficulty that voters face in differentiating policy programs in order to hold parties accountable. Yet, with the increasing popularity of social media, new channels of communication are opening up between political parties and their constituents, reshaping Indonesia's political communication landscape. This raises the question of whether these new forms of media offer spaces that allow, or even encourage, parties to articulate ideological positions and discuss issues of public concern with constituents. This paper addresses this question through a mixed-methods analysis of how political parties are using the popular social media website Twitter and how users are responding to party messaging strategies. Based on a content analysis of party messages, qualitative observation of party-constituent interactions, and a quantitative analysis of user response, the findings suggest that there is reason for modest optimism that the medium of Twitter encourages a less superficial brand of party communication. Whereas other studies have found that the goals or the size of the party as the best explanation for the social media strategy and performance, the Indonesian case suggests that parties that attempt to differentiate themselves ideologically, regardless of their ideological content, and engage the public directly perform better on Twitter. It also finds that tweets about electoral politics receive the most reaction from users. This suggests that Twitter is a medium that will reward more programmatic and engaged party messaging, with potentially positive impacts on the Indonesian political communications landscape.

Keywords: Social media, Indonesia, Indonesian political parties, political communications, Southeast Asia

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian political system has made impressive democratic gains since the fall of the authoritarian New Order regime in 1998, including a political party system that is fairly stable, relative to other countries in the region (Tomsa, 2010a: 142). A noted

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weakness, however, of the current political party system in Indonesia is the lack of clear ideological positions across parties and the difficulty that voters face in differentiating policy programs in a way that enables them to hold parties accountable (Ufen, 2006: 23-24). Yet, new channels of communication are opening up between political parties and constituents, as Indonesians increasingly get their news online (Grazella, 2012) and political parties acknowledge the importance of online messaging strategies through social media websites, such as the popular microblogging website, Twitter (Rochamuddin, 2012; Subagja, 2012; Tambun, 2012). This raises the question of whether social media websites offer a space that allows, or even encourages, parties to articulate ideological positions and discuss issues of public concern with constituents. Or, do the programmatic weaknesses commonly associated with Indonesian parties manifest themselves in the online sphere as well?

This paper uses the case of social media strategies by Indonesian political parties to consider whether social media promotes the development of a rational public sphere. Jurgen Habermas (1991) describes the rational public sphere as a sphere in which people publicly engage in rational debate about the role of governance (27), in which issues previously considered the realm of the state are opened up for public discourse as a common concern among citizens (36). Such a sphere mediates between civil society and the state, in which public opinion regarding issues of public concern are expressed through the use of public reason. In order to consider whether political parties promote the development of a rational public sphere, we can operationalise the term as communication strategies by political parties that are characterised by interactive communication emphasising the party's role in interest mediation regarding issues of common concern and where communication is open to dialogue with constituents in order to develop communities of political interest (Rommele, 2003: 9-10).

Yet, while the public sphere of Habermas has served as a potential ideal for democratic political communication, those who are skeptical of the social media's potential to deepen democratic political communication can also find inspiration in Habermas. Habermas expressed concerns regarding the impact of mass media on the public sphere. He suggested that mass media created "a public sphere in appearance only" (1991: 171), in which the scope and access of public discourse is expanded but debate is replaced by the administration of publicity that is consumed by the wider public (1991: 164). We must then ask whether the embrace of social media by political parties is simply more evidence for Habermas's concern, that while the public sphere's "scope is expanding impressively, its function has become progressively insignificant" (1991: 4). If indeed social media is promoting a more shallow public sphere, then we should expect to find that political party communication strategies on social media are characterised by dissemination rather than dialogue, in which communication strategies are based on the top-down broadcast of information, do not provide opportunities for interaction, and contain messages that are apolitical or unrelated to issues of common concern. The paper addresses these questions using a mixed-methods approach, based on content analysis, qualitative observation, and quantitative analysis. The findings suggest that key factors that explain the social media presence and performance of political parties are their emphasis on ideological framing, regardless of the ideological content, and their willingness to engage in interactive communications strategies. The evidence additionally shows that users reward parties that adopt these communication strategies. Such findings foster modest optimism that social media websites, such as Twitter, can encourage less superficial forms of political party communication.

The quantitative content analysis of political party messaging on Twitter shows that many Indonesian parties have been slow to develop interactive social media strategies and have relied on shallow, top-down communication. These findings are consistent with studies on social media strategies of political parties in the US, UK, and Scotland (Baxter & Marcella 2012; Gibson, Margolis, Resnick, & Ward 2003), which found that party use of social media was characterised by one-way information flow and little engagement with other users or discussion of policy questions. However, there are a handful of Indonesian parties that have developed more interactive communication strategies that enter into dialogue with constituents and attempt to mobilise members. The qualitative observation of party interactions suggests that in the Indonesian case, it is the more ideologically-orientated challenger parties, regardless of their size or the content of the ideologies, which are more likely to fully utilise the interactive potential of online communication and develop deeper party-constituent interactions. This differs from previous studies in other countries, which found that a party's online communication strategies depended upon the goals of the party (Rommele, 2003; 14) or the prominence, size, or newness of the party (Gibson *et al.*, 2003; Semetko & Krasnoboka, 2003; Tkach-Kawasaki, 2003), and also differs from Vergeer, Hermans, and Sams' (2011: 489) findings that showed more politically progressive candidates adopt social media strategies. Additionally, whereas most studies have focused on the content of party messaging, this paper also examines party interaction and user response to party messaging. The qualitative observation of party-constituent interactions and statistical analysis of user response to party messages affirms that Twitter is a medium in which users reward the parties that adopt more interactive and ideological approaches. Further, regardless of whether a party uses a top-down or interactive communication strategy, they must also contend with the agency of other social media users who may resist their messages. This poses a challenge to political party communication that may push them to interact with constituents in ways that go beyond simple dissemination.

2. BACKGROUND: INDONESIA'S NON-PROGRAMMATIC POLITICAL PARTIES & POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Following Indonesia's first parliamentary election in 1999, Indonesian political parties have competed in a multi-party parliamentary system and since 2004, parties have competed in a multi-party system in which the parliament is elected separately from a president who is elected directly. In the 2009 parliamentary elections, a total of 38 parties ran for seats in the national parliament, known as the People's Representative

Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* – DPR). Of these, nine parties received enough votes to hold seats in the DPR, with no party receiving more than 21% of the vote (Sherlock, 2009: 1-4). From a comparative perspective, despite some procedural flaws, Indonesian elections are undeniably competitive, not engineered to favor particular parties (Mietzner & Aspinall, 2010: 7-8 Mietzner, 2008), and viewed as fair and well-organised by the public (Tan, 2002: 105). Indonesian parties have also been more durable than those in other emerging democracies, where parties are often simply electoral vehicles for individual elites which come and go with each election cycle (Mietzner & Aspinall, 2010:10). As Marcus Mietzner has argued, unlike the tumultuous democratic era of 1950s Indonesia, the current political party system has developed into a stable system in which parties compete for the ideological center rather than ideological extremes (Mietzner, 2008).

Despite this relatively competitive environment populated by fairly stable parties, Indonesia's political parties are generally held in low regard among the general public, as well as domestic and foreign commentators (Mietzner, 2008: 441; Tan, 2002). In particular, there has been a noted lack of ideological or policy differentiation between parties, aside from the division between secular and Islamic parties. Party platforms tend to be vague or superficial (Mietzner & Aspinall, 2010: 147). It has been observed that voters often struggle to discern policy differences between parties (Ufen, 2006:24) and overwhelmingly desire more information about elections, candidates, and parties (Schmidt, 2010: 113-114). Even the divide between secular and Islamic parties, which has long been an ideological axis of Indonesian politics, is becoming more unclear as secular and Islamic parties increasingly form coalitions (Mietzner, 2008: 451; Tan, 2006:99). This disconnection between party choice and policy programs has been blamed on a number of factors: the lack of internal party discipline to enforce a coherent party line (Tomsa, 2010b: 317), the lack of internal party democracy and the choice of candidates based on money politics rather than political positions (USAID, 2006: 33-34), the absence of a majority party which leads to the creation of 'rainbow coalitions' that lack ideological coherence or party accountability (Slater, 2004: 64; Tomsa, 2010b: 311), the common practice of horse-trading (*dagang sapi* or 'cow-trading') for political appointments that has little to do with policy (Slater, 2004:66-67; Tan, 2002: 489), the decision-making process in the DPR whereby legislation is produced in committees without transparency in terms of debate (Sherlock, 2009: 11), the increasingly candidate-centered campaigns that have come with direct presidential elections (Ufen, 2006: 17), the lack of party connection to particular constituencies (Tan, 2006: 13; USAID, 2006:33-34), or the domination of a predatory elite that uses parties as a cartel to capture rents and share, rather than compete for state power (Hadiz & Robison, 2004; Slater, 2004). Regardless of the explanation, the focus of scholars on the lack of programmatic political parties highlights its importance as a major obstacle to an Indonesian democracy where voters can hold lawmakers accountable for policy outcomes.

As the political communication landscape of Indonesia has undergone rapid changes in the past decade, similar critiques about the lack of programmatic substance have been directed at the communication strategies of Indonesian political parties. The opportunities for political communication have greatly expanded since democratisation, through the loosening of state-censorship of the media, the privatisation of the previously centralised state media regime, and the proliferation of digital technologies and platforms (Lim, 2011:4). Yet, political parties are continously criticised for the ways in which they have used this new freedom, too often focusing on party symbols and candidate image, rather than promoting issue-based content (Atkinson, 2000:97; Danial, 2009:232-233). Interestingly, the more recent shift in the political communication landscape towards online news and social media could have meaningful effects on the way parties communicate with the public. While internet use remains a common practice of mostly urban and middle class Indonesians, the number of internet users has been growing rapidly in recent years, particularly with the growth and increasing affordability of internet-capable mobile phones (Abernethy, 2012). A 2012 Yahoo study found that in Indonesia's 12 largest cities, internet penetration was at 57%, surpassing radio and newspaper exposure and trailing only television (Grazella, 2012). Additionally, the portion of Indonesian internet users using social media websites like Facebook and Twitter is very high relative to other countries (ComScore, 2010; Doherty, 2010; Lim, 2011: 5). While the use of social media remains mostly social, news websites are frequently viewed by Indonesian internet users (Lim, 2011: 30). The growth of interactive, online media raises the question of whether such media holds the potential for a new dynamic in political communication between constituents and parties.

Social media is often credited for its increasing role in the political sphere, especially in raising awareness and launching civil society campaigns around various issues, including the Lapindo mudflow disaster, the Jakarta terrorist bombings of July 2009, bike to work programs, harassment by Islamic vigilantes, religious extremism, and the censoring effects of defamation laws (Gale, 2010; Nugroho & Laksmi, 2011; Nugroho, 2012; *The Jakarta Globe*, 2012; Zwartz, 2010). Other examples have pointed out how social media can just as easily be used by extremist groups (Allard, 2011). Indonesian political campaigns are also increasingly acknowledging the importance of online communication and social media strategies (Iskandar, 2012; Subagja, 2012; Tambun, 2012). While much has been written about the examples of civil society actors in Indonesia adopting social media strategies and the limitation of such strategies, there has not been much coverage about the ways political elites are using social media, despite the growing interest in the literature regarding the ways political campaigns in other democracies have utilised social media (Chen, 2010; Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011). This raises the question of whether these emerging spheres of political discourse, such as social media, can change the dynamics of Indonesian political party communication strategies and whether it creates opportunities for parties to differentiate themselves based on ideology or policy. Do online communities, such as the microblogging website, Twitter, create a space in which parties are encouraged to articulate policy positions or aggregate the interests of particular constituencies? The following analysis will attempt to address these questions by examining the way political parties are using Twitter and how they are interacting with other users.

3. DATA AND METHODS

The following analysis is based on a mixed-methods approach (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). First, in order to address the question of what is being discussed on political party Twitter accounts, a content analysis was conducted, which Kimberly Neuendorf defines as the "systemic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Neuendorf, 2002: 1). Based on a simple random sample of tweets by major Indonesian parties in the first six months of 2012, 612 tweets[1] were coded based on issues being discussed, including agriculture, coalition politics, corruption, economics, education, elections, environment, foreign policy, human rights, healthcare, infrastructure, the Jakarta gubernatorial election, nationalism, religion, security, gender, and other social spending programs. Such an analysis compared the forms of political messaging adopted by political parties on Twitter with previous analyses that have critiqued political party communication as being shallow and lacking ideological and policy content.

Next, in order to capture the interactive strategies of political party messaging that are not easily quantified, a qualitative analysis of interactions between political parties, politicians, and other Twitter users through internet-based ethnographic observation (netnography) was conducted. Netnography is a method that has developed in the literature on marketing and consumer research and applies the principles of ethnographic methods, that is, contextualised and interpretive participant-observation through long-term engagement, to the internet (Kozinets, 2010). While Robert V. Kozinets argued that netnography must include online participation and interaction of the researcher (2010: 74-75), there is a body of research that adopts strictly observational netnography methods that are more appropriate for the purposes of this study (Beaven & Laws, 2007; Hewer & Brownlie, 2007; Maulana & Eckhardt, 2007).

Finally, to test the types of Twitter party messaging that garners reader response, the number of times that a tweet has been "retweeted", or shared by users, was noted, which provides a measure of the influence of a given tweet (Bakshy, Hofman, Mason, & Watts, 2011: 2). The elements of party messaging that are associated with reader response were then tested. For this, negative binomial regression model, a statistical model used to predict discreet count variables such as the number of times a tweet was retweeted, was used (Long & Freese, 2006: 372-381). Using this method, one can treat retweets as the response variable that is being predicted and test various components of tweets. In this way, we can test which elements of party messaging are associated with responses from readers of their tweets.

[1] Of the coded tweets, 418 (68.3%) were originally tweeted by the parties' Twitter accounts, while the remaining 194 (31.7%) were tweets by others that parties chose to share with their followers.

4. ANALYSIS & FINDINGS

4.1 Content Analysis: What are Parties Discussing?

In order to examine how the increasing influence of online media in Indonesia's political communication landscape affects political party messaging, the analysis begins with the presence of political parties on Twitter and a content analysis of their discussion on the website. A survey of the online Twitter presence of Indonesia's major political parties demonstrated a relatively modest Twitter following for most parties (Table 1). When the levels of Twitter followers across parties were compared, a few clear patterns emerge. There is very little correlation between the percentage of votes a party received in the previous parliamentary election and percentage of Twitter followers. There are neither statistically significant differences between secular and Islamic parties, nor between parties inside and outside the current governing coalition. There is, however, a strong correlation between a party's level of Twitter activity in the first six months of 2012 and their total Twitter followers in July 2012. A similar pattern emerges when one looks at the relationship between the level of a party's followers and their adoption of interactive messaging strategies specific to Twitter. Twitter messages allow users to employ hashtags, replies, and mentions to organise discussions around keywords, include specific users in a discussion, or respond directly to the tweets of other users. The parties that more often include these interactive components in their tweets are parties that have fully embraced the medium, such as the Islamist PKS and the secular-populist Greater Indonesia Movement Party (*Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya* - Gerindra) which are smaller parties but with substantial Twitter followers. These relationships between Twitter activity, interactive strategies, and Twitter followers suggest that it is the party's commitment to the medium as a communication strategy, rather than electoral popularity, which drives a party's presence on Twitter. This would also help to explain how smaller parties, such as the Islamist PKS and the secular Gerindra Party, have developed wider Twitter followings than their larger competitors.

Table 1. Political party presence on Twitter

Political Party	Notes	2009 Votes (%)	Followers†	Tweets in Sample	Tweets With Interactive Components
Democrat Party (PD)	Secular; Party of the President	20.8	3,198	8	14%
Golkar	Secular; Ruling party under New Order	14.5	5,956	115	3%

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Table 1. (con't)

Political Party	Notes	2009 Votes (%)	Followers†	Tweets in Sample	Tweets With Interactive Components
Indonesian Democracy Party-Struggle (PDI-P)	Secular	14.0	4,090	47	59%
Justice and Prosperity Party (PKS)	Islamic	7.9	23,196	273	60%
National Mandate Party (PAN)	Islamic	6.0	0	0	0%
National Awakening Party (PKB)	Islamic	5.3	142	18	28%
United Development Party (PPP)	Islamic	5.0	851	12	0%
Greater Indonesia Movement (Gerindra)	Secular	4.5	6,577	134	76%
People's Conscience Party (Hanura)	Secular	3.8	822	5	20%

Source: Election data from Sherlock (2009). Twitter data based on simple random sample of tweets from official party Twitter accounts from January 2012 to June 2012

†As of July 9, 2012, at the end of the content analysis period.

In order to address the common critique of shallow and non-programmatic nature of Indonesian political party communication, a content analysis was conducted on a sample of party tweets, coded by topic, to examine whether parties were using Twitter to discuss issues of public concern, political competition, or topics of little interest to users. The content analysis produced mixed findings (Table 2). On the one hand, the most frequently discussed issue was elections and the third most discussed issue was coalition politics, suggesting that the parties' messaging strategies continued to focus on the party itself as a contestant in elections rather than a representative of policy or ideology. This is similar to the findings of Wong and Lean (2011) on party agenda setting as mediated through print media in the 2008 Malaysia elections, whereby it was found that political issues outweighed discussion of other issues. However, on the other hand, unlike Wong and Lean's (2011) results, the unmediated party communication of social media did contain a significant number of issue-based messages. When all the messages on policy matters were combined, 38% of tweets in the sample were found to be related to policy, compared to 20% being about elections or coalition politics. Perhaps what is most telling is that only 3.8% of the sampled tweets mentioned both elections and any issue. This suggests that parties are not attaching their campaign appeals to specific issues. In other words, you are unlikely to read a tweet that says "Vote for Candidate X because they will do something about Issue Y." This would appear to be a discouraging finding if one hoped to see parties frame elections as choices made by voters to hold them accountable for policy outcomes.

Table 2. Content of Tweets by issue

Issue	Percentage of Tweets in sample (%)
Politics	
Elections	16.7
Coalition politics	8.0
Jakarta Governor election	7.5
Total	20
Issues	
Economy	10.0
Corruption	7.8
Religion	6.7
Gender	4.2
Other social programs	4.1
Foreign policy	3.9
Nationalism	3.9
Healthcare	3.4
Education	3.1
Infrastructure	2.5
Security	1.5
Agriculture	0.8
Human Rights	0.8
Total	38
Both politics and issues	3.8

N=612; Random sample from official party Twitter accounts, January - July 2012

4.2 Qualitative Analysis: Interactive Strategies of Political Parties on Twitter

While the above content analysis offers a snapshot of the issues raised by parties on Twitter, it does not capture the interactions that are essential to creating a rational public sphere. As Habermas described, the rational public sphere is not just the use of public reason but also the process of interaction to achieve public opinion (1991: 27). Just as Habermas expressed suspicion that mass media was likely to replace rational-critical debate with consumption (159-175), contemporary communication scholars have raised the question of whether mass communication is best conceptualised as a dialogue or mere dissemination, where dissemination is characterised by "the endless proliferation and scattering of emissions without the guarantee of productive exchanges" (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002: 130). How do the interactive strategies of political parties on Twitter compare with these two conceptions of a public discourse?

To address this issue, the study employed a qualitative analysis of interactions between political parties, politicians, and other Twitter users through internet-based ethnographic observation (netnography) (Kozinets, 2010). This ethnographic approach to the messaging strategies and interactions on Twitter was to develop a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) that draws upon the context-specific and relational meanings of tweets that are difficult to capture through quantitative content analysis alone. The researcher carried out daily observations the accounts of major political parties and notable politicians during the six month period of the study. The findings showed a spectrum of interactive Twitter strategies, some of which foster a more rational-critical public sphere, while others can be characterised as the simple dissemination of information.

In examining the various interactive strategies adopted by Indonesian political parties on Twitter, we can differentiate them and their role in the discourse around parties on Twitter as being interactive, dialogic, or issue-oriented. The interactive strategies take advantage of the various ways that Twitter allows parties to initiate conversations with users, respond to content of other users, or address wider discussions on Twitter indirectly. Dialogic strategies refer to strategies that are not just interactive but also include the emergence and acknowledgement of differing viewpoints. Such interactions need not reach consensus, but just by bringing in differences into the public sphere, they help to create a space for rational public debate. Finally, issue-oriented strategies refer to interactions about political or policy issues of public concern. When observing party interactions with users on Twitter through the lens of these factors, one finds a spectrum of strategies adopted by parties, which will be described next. Whereas some parties attempt to initiate interactions with users for the purpose of fostering discussion or mobilising followers, other parties have adopted less interactive strategies that amount to the simple dissemination of information. Apart from the communications strategies of the parties themselves, one finds that other users on the site are able to create interactions that resist the messaging of parties and politicians.

Interactions that most epitomise Habermas's rational public sphere are those that encourage or lead to public discussion of issues of public concern and are the rarest form of interaction strategy adopted by Indonesian political parties. Though rare, these interaction strategies are more likely to involve political actors that take an interactive approach to the medium of Twitter more generally, such as PKS, Gerindra or the Indonesian Democracy Party – Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan* - PDI-P). Some examples include intentional conversation starters. In one such example, PDI-P solicited feedback regarding a proposed law addressing village governance. Not only did they ask for suggestions but they included a hashtag for the legislation (#RUUDesa) and the Twitter name of the relevant legislator (Budiman Sudjatmiko, @budimandjatmiko) as a way to facilitate discussion on the issue. On another occasion, PDI-P engaged users by responding to criticism, such as a six tweet exchange in which PDI-P's account debated with a user about whether PDI-P's position against employer outsourcing was inconsistent with previous labor legislation passed during the Megawati Sukarnoputri presidency. The PDI-P account has also been a site where internal party issues have been discussed, with a number of conversations focusing on who PDI-P should nominate for upcoming local elections, an interesting scenario given the often cited lack of internal democracy among Indonesian parties.[2]

Other issue-oriented interactions that involve competing viewpoints do not take the form of debate, but parties do acknowledge contending positions. PKS, for example, does not often debate policy issues but does directly give feedback on user critiques, such as thanking them for their input or correcting misperceptions about the party's religious beliefs. Prabowo Subianto, former New Order general and leader of the Gerindra Party, often responds to criticisms from users with questions, soliciting suggestions from the user rather than debating directly. Such interactions may not represent public debate, but they often lead to more discussion about an issue and acknowledge contestation. Finally, the interactive nature of the medium makes it possible for political party tweets to generate public debate even when a politician or party did not intend it. Once a tweet has been posted, users can respond and discuss it without the participation of the original writer. In one such instance, a tweet about fuel subsidies by prominent businessman and Golkar leader, Aburizal Bakrie led to a lengthy and publicly viewable discussion about fuel subsidies by other Twitter users, albeit with no response from Bakrie himself.

While such interactions are useful for creating political discussion around political parties on Twitter, perhaps one might also expect parties to use the site more often as a tool to mobilise supporters for campaign events, volunteer opportunities, demonstrations, or other party efforts. While much has been written about the potential of social media in mobilising political activism, including examples from Indonesia (A. Dibley, 2012; T. Dibley, 2012; Lim, 2011: 19-21; Lim, 2013), only a few parties have made concerted efforts to use their Twitter feeds to recruit members or mobilise members for local action. The two notable exceptions are PKS and Gerindra. PKS has used their Twitter account to promote the work of party activists, for example, when party activists set up community service centers to assist those affected by floods in Jakarta. This tactic is not only part of PKS's well-institutionalized strategy of providing grassroots constituency services (Slater, 2004: 62), but was also used to promote their candidate in the Jakarta governor's election. However, the party that has most consistently attempted to mobilize members through Twitter is the secular-populist Gerindra Party, which used its Twitter feed to sign-up members online,

[2] See Aspinall, E. (2010). Princess of Populism. Inside Indonesia 99 (January-March) for his constrasting view that the internal debate in PDI-P is more dynamic and often acknowledged by observers.

distribute campaign materials, refer users to local party branches, promote local events or speakers, and solicit photos of party events from local cadre.

While the above examples reveal ways that parties are incorporating online messaging into wider campaign strategies or fostering, intentionally or not, a space in which discussion of issues of public concern can occur, other parties have adopted Twitter strategies that rely mostly on the dissemination of information, rather than the engagement of users. The National Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* - PKB), Golkar (*Partai Golongan Karya*), the United Development Party (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* - PPP), the Democrat Party (*Partai Demokra*t – PD), and the People's Conscience Party (*Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat* – Hanura) are all examples of parties that have very low levels of interaction with followers and mostly post party press releases. Such an approach is antithetical to communication practices that would encourage a rational public sphere, although just putting the information on Twitter also does open the possibility for others to discuss it. Ironically, such non-interactive strategies may be equally ineffective in the dissemination of information. As the findings above suggest, the parties that have adopted more interactive strategies have also secured more followers online compared to parties that turn their Twitter feed into a simple list of headlines. In addition to non-interactive strategies, there are also politicians who have used their Twitter accounts as a vehicle for creating a public persona, but one that has little to do with politics or issues of public concern. Anas Urbaningrum, former Chairman of the Democrat Party, is one of the high-ranking officials to use such an approach. Urbaningrum mostly tweeted about personal activities or, even more often, his reactions to English soccer matches in the period of study. Such uses of Twitter are certainly not uncommon among Twitter users in the general public, but they are not what one might expect from a high-ranking political party official. If simple dissemination is antithetical to creating a rational public sphere due to its lack of interaction, then the personal and mundane messaging of a politician like Anas Urbaningrum is also considered antithetical to fostering a rational public sphere for its complete lack of relevant public content.

The above examples highlight a spectrum of messaging strategies that were adopted by political parties and politicians on Twitter. However, the discourse around political parties is not simply a product of messaging strategies by the parties themselves. Their messages must also contend with other users and the possibility for resistance in their interactions with other users. It has been pointed out that there is apparent leeriness among Indonesian politicians about the potential for social media to generate criticism (Palmer, 2012). This is understandable as interactions on Twitter demonstrate that once politicians venture into the medium, they are unable to control the discourse that takes place around their messages. For example, attempts to use Twitter by Golkar leader and 2014 presidential hopeful, Aburizal Bakrie have been consistently followed by comments that make reference to the Lapindo disaster, a man-made mudflow resulting from a natural gas drilling accident that inundated large swathes of land, and displaced 40,000 to 60,000 people. The tragedy was declared a human rights violation by the National Commission on Human Rights (*Komnas* HAM) ("Lapindo Disaster", 2012). The company accused being responsible for the accident is PT Lapindo Brantas, a subsidiary of the Bakrie Group connected to Aburizal Bakrie, one of Indonesia's wealthiest individuals (McMichael, 2009: 81). Despite Bakrie's attempts to distance himself from the disaster, the word "Lapindo" appears like a shadow following his tweets. Sometimes comments simply say "Lapindo?" or "What about Lapindo?" Other times, users mock Bakrie's current projects by comparing them to Lapindo. One such user responded to Bakrie's donation of laptops to students by asking if Bakrie had distributed mud to them as well.

Perhaps the most fearsome resistance to party and politician messaging on Twitter has come from a Twitter provocateur writing under the pseudonym @TrioMacan2000. Taking its name from a popular *dangdut* musical group, the writer(s) of @TrioMacan2000 claim to have insider information on high-ranking government officials and use blogs and Twitter to leak information about corruption among Indonesia's elite. While the veracity of the claims are up for debate, they have nevertheless gotten a lot of attention, even resulting in some officials filing defamation claims against the writers (Adisty, 2012; Belarminus, 2013; Marhaenjati, 2013; Silalahi, 2012).

While most of the writers of @TrioMacan2000 remain anonymous, in late 2012, one writer came forward. In an interview, he described himself as as a member of a "public intelligence community" that produces the content of @TrioMacan2000 and brings transparency to elite politics (*Berita Satu*, 2012). During the duration of this study, @TrioMacan2000 made accusations about two observed accounts, those of Prabowo Subianto and Aburizal Bakrie. @TrioMacan2000 responded directly to a tweet by Bakrie, accusing his party of exchanging party nominations for money, which generated much conversation but no response from Bakrie himself. A longer back and forth exchange occurred between @TrioMacan2000 and Prabowo Subianto, former New Order general, leader of Gerindra, and 2014 presidential candidate. Following rumors that Prabowo's wealthy brother, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, did not pay taxes, Prabowo wrote nine consecutive tweets denying the rumours and denouncing his anonymous accusers, a likely reference to @TrioMacan2000. @TrioMacan2000 responded directly to the denials by calling Prabowo a "murderer" and "corrupter," referring to Prabowo's notorious reputation as a general under Suharto, which includes accusations that he was involved in the abduction of student activists and the instigation of the anti-Chinese riots that swept Jakarta in 1998 (Mydans, 1998; Tomsa, 2009). The writers of @TrioMacan2000, however, do not show allegiances to any particular political party and all political elites appear to be potential targets; which they demonstrated when they critiqued both candidates in the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election. Perhaps more importantly, such tussles between users and politicians are not simply stray *ad hominem* attacks, a part of the random noise of internet communication. In fact, one need not even be on Twitter to know about these conflicts, as the Indonesian news media has started reporting regularly on the conflicts between @TrioMacan2000 and Indonesia's political elite, including their exchanges with Prabowo (Musashi, 2013).

The conflict between Indonesia's political elite and @TrioMacan2000 illustrates that while politicians have control over the messages sent out by their accounts, they must still contend with the fact that the space for public discourse on Twitter is far less controlled than the more traditional channels of communication. However, this does not suggest that such resistance is entirely novel to Indonesian political communications. Even in far more closed media contexts, there have always been opportunities for resistance, as John Pemberton's story from 1977 of a bus terminal television that was turned upside-down during a speech by Suharto so aptly reminds us (Pemberton, 1994: 3). Yet, the ways in which the medium of Twitter facilitates interaction, allows users to interact directly with the accounts of parties or politicians, and documents these interactions for others to see does offer new possibilities for party-constituent interactions.

The above spectrum of interactions is meant to provide a framework for understanding the types of interactions that occur between political parties, politicians, and other users on Twitter, and which of these strategies is more conducive to fostering a rational public sphere. However, it is also worth noting that the parties that are most likely to adopt rational-critical or mobilise interaction strategies are PKS, Gerindra, and PDI-P. Each of these parties, with varying levels of success, have made more effort than other Indonesian parties to distinguish themselves based on ideological grounds and employed ideological framing strategies. PKS is an Islamic party with roots in the Islamic student movement and whose message focuses on social justice, clean government, and a relatively conservative interpretation of Islam. It has distinguished itself from other Islamic parties through organisational discipline and programmatic consistency that has allowed it to position itself as a challenger, above the political horse-trading of established parties (Mietzner, 2008: 449-451; Tomsa, 2010a: 151). However, once the party found some electoral success and became Indonesia's largest Islamic party, tensions within the party emerged regarding the fine line between appealing to a wider mainstream audience and sticking to its Islamist activist roots (Fealy, 2010; Tanuwidjaja, 2012: 541). Gerindra, on the other hand, is a secular party founded by the controversial former New Order general, Prabowo Subianto. Despite being a newcomer to the political scene, Gerindra spent a significant amount on its 2009 media campaign and employed foreign consultants (Ufen, 2010: 24), branding itself as an economically populist, "pro-people" challenger (Gunadi, Widodo, & Siragar, 2008) and championing jobs, subsidies for basic necessities, and opposition to the privatisation of state enterprises (Tomsa, 2009). Finally, PDI-P is a secular nationalist party whose history can be traced to the nationalist party of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, and is led by his daughter, Megawati Sukarnoputri. While some have criticised PDI-P for lacking a clear ideology and being dominated by Megawati Sukarnoputri, the party does have a history of populist and nationalist rhetoric (Mietzner, 2008: 444). This is evident from the continued tensions within the party in embracing its position as a populist challenger (Aspinall, 2010).

Thus, the more impressive online presence and interactive strategies of these parties suggest that Twitter is a sphere of communication that rewards ideological or challenger parties, rather than the more ideologically-vague parties. It suggests that the so-called Twitter-sphere is a discursive space that can reward parties willing to engage grassroots constituencies through interactive and mobilising strategies, as well as parties that "have something to say," based on some kind of ideological or issue-based discourse. However, constituent engagement and ideological distinctness are generally not strengths of Indonesian political parties. So, if the most pessimistic views of Indonesian political parties are true that parties are simply vehicles for the sharing of power among elites, one may be pessimistic about the parties' full utilisation of interactive communication strategies like Twitter in the future.

4.3 Quantitative Analysis: What Explains Reader Response to Party Messages?

If the above analysis paints a picture of how political parties are shaping the political discourse on Twitter, what do we know about the way Twitter users are responding to these messages? Unlike other channels of political communication, the interactive nature of Twitter allows us to measure the response of members in this emerging discursive sphere. On Twitter, users can "retweet" the tweets of others, sharing these tweets with their own followers and thus spreading the message to larger audiences. The number of times that a tweet has been "retweeted" provides us with a measure of the influence of a given tweet (Bakshy *et al.*, 2011: 2). Thus, by measuring the number of retweets attached to the tweets of political parties, we can measure the types of tweets that elicit a response from followers and provide insights into the types of political discourse to which Indonesian Twitter users are responding. While the retweeting of a tweet should not be mistaken for a vote of agreement with the message of the tweet, we can assume that it implies a level of interest in the tweet (positive or negative) that makes it worth sharing with followers.

Based on this measure of reader response, one can test the elements of party Twitter messages that are associated with responses from readers. To conduct this analysis, the researcher used a negative binomial regression model, a statistical model used to predict discreet count variables such as the number of times that a tweet has been retweeted (Long & Freese, 2006: 372–381). In the following model, retweets are the response variable that is being predicted with various components of a tweet serving as the independent variable. In this way, we can test the type of elements in party messaging that garner responses from readers. Such a test is not meant to generalise about all Indonesian Twitter users but it can offer insights on elements that elicits responses from users who read party tweets. The following regression model included a series of dummy variables, capturing data such as the party that posted the tweet, whether a tweet is about elections and coalition politics, whether a tweet is issue-oriented, whether it makes reference to identity (nationalism, Islam, other religions, Chinese-Indonesians), whether it is regarding local issues on Java or the outer islands, and whether it includes interactive components specific to Twitter. The model is based upon 418 randomly sampled tweets by official political party accounts during the first six months of 2012.[3]

Table 3. Effect of party and message content on retweets (negative binomial regression)

Variable	Coefficient	Standard error	p-value	Effect size†† (if significant)
Political party†				
Party Democrat	0.57	0.695	0.415	
PDI-P	1.83	0.354	< 0.001***	525%
PKS	2.18	0.238	< 0.001***	789%
PPP	-0.77	0.616	0.209	
PKB	-0.94	0.810	0.244	
Gerindra	1.17	0.360	0.001***	224%
Hanura	0.17	0.953	0.856	
Content				
Issue-oriented	0.301	0.186	0.106	
Politics	0.660	0.195	0.001***	93%
Region				
Java	0.245	0.196	0.212	
Outside Java	0.325	0.281	0.248	
Identity appeals				
Nationalism	0.725	0.414	0.079	
Religion-Islam	0.386	0.372	0.299	
Religion-other	1.570	0.915	0.086	
Chinese	0.363	1.398	0.795	
Interactive components				
Hashtags (#)	0.518	0.252	0.041*	68%
Replies	-2.569	0.567	< 0.001***	-92%
Mentions	-0.640	0.174	< 0.001***	-47%
Multimedia	0.422	0.245	0.283	

Official party Twitter accounts, January - June 2012
N = 418; *p<.05; **p<.01;***p<.001; Wald $\chi^2(19) = 185.70$, p<.001
†Reference Category: Golkar
†† Effect size can be interpreted as the percent change in expected retweets for an increase of one unit in the variable, holding all other variables constant.

The findings from the model confirmed some of the earlier findings from the content and qualitative observation analyses. In terms of parties, we again find that the parties that have embraced the medium were more likely to find responses from other users.

[3] In order to maintain comparable counts across parties, the sample size is reduced here in order to measure user responses only to tweets that were originally posted by the party account, rather than both the tweets and re-tweets from other accounts.

Using Golkar as our reference category, there is statistically significant evidence that the parties that have been most active on the site, such as PKS, Gerindra, and PDI-P, were more likely to have their tweets retweeted. This can likely be attributed to the previously discussed factors that differentiated these three parties: higher levels of Twitter activity, more interactive messaging, and more ideological framing strategies.

When we look at the content of party messages, the 'politics' variable, representing tweets that are about elections or coalition politics, showed a statistically significant positive relationship to the number of times that a message is retweeted. Holding all other variables constant, when a party tweet is about politics, the expected number of retweets increased by 93.4% compared to tweets that are not about politics. This suggests that, at least among users who are reading party tweets, there is interest in information and messaging related to political competition in the form of elections and coalition politics. On the other hand, although the model predicted an increase in retweets for issue-oriented messages, coded as tweets about any of the issues in the previous content analysis, the relationship is not statistically significant. Thus, while there is evidence that tweets about politics garner a response, the model did not offer a clear picture regarding the relationship between issue-oriented tweets and user response.

The model also found very little evidence of an effect based on appeals to identity or regional issues. Among the variables that looked at appeals to identity, there were no statistically significant relationships between the frequency of retweets and tweets making reference to nationalism, Islam, other religions, or Chinese-Indonesians. Neither was there evidence that there was a regional effect on the response of readers, as there was no statistically significant relationship between tweets making reference to localities either on the island of Java or outside of Java and the frequency of retweets.

Finally, regarding the interactive components specific to Twitter, there was statistically significant evidence that tweets with hashtags were more likely to be retweeted, while tweets that were direct replies to specific users were less likely to be retweeted. If a party tweet had a hashtag, the expected number of retweets increased by 68%, holding all other variables constant. It is not surprising that hashtags are associated with reader response, since they are meant to connect tweets to wider discussions around searchable keywords. It also supports the hypothesis that parties that attempt to use more interactive strategies to tap into wider conversations are likely to find a response from other users.

Thus, the findings from the negative binomial regression analysis confirmed some of the insights from the content analysis and qualitative observations. The findings suggest that the parties that have committed to actively using the medium and taking advantage of its interactive potential are more likely to garner responses from users on the site. While the model was unable to produce statistically significant results for the relationship between issue-oriented messages and retweets, it does suggest that tweets about elections and coalition politics are more likely to garner responses from readers of party tweets. Finally, there was little evidence that appeals to identity or regional issues were associated with responses from other users.

5. CONCLUSIONS

To return to the initial question of the article, what does this mixed-methods analysis of political party messaging on Twitter suggest about the relationship between social media and political communication in Indonesia? The content analysis of party tweets shows the relatively modest Twitter presence of parties, suggesting that it remains an untapped resource for party-constituent interactions, but parties that have committed to using the medium have found responses. Similarly, the qualitative analysis of user response to party tweets provides evidence that the medium of Twitter rewards parties that are willing to interact with other users and attempt to tap into or initiate wider conversations. When it comes to the responses of users who read party tweets, tweets about elections and coalition politics and tweets by parties who have committed to the medium are more likely to be retweeted, while there is little evidence that appeals to identity or region garner responses. Finally, the qualitative observation of party-user interactions also suggests a relationship between a party's success in utilising the medium and its willingness to frame itself as an ideologically distinct organisation.

The consistency of the findings across each of these methods, that social media presence and performance are linked to ideological framing and interactive communication strategies, fosters modest optimism that the medium of Twitter encourages a less superficial brand of political communication by Indonesian political parties. However, the potential for Indonesian political parties to take advantage of new media will be limited by the institutional and programmatic weakness of the parties themselves. While the strategies of many parties on Twitter resemble the shallow, simple dissemination that Habermas saw in earlier forms of mass media, the findings also suggest that the medium rewards parties that adopt communication strategies that engage the public, initiate or tap into public discussions, and craft a communication strategy that distinguishes themselves from other parties. As a part of the larger political communication environment in Indonesia, Twitter represents potential new directions in the political communication landscape that may encourage more substantive communication strategies from political parties and foster a more rational public sphere.

The case of Indonesian political parties further suggests that future comparative studies of political party online messaging, particularly in the cases of new democracies, should consider not just party size or party goals, but also the ideological or programmatic strength or weakness of parties in explaining their online performance. Additionally, the above emphasis on interaction and measurements of user responses points to the ways in which party messaging on social media is not simply a choice of parties themselves. Instead, party messaging must contend with the reaction of other users who can reward parties for adopting more engaged messaging strategies or demand accountability.

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Selective Exposure to *Berita Harian Online* and *Utusan Malaysia Online*: The Roles of Surveillance Motivation, Website Usability and Website Attractiveness

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ABSTRACT

News media allows audiences to be selective in determining both their news sources and type of news stories they read. This study examined factors influencing selective exposure to the online editions of two mainstream Malaysian newspapers, *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia*. Using selective exposure theory as the theoretical lens, this study compared both newspapers in terms of their audiences' level of surveillance motivation, and how audiences rate the newspapers' websites with respect to usability and attractiveness. This study used a within-subject experimental research design that exposed 51 subjects to both *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* online newspapers. The results of the experiment indicate that *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* online were significantly different in terms of website usability; however, no significant differences were found in terms of surveillance motivation or website attractiveness between the two newspapers. Further analysis indicate that the only significant predictor of selective exposure was website usability. This study highlights the importance of website usability for online newspapers wanting to harness audience selectivity.

Keywords: Selective exposure, online newspapers, surveillance motivation, website usability, website attractiveness

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1. INTRODUCTION

News media began to have an online presence during the mid-1990s. Early online newspaper content was text-based and delivered through BBS or online services such as Prodigy or America Online (Li, 2006). It was only after the launch of Netscape

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Navigator in December 1994 that online newspapers were formally established (Li, 2006). At that time, there were less than 10 newspapers available on the Internet. Today, most printed newspapers have an online presence. The trend of distributing news content on mobile devices is now prevailing.

Earlier studies of online newspapers were mostly content-related. Some of the issues explored were information delivery and access (Greer and Mensing, 2006; Li, 2006), internet newspapers and the public (Lin, Salwen and Abdulla, 2005), credibility (Abdulla, 2005), and implications for business and legal issues (Gunter, 2003). Best, Chmielewski and Kruger (2005) explored selective exposure to online foreign news, such as Al-Jazeera, during the Iraq war and found that subjects strongly opposed to the U.S. Bush administration were more likely to supplement their online news consumption with foreign news. Researchers were also interested in studying selective exposure to mainstream media, which are commonly owned by governments or large corporations and catering to the whims of the widest demographic (Downing, Ford, Gil and Stein, 2001), and to non-mainstream media which reflects peripheral and often radical views (Downing, 2003). Tsfati (2010), for example, found that people with an inherent distrust of mainstream media were more likely to avoid mainstream news altogether and express a preference for non-mainstream news.

As online newspapers proliferated across the Internet, selective exposure theory became crucial in trying to predict online news selectivity. Online news research is also concerned with media audience. One important characteristic of the online news audience is that they are active selectors of news. Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2006, 2009) found that selective exposure was increased through the use of popularity indicators such as "most read news" or "most emailed news". Lead framing of online news also proved to be a predictor of selective exposure (Zillmann, 1988, 2000, 2006; Zillmann, Chen, Knobloch and Callison, 2004). Zillmann *et al.* found that leads projecting aggravated conflict or agony over suffered misfortunes garnered more exposure time for participants.

We consider news website usability and attractiveness as factors that contribute to selective exposure to online newspapers. In particular, we examined two mainstream Malaysian newspapers, *Berita Harian Online* and *Utusan Malaysia Online,* and investigated both the news motivation of consumers, and their perceptions of the newspaper website's usability and attractiveness. Specifically, through this study we sought to examine:

- The relationship between surveillance motivation and selective exposure to *Berita Harian Online* and *Utusan Malaysia Online*.
- The relationship between website features (in terms of their usability and attractiveness) and selective exposure to *Berita Harian Online* and *Utusan Malaysia Online.*
- The differences in surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness between *Berita Harian Online* and *Utusan Malaysia Online.*

By focusing on consumers' motivation for news (surveillance motivation) and website features (website usability and website attractiveness), this study attempts to bridge the gap between user-centric and medium-centric approaches in understanding audience selectivity.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Selective Exposure

The selective exposure theory is derived from the cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) and is based on the same premise that people prefer attitude-consistent information and avoid contradicting opinions. Selective exposure, therefore, is a form of dissonance reduction in which people avoid messages that might result in dissonance, preferring media consistent with their predisposition that they might achieve consonance.

Although the selective exposure theory has previously been related to Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory, the concept of selective exposure was earlier used by researchers in political studies. Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaud (1948) used selective exposure to explain why political campaigns invariably strengthen the existing voting tendencies of audiences instead of changing their minds. Selective exposure was also used by Hyman and Sheatsley (1947) to explain the failure of informational and mass media campaigns to have any significant persuasive impact.

Later research in the field of selective exposure theory found evidence that audiences expose themselves to opposing information. Zillmann (2006) observed that while earlier studies of selective exposure indicated that audiences tend to avoid dissonant-arousing messages, preferring agreeing messages, later studies tended to reject this idea. Wicklund and Brehm (1976) were of the opinion that a variety of factors, not just cognitive dissonance, affect selective exposure. Rather than avoiding messages solely for the purpose of avoiding dissonance, media users demonstrated preference and avoidance patterns as a consequence of situational and personality factors (Zillmann, 2000).

Other studies examined the perception of credibility and its relationship with media exposure. Studies demonstrated that individuals tend to select news from sources considered reliable (Rimmer and Weaver, 1987; Westley and Severin, 1964). However, Rimmer and Weaver (1987) found that the frequency of media exposure is not related to the perception of media credibility. Tsfati and Capella (2003) found that distrust towards mainstream media has a negative correlation with mainstream media exposure. Tsfati's (2010) study drew similar conclusions, that trust in the mainstream media is positively correlated with mainstream media exposure, and distrust towards mainstream media is positively related with exposure to online news. In conclusion, individuals with a positive perception of the credibility of mainstream media will choose mainstream media as a source of information whereas individuals who perceive the mainstream media more negatively tend to seek information on the Internet.

Visual elements in mass media are another important determinant of selective exposure. Earlier studies of these visual elements sought to identify reading behaviour, and the results of these studies ultimately contributed significantly to the development of the selective exposure theory. Garcia, Stark and Miller's (1991) study on "entry points" and reading passages is, perhaps, one of the most influential studies examining the effects of visual elements on audience selectivity. The study sought to identify the elements on a sheet of printed newspaper that would "catch the eye" of readers. While it was observed that having a picture on the page tended to attract the attention of the reader, image size and picture content (especially facial expressions) significantly impacted the overall level of attention (Garcia, Stark and Miller, 1991). Recent studies by Holmqvist and Wartenberg (2005) and Holsanova (2005) corroborated the findings of Garcia *et al*. (1991).

The Internet also allows for varying degrees of interaction with online news and other sites. Consequently, communication researchers have begun to explore interactive features that attract readers and how to exploit them more effectively. Li (2006), for example, explored the connection between a news site's web design and news retrieval efficiency. The study concluded that web designers should consider as critical factors immediate access to news and smooth news flow to increase news retrieval efficiency. As consumer demand for online news sources increases, it is imperative that we understand the selective behaviour of the online audience. Thus, it is appropriate that we study the online newspaper from the perspective of the selective exposure theory.

2.2 Surveillance Motivation

According to Zillmann *et al.* (2004), the surveillance function of the media, which is to disseminate news and information, is explained by way of protective vigilance. Protective vigilance is the evolutionary impulse to continually scan the environment looking for signs of potential danger. Organisms with such an impulse toward protective vigilance are highly aroused by non-symbolic iconic representations indicative of potential threats or harm.

Surveillance motivation suggests that people use the Internet for self-education and information needs (Chung and Chan, 2008). Payne, Severn and Dozier noted that the need to obtain information also refers to the process of confirming information (as cited in Beaudoin and Thorson, 2004). This includes how consumers search for information about events transpiring around them. Information seeking can be motivated by a desire to reduce uncertainty during troubled times or for emotional self-management (Zillmann, 1988).

In an era where the Internet is ubiquitous in everyday life, it has become increasingly difficult to selectively expose oneself to a singular point of view (Neuman, 1991). One reason for this is the immediacy of online news. Stovall (2004) contrasted the immediacy of online news to broadcast media and noted four major differences−variety, expansion, depth and context. The functionality of the Internet makes passive exposure more difficult and selective information seeking easier (Valentino, Banks, Hutchings and Davis, 2009). However, in an environment such as that created by online newspapers, news is abundant and consumers are inevitably exposed to opposing viewpoints. The extent of that exposure is determined by the audience's level of surveillance. Consequently, we sought to identify the relationship between surveillance motivation and selective exposure to online newspapers. The following hypotheses were tested:

H1a: There is a significant relationship between surveillance motivation and selective exposure to *Berita Harian*.

H1b: There is a significant relationship between surveillance motivation and selective exposure to *Utusan Malaysia*.

H2: There is a significant difference between *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* in motivation.

2.3 Website Usability

Various definitions of website usability have been discussed throughout the literature. Weick and Sutcliffe (2001) defined website usability as the utility and operational use of the website. Dix (1993) explained usability in terms of the ease of use of a given system in an efficient, effective and satisfactory way; while Karat (1997) and Nielson (2000) focused on the perceived ease with which users can access desired information from a website.

These differences in how usability is defined have led to disagreement in the way usability should be evaluated. Nielsen (1993) identified five predictors of website usability, namely efficiency, memo ability, user errors, learning ability and satisfaction. Other metrics of evaluation have been proposed including ease of use, aesthetic appearance, navigation and terminology (Tsakonas and Papatheodorou, 2007). Despite these differences, there seems to be some general agreement that ease of website use and navigation might be the most salient aspects of determining usability.

The literature suggests that for a website to achieve its organisational objectives, it must be easy to use. Both the academic and corporate sectors, employing websites as marketing tools, have realised the importance of the consumer's experience of their websites (Agarwal and Karahanna, 2000). A study by Tarafdar and Zhang (2007) revealed that link appearance, navigation, and the inclusion of positive features on a corporate website can significantly improve usability and, by extension, website reach.

Another important consequence of website usability is its capacity to create good or bad impressions of the organisation. Hill (2001) found that the design of a website was an important determinant of online purchases and return visits to online stores. While most usability studies focused on organisational websites, few studies have attempted to explore usability in relation to newspaper websites. Oostendorp and Nimwegen (1998) conducted a study on the usability of online newspapers in terms of information locating and found that usability affected the use of hyperlinks and page scrolling. Abdullah and Wei (2008) studied the usability of four online newspapers in Malaysia. Usability was conceptualised across four dimensions: content, organisation and readability; navigation and links; user interface design; performance and effectiveness.

Their study indicated that newspaper website usability is positively related to reader satisfaction. Similarly, in this study, we investigated the relationship between website usability and selective exposure to online newspapers. The following hypotheses were tested:

H3a: There is a significant relationship between website usability and selective exposure to *Berita Harian*.

H3b: There is a significant relationship between website usability and selective exposure to *Utusan Malaysia*.

H4: There is a significant difference between *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* in website usability.

2.4 Website Attractiveness

Maintaining an attractive website is vital for organisations, especially given the link between website appeal and people's overall impression of a website (Chen and Wells, 1999; Schenkman and Jönsson, 2000). Website attractiveness also influences ratings of organisational attractiveness, which in turn motivates people to want to work for those companies which maintain attractive websites (Schenkman and Jönsson, 2000). In a nutshell, the more attractive your website, the more people will want to work with you.

First impressions of a website may prove to be vital. Studies suggest that initial impressions, based on a website's aesthetic appearance, form so quickly as to precede cognitive processing and that these impressions impact the website's usage (Fernandes, Lindgaard, Dillon and Wood, 2003; Pham, Cohen, Pracejus and Hughes, 2001). Similarly, a study by Tractinsky (2004) found that extreme evaluations of attractiveness, both positive and negative, develop faster than moderate evaluations, alluding to the immediacy of impression. Tractinsky's (2004) results also indicate that visual aesthetics play an important role in a user's overall evaluation of a website.

A number of studies have investigated the attractiveness of a job recruitment website and the effect it has on applicants' evaluations of the company. Researchers have also examined several dimensions of attractiveness, such as colours, fonts, layouts, pictures and the type of text (Braddy, Meade and Kroustalis, 2008; Zusman and Landis, 2002). Zusman and Landis (2002) exposed subjects to three websites with different levels of appeal and found that the subjects expressed a greater desire to work for whichever company that had the website with the most appealing colours, fonts and pictures. Moreover, Cober, Brown, Levy, Cober and Keeping (2003) found that job seekers' intentions to look for work and their willingness to recommend a prospective employer to a friend were positively related to their evaluation of the aesthetic features of an organisational website. Website appeal was also found to have a positive relationship with people's overall impressions of websites (Schenkman and Jönsson, 2000).

One study of website attractiveness also considered the relationship between attractiveness and consumerism. Lee and Yurchisin (2011) studied consumer perception of a website and how these perceptions were related to purchase intentions. The study demonstrated that how consumers' perceive the attractiveness of a retail apparel website directly and positively influences the degree to which they identified with the website (Lee and Yurchisin, 2011). Consequently, this then directly and positively influenced consumers' perception of the trustworthiness of the website, which subsequently leads to purchase intentions from that website.

According to Weick and Sutcliffe (2001), attractiveness is governed by design effects that direct the attention of users to a medium and its contents. For example, because attention is diverted by change, dynamic media such as film, animation and sound grasp attention more than static media such as pictures and text. Online newspapers, with their interactive features, constitute a dynamic media. Consequently, in the present study, we sought to investigate the relationship between website attractiveness and selective exposure to online newspapers. The following hypotheses were tested:

H5a: There is a significant relationship between website attractiveness and selective exposure to *Berita Harian.*

H5b: There is a significant relationship between website attractiveness and selective exposure to *Utusan Malaysia.*

H6: There is a significant difference between *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* in website attractiveness.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

We used an experimental design method for this study in order to determine the effects of surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness on selective exposure to online newspapers. According to Keyton (2006), an experiment is the recording of measurements and observations using defined procedures, and under defined conditions. This method is well-suited to research involving relatively limited and well-defined concepts and propositions. Furthermore, the purpose of experimental research is to identify the cause and effect relationship between variables. To this end, an experiment manipulates one variable while simultaneously measuring its effects on a second variable; all other variables being controlled for (Keyton, 2006). The manipulated variable in this study was selective exposure. The variables measured were surveillance motivation, website usability, website attractiveness and selective exposure. The controlled variables were the experimental conditions such as locations, computer configurations and Internet access.

Using a within-subject design approach, we investigated the causal relationships between surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness as independent variables with the dependent variable − selective exposure to online newspapers. A within-subject design is an experiment in which the same group of subjects serve in more than one treatment. Several steps have been taken to address the issue of procedural bias. Firstly, a detailed guideline of the experimental procedure was prepared for the research assistants in order to minimise the potential for expectancy bias by controlling the interactions between subjects and investigators. The research assistants were also blinded to both the research objectives and hypotheses to avoid experimenter bias.

3.1 Sample

The subjects selected for this study were undergraduate students, aged 19 to 25 years, from the School of Communication, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Malaysia. Student samples are often used in studies employing experimental methods (e.g. Eveland and Dunwoody, 2001; Tewksbury and Althaus, 2000), and are a mainstay of research involving new media usage (e.g. Joorabchi, Hassan and Osman, 2013; Omar and Subramanian, 2013; Hashim, Hassan and Meloche, 2011). Given the objectives of this study, to identify the effects of surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness on selective exposure to online newspapers, selecting subjects familiar with the Internet was essential. A total of 51 students were chosen at random to participate in this study. According to Smith, Fabrigar, Powell and Estrada (2007), a sample of 51 subjects is acceptable for the purpose of determining a reliable prediction equation. The experiments were conducted with the help of three research assistants. Firstly, each subject was assigned an identification number ranging from ID001 to ID051 and a computer. Secondly, subjects were briefed about the experimental procedure by the researcher and research assistants. The study used an online self-report questionnaire as the main research instrument. The self-report questionnaire method is often used for data collection in experiments and evaluation research (Baxter and Babbie, 2004).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A total of 51 students participated in this study. Table 1 indicates that female subjects (76.5%) outnumbered male subjects (23.5%). The majority (88.2%) of the subjects were in the 19–23 age group, while the remainder belonged to the 24–28 age group (11.8%). The average subject age was 22 years. In terms of race, over half (62.7%) of the subjects were Malay (see Table 1). This was followed by Chinese (27.5%), Indian (7.8%) and other races (2%). The distribution of subjects according to their year of study indicates that over half of the subjects (60.8%) were in their first year of study, while more than a quarter (27.5%) were in their third year, and the remainder (11.8%) were second year students.

Table 1. Demographic distribution of subjects

Factors	Frequency [%]
Gender	
Male	12 [23.5]
Female	39 [76.5]
Age	
> 19-23 years old	45 [88.2]
< 24-28 years old	6 [11.8]

Continued next page

Table 1. (con't)

Factors	Frequency [%]
Mean (M): 21.78	
Standard Deviation (SD): 1.54	
Year of study	
Year 1	31 [60.8]
Year 2	6 [11.8]
Year 3	14 [27.5]
Ethnicity	
Malay	32 [62.7]
Chinese	14 [27.5]
Indian	4 [7.8]
Others	1 [2.0]

The next analysis describes the subjects' preferred access sites whence they access the Internet (see Table 2). Most subjects (82.4%) preferred to access the Internet from their hostel rooms. Given that most of the student subjects lived on campus at one of the many university hostels, this figure was not surprising at all. Family homes (7.8%) and computer labs (7.8%) were less preferred. Cybercafes of which there were many in the vicinity of the campus, was the least preferred Internet access site, with only one subject preferring to access the Internet at cybercafe.

Table 2 indicates that over half of the subjects (56.9%) used the Wi-fi facilities provided by the university to connect to the Internet. Wireless broadband was the second most popular Internet connection method as preferred by a quarter of the subjects (25.5%). Other subjects (13.7%) used a Local Area Network (LAN), and one subject (2%) preferred to use a 3G mobile phone for Internet access. These results indicate that, despite having free Wi-fi service provided by the university, some subjects were willing to pay for better Internet access.

Table 2. Place of access and Internet connection among subjects

Factors	Frequency [%]
Place of access	
Home	4 [7.8]
Hostel	42 [82.4]
Computer lab	4 [7.8]
Cyber cafe	1 [2.0]
Internet connection	
Wi-fi	29 [56.9]
Local area network (LAN)	7 [13.7]
Broadband	13 [25.5]

Continued next page

Table 2. (con't)

Factors	Frequency [%]
3G Mobile phone	1[2.0]
Others	1[2.0]

Table 3 describes the frequency of the subjects' media usage (i.e. television, radio, printed newspaper and the Internet). Almost two-thirds of the subjects (74.5%) were heavy users of the Internet. The mean rate of Internet usage was very high (M = 4.69) and with very little standard deviation (SD = 0.62) between subjects. In short, there was little difference in the average amount of time spent using the Internet between subjects. Newspaper usage (M = 3.63, SD = 1.10) was higher than television (M = 3.14, SD = 1.25) and radio (M = 2.57, SD = 1.17). These results indicate that Internet usage among the subjects was greater than any other media, especially television and radio. These results also support the stereotyped claim of proximity between youth and the Internet. They also suggest that the availability of free Internet access on campus might be a contributing factor to the high Internet usage among the subjects.

Table 3. Frequency of media use among subjects [%]

Media	Rarely	Sometimes	Neutral	Often	Very Often	M (SD)
Television	6 [11.80]	11[21.60]	11[21.60]	16 [31.40]	7 [13.70]	3.14 (1.25)
Radio	9 [17.60]	19 [37.30]	12[23.50]	7 [13.70]	4 [7.80]	2.57 (1.17)
Newspaper	2 [3.90]	6 [11.80]	13[25.50]	18 [35.30]	12 [23.50]	3.63 (1.10)
Internet	0 [0.00]	1 [2.00]	1 [2.00]	11 [21.60]	38 [74.50]	4.69 (0.62)

Note: N = 51

In order to get a clearer picture of Internet usage among subjects, Internet applications were classified as television portals, blogs, social networks, online newspapers and YouTube. Table 4 describes the frequency of Internet application usage among subjects. The results indicate that social networking sites, such as Facebook (FB) and Twitter, were among the most popular Internet applications. Over half of the subjects (64.7%) indicated that they used social networking sites "very often". The mean rate of social network usage was relatively high (M = 4.45) and with a relatively small standard deviation (SD = 1.11). Online newspapers (M = 3.75, SD = 1.11) was the second most used set of Internet applications. A considerable number of subjects indicated reading or accessing online newspapers often (39.2%) or very often (27.5%). Only a small number of subjects indicated reading or accessing online newspapers rarely (3.9%) or sometimes (11.8%). These results indicate that online newspapers were one of the most preferred Internet applications by subjects in comparison to other applications, such as television portals, YouTube or blogs.

Table 4. Frequency of Internet application use among subjects [%]

Internet Application	Rarely	Sometimes	Neutral	Often	Very Often	M (SD)
Online newspaper	2 [3.9]	6 [11.8]	9[17.6]	20[39.2]	14[27.5]	3.75(1.11)
TV/Radio portal	13 [25.5]	9[17.6]	13[25.5]	11[21.6]	5[9.8]	2.73(1.33)
Social network	2 [3.9]	0[0.0]	4[7.8]	12[23.5]	33[64.7]	4.45(1.11)
Blog	12 [23.5]	6 [11.8]	11[21.6]	11[21.6]	11[21.6]	3.06(1.48)
YouTube	9 [17.6]	8[15.7]	12[23.5]	15[29.4]	7[13.7]	3.06(1.32)

Note: N = 51

Table 5 describes the average number of hours spent using the Internet, print newspapers and online newspapers per day by the subjects. Table 5 indicates that subjects spent an average of six hours per day on the Internet. Their time spent using the Internet ranged from one hour to 24 hours in a day; hence the wide standard deviation (SD = 4.73) indicating significant variation in the amount of time spent using the Internet. There was little difference in the mean number of hours spent reading print versus online newspapers. However, the overall use of online newspapers was slightly higher (M = 1.28) compared to print newspapers (M = 1.21). The standard deviations for both online newspapers (SD = 0.67) and print newspapers (SD = 0.80) also varied only slightly. These results indicate that in the new media era, online newspapers pose a very real threat to traditional printed newspapers as more time is spent reading news online.

Table 5. Mean hours of using the Internet, newspaper and online newspaper per day

Medium	Min (Max)	Mean (SD)
Print newspapers	0 (5)	1.21 (0.80)
Internet	1 (24)	6.39 (4.73)
Online newspapers	0 (3)	1.28 (0.67)

Note: N = 51

We also examined subjects' preferences with regard to mainstream daily newspapers. As illustrated in Table 6, over half of the subjects (60.78%) preferred *Berita Harian*, followed by *Utusan Malaysia* (54.9%), *Kosmo!* (54.9%) and *Harian Metro* (52.94%) among the Malay-language newspapers. Among the non-Malay language newspapers, *The Star* was the most read (50.98%). These results indicate that the subjects preferred more serious newspaper journalism over more sensationalist tabloid journalism, although the differences between them varied only slightly.

Table 6. Preferred daily newspaper among subjects

Newspaper	Frequency [%]
Berita Harian	31 [60.78]
Utusan Malaysia	28 [54.90]
Harian Metro	27 [52.94]
Kosmo!	28 [54.90]
Sinar Harian	9 [17.65]
The Star	26 [50.98]
The New Straits Times	10 [19.60]
The Sun	6 [11.76]
The Malay Mail	1 [1.96]
Sin Chew Daily	8 [15.69]
Oriental Daily	1 [1.96]
China Press	4 [7.84]
Kwong Wah Yit Poh	3 [5.88]
Nan Yang Siang Pao	2 [3.92]
Malaysia Nanban	1 [1.96]
Others	1 [1.96]

Note: N = 51

Table 7 illustrates the distribution of subjects according to their news section preferences. The majority of subjects (86.27%) preferred the entertainment section. Other sections rated highly by subjects were local news (78.43%) and world news (70.59%). The economy/business section was read by 17.65% subjects, while the subjects' least favourite newspaper section was the literature section (13.73%).

Table 7. Favourite newspaper sections among subjects

Section	Frequency [%]
Local news	40 [78.43]
World news	36 [70.59]
Economy business	9 [17.65]
Entertainment	44 [86.27]
Lifestyle	34 [66.67]
Recipe	14 [27.45]
Travel	24 [47.06]
Fashion	35 [68.63]

Continued next page

Table 7. (con't)

Section	Frequency [%]
Sports	13 [25.49]
Literature	7 [13.73]

Note: N = 51

In summary, the portrait painted of subjects and their media use thus far suggests that young people are indeed a generation that have grown up with the Internet. With a mean Internet usage of six hours per day, the results indicate a transition from reading traditional printed newspapers to reading news online. These results indicate a strong link between Internet use, the use of online newspapers and youth. Additionally, *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* were highly rated by subjects in this study. Subjects were not only selective in choosing what newspapers to read, but also in selecting what to read from a spectrum of news. This is consistent with previous studies of motivation which cite entertainment and surveillance as key reasons why people use media (Blumler, 1979; Blumler and Katz, 1974).

4.2 Hypotheses Testing

Table 8 describes the overall mean and standard deviation of the independent variables − surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness. Surveillance motivation had the highest mean value among all the variables (M = 4.07, SD = 0.58), followed by website usability (M = 3.72, SD = 0.48) and website attractiveness (M = 3.64, SD = 0.53). A comparison between the two newspapers indicated that the mean scores for *Berita Harian* were consistently higher compared to *Utusan Malaysia*.

Table 8. Overall mean and standard deviation of variables

	M (SD)		
Variable	*Berita Harian (n = 51)*	*Utusan Malaysia (n=51)*	*Total*
Surveillance motivation	4.07 (0.58)	4.01 (0.52)	4.07 (0.58)
Website usability	3.81 (0.48)	3.64 (0.46)	3.72 (0.48)
Website attractiveness	3.66 (0.55)	3.62 (0.52)	3.64 (0.53)

Before testing for the hypothesized relationships, we explored the relationships among the independent variables (see Table 9). A significant positive correlation was identified between surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness. Website usability was positively correlated with website attractiveness (r = 0.58, p = 0.00), the strength of the relationship being moderate. Similarly, website attractiveness was moderately correlated with surveillance motivation (r = 0.53, p = 0.00). The relationship between surveillance motivation and website usability was also significant ($r = 0.41$, $p = 0.00$), though the relationship was only weak.

Table 9. Pearson correlations among surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness

Indicators	Surveillance	Motivation	Website	Usability	Website	Attractiveness
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*	*r*	*p*
Surveillance motivation	-	-	.41	.000	.53	.000
Website usability	.41	.000	-	-	.58	.000
Website attractiveness	.53	.000	.58	.000	-	-

Note: $N = 51$

Hypothesis testing was performed via a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Table 10 illustrates that the overall r value is indicative of a significant but weak relationship between surveillance motivation and selective exposure ($r = 0.23$, $p = 0.21$) and between website attractiveness and selective exposure ($r = 0.23$, $p = 0.19$). The relationship between website usability and selective exposure ($r = 0.48$, $p = 0.00$) was also low, but more moderately correlated. These relationships were further examined after making a comparison between Berita Harian and Utusan Malaysia in order to test H1a to H3b, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Correlations of surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness with selective exposure

Variable	Selective Exposure					
	Berita Harian ($n = 51$)		*Utusan Malaysia* ($n = 51$)		Overall ($N = 51$)	
	r	*p*	*r*	*p*	*r*	*p*
Surveillance motivation	.36	.010	.15	.312	.23	.021
Website usability	.54	.000	.52	.000	.48	.000
Website attractiveness	.47	.001	.06	.674	.23	.019

*Correlation is significant at * $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < 0.01$*

A t-test facilitated the testing of the four hypotheses in order to explore the differences between *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* in surveillance motivation, website usability, website attractiveness and selective exposure. The results in Table 11 indicate that the two newspapers were significantly different in terms of website usability only, whereas the analysis of the other variables proved insignificant.

Table 11. Surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness differences between *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia*

	M (SD)			
Variable	*Berita Harian*	*Utusan Malaysia*	*t*	*p*
Surveillance motivation	4.07 (0.58)	4.01 (0.52)	0.704	.485
Website usability	3.81 (0.48)	3.64 (0.46)	2.805	.007
Website attractiveness	3.66 (0.55)	3.62 (0.52)	0.498	.621
Selective exposure	434.12 (202.44)	508.24 (264.10)	-1.890	.065

$^*p < .05$, $^{***}p < .001$

Multiple regression analysis was subsequently conducted in order to determine which of the three independent variables might be considered the best predictor of selective exposure. As indicated in Table 12, the adjusted R^2 value for surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness was 0.214. Therefore, in describing the role of surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness, the variables contributed 21.4% of the variance to selective exposure. The highest $ß$-value out of all three variables was for website usability ($ß$ = 0.512, p = .000), indicating that this variable made the greatest overall contribution to selective exposure. The value of the semi-partial or part correlation coefficient (r^2) indicates that website usability contributed 16.9% to selective exposure. The contributions of surveillance motivation ($ß$ = 0.076, p = .472) and website attractiveness ($ß$ = −0.108, p = .361) to selective exposure were negligible.

Table 12. Regression of surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness to selective exposure

Variable	*ß*	sr^2	*p*
Surveillance motivation	0.076	0.004	.472
Website usability	0.512	0.169	.000
Website attractiveness	-0.108	0.007	.361

Adjusted R^2 = 0.214, F (p-value) = 10.192

Finally, the regression models of *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia* were compared to expound upon the contribution of each variable to selective exposure for the respective newspapers. Table 13 reveals that, for *Berita Harian*, the adjusted R^2 value for surveillance motivation, website usability and website attractiveness was 0.286. For *Utusan Malaysia*, the adjusted R^2 value for the three variables was 0.291. These R^2 values are a result of the variables contributing 28.6% of the variance in selective exposure to *Berita Harian* and 29.1% of the variance to *Utusan Malaysia*. The highest $ß$-value was for website usability, for both *Berita Harian* ($ß$ = 0.396, p = .014) and *Utusan Malaysia* ($ß$ = 0.676, p = .000). Therefore, website usability made the most unique contribution to selective exposure to both newspapers, indicating that website usability has the most predictive value.

Table 13. Comparing regression models between *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia*

	Berita Harian	*Utusan Malaysia*
Variable	*ß (p)*	*ß (p)*
Surveillance motivation	0.129 (.366)	0.016 (.911)
Website usability	0.396 (.014)	0.676 (.000)
Website attractiveness	0.147 (.366)	-0.311 (.049)
R^2	0.329	0.333
Adjusted R^2	0.286	0.291
F	7.683	7.826
Sig.	.000	.000

* *p < .05, *** p < .001.*

In summary, through this study, we have shown that there is a significant difference in website usability between *Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia*. Although *Berita Harian* was rated higher in surveillance motivation and website attractiveness compared to *Utusan Malaysia*, the statistical difference was negligible. There was also no significant difference in selective exposure between the two newspaper websites. Finally, the multiple regression analysis revealed that website usability made the greatest unique contribution in explaining selective exposure in this study, whereas the contributions of surveillance motivation and website attractiveness were not significant.

5. CONCLUSION

We sought to examine factors contributing to selective exposure to online newspapers. It was argued that surveillance motivation, denoting the need to be regularly informed of current affairs, plays an important role in news readers' exposure to online newspapers. Motivation alone, however, is insufficient. We argue that website usability and attractiveness play an important role in determining selective exposure to online newspapers. Understanding consumers' surveillance motivations, their perception of the newspaper's website usability and attractiveness, and the relationships between these factors and selective exposure to online newspapers, is therefore central to the present study. Subjects spent more time using the Internet than they did traditional mass media. Online newspaper usage per day surpassed that of print newspapers, indicating that young people are more inclined toward online media for their news. We also found that *Berita Harian* was the daily newspaper most preferred by subjects, followed by *Utusan Malaysia*, *Kosmo*! and *Harian Metro*. Subjects' favourite news sections were entertainment, followed by local news and world news.

Overall, we found that website usability was the most significant predictor of selective exposure to online newspapers. *Berita Harian's* website scored significantly higher than *Utusan Malaysia's* in terms of usability. The results also revealed a significant relationship between surveillance motivation and selective exposure to *Berita Harian*; however, no such relationship was found to exist for *Utusan Malaysia*. Furthermore, the relationship between website attractiveness and selective exposure to both online newspapers could not be established. The differences between the two newspapers in terms of surveillance motivation, website attractiveness and selective exposure were also negligible. Subsequently, out of the initial ten hypotheses, only four were accepted.

Additional correlation analysis between the independent variables indicated that they are significantly correlated between one another. While motivation and website usability proved to be only moderately correlated, website usability and website attractiveness were highly correlated. This suggests that although website attractiveness has no effect on selective exposure, it does make a significant contribution to website usability.

In future studies, a comparison might be made between newspapers of different genres, such as between a sensational (e.g. tabloid) newspaper and a more serious newspaper. Another area of potential inquiry might be to interview the web designers and producers of online newspapers to study their strategy for attracting audiences and beating their competitors. Alternatively, a content analysis of newspaper websites might elucidate the patterns of design and other factors deemed attractive to online news readers or consumers.

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Motives As Predictors Of Facebook Addiction: Empirical Evidence From Somalia

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ABSTRACT

Facebook (FB) has increasingly become an essential part of the lives of people, particularly youths. Youths use this site extensively, mainly for fun, interacting with friends, making new friends, and keeping in touch with old friends. FB has become a big part of their daily routine, sometimes influencing them to neglect their duties and responsibilities. Guided by the uses and gratifications theory, the present study investigates the motives for using Facebook and their effect on the addiction to the site among Somali youths. The study employed a quantitative method by adopting an online survey to collect data. The data was collected for a period of one month by posting a questionnaire on Facebook walls. A total of 327 respondents participated in the study. The results suggest that there is a significant relationship between FB motives and FB addiction. Furthermore, the results of the multiple regression analysis suggest that motives related to political (ß=.142, p=.016), social interaction (ß=.203, p=.002), and entertainment (ß=.329, p=.000) significantly contributed to FB addiction among the youths. Among the motives, entertainment and social interaction were the best predictors of FB addiction. Implications, future research scope, and contributions of the study are also discussed.

Keywords: Facebook addiction, Facebook motives, uses and gratification theory, Somali youth.

1. INTRODUCTION

Founded by a Harvard student, Mark Zuckerberg in 2004, Facebook (FB) has today, become a global phenomenon. It is the most popular social networking site in the world (Foregger, 2008). As of June 2013, Facebook users had reached more than one billion users around the world where 82% of them live outside the United States of America and Canada (Facebook, 2013). The main mission of FB is "to make the world more open and connected". Some of the reasons provided for using this site includes staying in touch with family and friends, sharing personal matters, and finding out news around the globe.

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Facebook is also very popular among Somali youths. They actively use the site for different reasons and motives. As reported by Socialbakers (2012), a global social media and digital analytics company, Facebook users in Somalia had reached 113,720, with a penetration of 1.12% of the country's population. The number of users continues to grow overwhelmingly on a monthly basis. The report also stated that the number of Facebook users in Somalia had increased by more than 11,000 during the last six months of the report. The report provided demographics of Facebook users in the country, revealing a male dominance (73%), the majority of them being young youths between the ages 18 and 24 years old with a total of 57,740 users, followed by young adults aged 25 – 34 years old. However, the data provided by Socialbakers (2012) may not be fully accurate. Due to the chaotic political situation in the country, Somalis are scattered all over the world, and some of them may have registered under the name of the country where they may be currently living permanently or temporarily. From our observation, some of them may not reveal their names or the name of their home country on their Facebook profiles, which is the data source for Socialbakers (2012). The reason can be due to skepticism or privacy concerns; furthermore, it is possible to hide their identities. Therefore, those who did not reveal their country name are not counted in the Socialbakers (2012) statistics. Nevertheless, the report provided useful insights about how Somalis engage in the most famous social networking site which is, Facebook.

Facebook offers many advantages for its users, including being in touch with old friends and establishing new ones (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007). For undergraduate students, as noted by Ellison *et al.* (2007), Facebook is a good place to reconnect with old high school friends by just exchanging information and ideas. In terms of time spent on the site, students reported that they spent four to five hours daily surfing Facebook (Valentine, 2011). For Somali youths, it was reported that they spent between 1–2 hours daily on the site and most of them set up their Facebook account about 2–3 years ago (Dhaha & Igale, 2013). The researchers found that some of the gratifications obtained by Somali youths from using the site, include a good pastime, interpersonal habitual entertainment, virtual companionship escape, self-expression, information seeking, and a discussion forum about their own country. However, discussions of their country appeared to be a new gratification for Somali youths. Since the start of the unstable political situation two decades ago, Somali youths have been using Facebook as a means of providing information about their country and updating themselves with new information about their home country. They use the site to describe their country, promote its image and reputation, give accurate information to others, portray positive images about it, post related news and events and help outsiders understand what is exactly going on in their own country.

Since there is a huge Somali presence on the FB site, the current study investigated their motives for using the site as well as the factors that contribute to their FB addiction. The study also examined the relationship between the motives for using the FB site and its addiction. Finally, it looked at the motive that significantly contributed to Facebook addiction.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Uses and Gratifications Theory

The uses and gratifications theory (U&G) served as the theoretical framework for this study because the theory has a long history of examining the motives people seek from the media. The U&G approach is extensively applied in the field of mass communication in order to examine how people consume media content and the gratifications or needs that are satisfied from using that content. Although the application of this concept of U&G was prevalent in the 1940s, the exact use of the concept "uses and gratifications" only appeared in 1959 in an article written by Elihu Katz (Katz, 1959). This particular article was the answer to Berelson's claim (as cited in Katz, 1959) that the field of mass communication was dying and could not survive. However, Katz (1959: 2) argued that the field could survive if the focus was shifted from the question of "what do media do with the people" to the question of "what do people do with media".

According to Katz (1959: 2), it seems that Berelson perceived "communication research which is the duty of mass persuasion", as dead or dying and argued that the pioneers of the field confined themselves to the narrow and relative aspect of studying changing attitudes, opinions and actions of people in the short term. Therefore, he suggested that the field should shift from the old approach to a new and more dynamic approach, which is U&G. The main assumption of this approach is that "the message of even the most potent of the media cannot ordinarily influence an individual who has no "use" for it in the social and psychological context in which he lives" (Katz, 1959: 2). Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch (1974) put forward five key assumptions of this theory. First, the audiences are active and seek out certain needs from the media and they are goal-oriented. In other words, the audiences are fully aware of what is good for consuming and what is not. Second, the audiences make the choice of consuming the media. Third, the needs satisfied from the media constitute just a small portion of human needs. Fourth, audiences report their motives and interests with regard to certain cases, so the data is derived from them. Fifth, personal judgments are not encouraged; only audience's perspectives are explored in each its own way. Simply put, it can be said that the works of Katz (1959), Katz, Gurevitch, and Haas (1973), and Katz *et al.*(1974) laid the foundation for the theory.

According to Wimmer & Dominick (1994), the concept of U&G is not new and can be found in previous studies. They cited many studies conducted in the 1940s that addressed the reasons people tend to engage in media such as television viewing, newspaper readership, and radio listening. Among the studies cited by Wimmer & Dominick include Herzog's (1944) study on listening to radio soap operas, and Berelson's (1949) study on the strike by the *New York Times* newspaper. Herzog found three gratifications obtained from listening to soap opera programs: *wishful thinking, obtaining advice,* and *emotional release*. Berelson asked his respondents what the paper means to them and found that people had five motives for reading the newspaper: *reading for social prestige, reading for information, reading as a tool for daily living,* *reading for escape,* and *reading for social context*. Additionally, Katz (1959) did not refute the presence of this concept (U&G) in previous studies. However, he argued that those studies were mainly descriptive in nature and it is imperative to address this concept by using more systematic and advanced methodologies.

Katz *et al.* (1973) further suggested that audiences have social and psychological needs that need to be met by mass communication. They classified these into five major needs, namely personal integrative needs, affective needs, cognitive needs, tension release needs and social integrative needs.

However, the needs that are sought and gratified from using the media vary across different studies. Gratifications differ depending on the different needs of the audiences. For instance, in reality television, it was found that the following needs are gratified: reality entertainment, relaxation, companionship, habitual pastime, social interaction and voyeurism (Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2007). In another example, the gratifications of internet use included global exchange, wide exposure, relaxation, convenience in communication, and enhancement of self-development (Roy, 2007). With regard to Facebook, it was found that information seeking, interpersonal habitual entertainment, virtual companionship escape, self-expression, and pastime were major motives behind students' Facebook usage (Valentine, 2011).

The U&G theory is popular among mass communication scholars and has been applied in the different subfields of mass communication. The theory is suitable for investigating new media technologies such as Facebook (Ebersole, 2000). The literature on internet and social media uses and gratifications has rapidly evolved since and there has been numerous studies which looked at the internet (Roy, 2008; Choi & Haque, 2002), Facebook (Foregger, 2008; Valentine, 2011; Dhaha & Igale, 2013), Twitter (Johnson & Yang, 2009), MySpace (Raacke & Bonds-Raacke, 2007; Ancu & Cosma, 2009), and mobile phones (Wei & Lo, 2006; Idid, Wok, Dhaha, & Aziz, 2012). Therefore, the uses and gratifications theory was considered the most appropriate for this study.

2.2 Facebook Motives and Facebook Addiction

Online addiction is a popular academic topic and has been widely explored from different perspectives (Young, 1996; Sofiah *et al.*, 2011; Andreassen, Torsheim, Brunborg, & Pallesen, 2012). However, internet addiction has received a great deal of attention as there are many scholarly articles on the topic, focusing on the reasons for internet addiction and the clinical treatments available. For example, Young (1996) who studied internet addiction, noted that her respondents shared that the internet caused problems in their daily life. It was difficult for them to overcome these problems as well as balance their internet usage. Moreover, Kim and Haridakis (2009) in their study found that three dimensions of internet addiction, namely intrusion, escaping reality and attachment were positively correlated to loneliness, shyness, and sensation seeking. In addition, Kim and Haridakis's study revealed several predictors of internet addiction. These predictors included internet use motives (habitual entertainment, economical information seeking, caring for others, control, excitement, and escape). The study showed that escape and habitual entertainment were found to be the predictors for the escaping from reality dimension of internet addiction, whereas seeking excitement, escape, and caring for others predicted the internet addiction's dimension of intrusion.

Internet addicts are mainly young people (Bakken, Wenzel, Götestam, Johansson, & Øren, 2009). Bakken *et al.*'s (2009) study found that men were more addicted to the internet and at risk compared to women in the age group of 16 – 29 years old. They concluded that "internet addiction and at-risk internet use is not confined to adolescents". Problematic internet users "spend large amounts of time on the internet, especially for entertainment purposes and more often report psychological impairments than non-problematic users" (Bakken *et al.*, 2009: 127). Furthermore, addictive tendencies to mobile phones were found to be correlated with motives for using the mobile phones (Walsh, White & Young, 2007). The researchers found that self-gratification was the best predictor of mobile phone addiction, followed by social gratification.

Most studies in the past have looked at addiction in internet, television, and gaming, both online and offline whilst very few studies have actually examined Facebook addiction (Sofiah *et al.*, 2011; Andreassen, *et al.*, 2012; Balakrishnan & Shamim, 2013; Kavitha, 2013). Sofiah *et al.*'s study (2011) looked at Facebook addiction among female university students. Drawing from a sample of 380 female students from two major universities in Malaysia, the researchers found five motives for using Facebook: *communication, social interaction, entertainment, passing time,* and *companionship*. Furthermore, the study suggested a significant correlation between Facebook addiction and motives for using Facebook, and these motives were found to be major predictors of Facebook addiction among female students in Malaysia. In the context of India, female students were found to be motivated by social interaction, communication, entertainment, companionship, and passing time as reasons for using Facebook (Kavitha, 2013). These five motives were found to be predictors of Facebook addiction among the female students in India. Balakrishnan & Shamim (2013) found five motives for using Facebook among Malaysian students, namely psychological benefits, social networking, self-presentation, entertainment, and skill enhancement. Their study also suggested several addictive behaviors including withdrawal and relapse, salience, reinstatement, and loss of control.

Andreassen *et al*. (2012) developed a Berger Facebook addiction scale (BFAS) which is a unidimensional factor consisting of six items representing six dimensions of addiction, namely, salience, tolerance, mood modification, relapse, withdrawal, and conflict. The researchers did not focus on Facebook predictors, but were rather interested in developing a scale for Facebook addiction. The scale was correlated with other scales such as personality scale, behavioral approach subscale, and Facebook attitude scale.

Grindeland & Harrison (2009) contended that social networking sites have become an important part of the female daily life. Their study also revealed that women spent a significant amount of time surfing social networking sites. Furthermore, social networking sites were used to find and maintain relationships, upload photographs, find out new issues pertaining to style and fashion as well as for entertainment and relaxation (Thomas, 2011). However, the significant amount of time spent by social networking site users, especially Facebook users, indicates an addiction. This warrants some examination especially in understanding the factors and predictors that contribute to Facebook addiction. As such, the current study examines the motives for using Facebook among Somali youths and its relevance to the site's addiction.

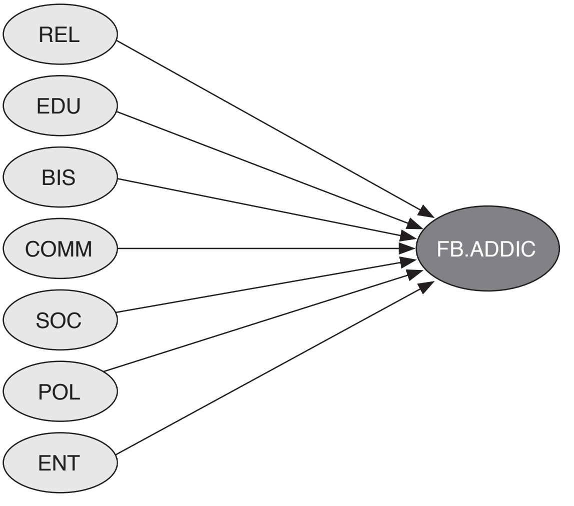

Figure 1. Research model

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Youths and students are motivated by many gratifications for using Facebook. The most prominent factors include entertainment, passing time, and social interaction. In addition to this, Facebook is also used for other non-entertainment reasons such as religion, education and business purposes along with entertainment, communication, and social interaction (Shahnaz, 2011).

The current study is grounded in the uses and gratifications theory. The theory posits that audiences are active and motivated by many reasons to consume media. As such, this study investigates the motives for using the most popular social networking site, Facebook and its contribution to the site's addiction. As shown in Figure 1, the study investigated the effects of motives on the addiction pattern, and derived the following hypotheses:

H1: Religious (REL) motives contribute significantly to FB addiction among Somali youths

H2: Education (EDU) motives contribute significantly to FB addiction among Somali youths

H3: Business (BIS) motives contribute significantly to FB addiction among Somali youths

H4: Communication (COMM) motives contribute significantly to FB addiction among Somali youths

H5: Social interaction (SOC) contributes significantly to FB addiction among Somali youths

H6: Political (POL) motives contribute significantly to FB addiction among Somali youths

H7: Entertainment (ENT) motives contribute significantly to FB addiction among Somali youths

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design and Sampling Procedure

The current study employed an online survey to elicit responses about the study's main concepts. Online surveys have many advantages including flexibility, global reach, speed, timeliness, low administration costs, ease of follow-up, convenience, ease of data entry and ease of analysis among many others (Evans & Mathur, 2005). The researchers highlighted the appropriateness of online surveys to gather information from different people who live in different geographical areas. As such, this study employed this particular method as its respondents were Somali youths who live inside and outside their country.

The data was collected for a period of one month and fifteen days (September 15 – October 30, 2012). The link of the survey was posted on the researchers' Facebook accounts, especially on the walls available on the site, inviting their friends to participate in the study. A brief explanation about the objectives of the study was made available for the viewer before being requested to fill the online survey. Respondents were also asked to invite their friends to fill up the questionnaire. The respondents were reminded several times through postings and personal chatting features. A total of 327 respondents filled up the survey forms within the stipulated time.

The questionnaire was first pilot-tested with 20 students from the International Islamic University Malaysia, who were selected for convenience. The pilot test was conducted to check the clarity and understandability of the questions. The questionnaire consisted of two major parts; the first part gathered background information of the respondents such as gender, age, education, occupation, marital status, and place of residence while the second part asked about their motives for Facebook use and the importance of Facebook in their daily lives.

3.2. Measurement Scales

3.2.1 Motives Scale

The motives scale was adapted from Shahnaz (2011) in order to assure the validity of the measurements. The respondents were requested to indicate their level of agreement/disagreement based on a 5-point Likert scale for 40 statements covering different motives including religious, education, business, social interaction, communication, political, and entertainment. All these motives identified by Shahnaz (2011) were adopted for this study. The researchers added one more motive covering the political aspect by adapting it from Wok's (2012) study.

3.2.2Facebook Addiction Scale

This scale was adopted from Sofiah *et al.*'s study (2011). The scale consisted of 11 items that explored how Facebook contributed to problems in their daily lives and their attachment to the site. Respondents indicated their level of agreement/disagreement on a 5-point Likert scale, where "1" indicated strongly disagree and "5" indicated strongly agree.

3.3 Data Analysis

The collected data was transferred into the Social Sciences (SPSS) software (version 17.0) for analyses. Several statistical tools were employed to analyse the results including descriptive statistics such as frequencies, and inferential statistics such as bivariate correlation and regression analysis. Reliability tests using Cronbach's alpha and exploratory factor analysis were also conducted.

3.4 Reliability of the Measurement Scales

Before proceeding with the analyses, the Cronbach's alpha test was conducted as the reliability test. Table 1 shows the resulting Cronbach's alpha coefficients. The reliability of this study's scales ranged from 0.860 to 0.912. All of the variables obtained a good level of internal consistency as a reliability score higher than 0.70 indicates internal consistency and coherence among the items (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010).

Table 1. Cronbach's alpha for the variables (N=327)

No.	Variables	Items	Alpha
1.	Religious motive	5	0.835
2.	Education motive	7	0.912
3.	Business motive	5	0.938
4.	Communication motive	5	0.852
5.	Social interaction motive	6	0.862
6.	Political motive	7	0.939
7.	Entertainment motive	5	0.875
8.	Attachment	4	0.860
9.	Disorder	7	0.881

4. FINDINGS

4.1 Demographic Profile

The sample for this study consisted of 327 youths, of which the majority were males (87%) compared to females (13%). In terms of education, almost half of the respondents have a first degree (48.85%), followed by those who have a master degree (22.63%), secondary school certificate (14.68%), diploma (11.01%), PhD (1.5%) and no formal education (0.30%). Based on marital status, almost two thirds of the respondents were single (63.61%), while slightly more than one third were married (36.39%). With regard to age groups, half of the respondents (50.8%) were aged 21–25 years. Slightly more than one-third (40.4%) were 26 – 30 years, followed by those who were above 30 years (8.8%). The majority of the respondents live outside the country (76%) whereas less than one quarter live inside the country (24%). Table 2 displays the demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Table 2. Demographics of the respondents

Demographics	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	283	86.5
Female	44	13.5
Education		
No formal education	1	0.3
Secondary school	48	14.7
Diploma	36	11.0
Bachelor degree	163	49.8
Master degree	74	22.6
PhD	5	1.5
Total	327	100.00
Marital status		
Single	208	63.6
Married	119	36.4
Total	327	100.00
Age		
21 – 25	166	50.8
26 – 30	132	40.4

Continued next page

Table 2. (con't)

Demographics	Frequency	Percentage
31 – 35	25	7.6
36 – 40	4	1.2
Total	327	100.00
Occupation		
School student	16	4.9
University student	164	50.2
Government staff	13	4.0
Private sector employee	91	27.8
Self employed	21	6.4
Unemployed	17	5.2
Housewife	5	1.5
Total	327	100.00
Location		
Inside the country (Somalia)	79	24.2
Africa	97	29.7
Asia	113	34.6
Europe	31	9.5
Australia and North America	7	2.1
Total	327	100.00

4.2 Motives for Using Facebook

There were 40 items used in the questionnaire representing seven major motives such as religion, education, business, communication, social interaction, political, and entertainment. Table 3 shows the results of the exploratory factor analysis with Eigenvalues, loadings, Alpha, and total variance explained.

In order to explore the motives for using Facebook among Somali youths, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted on all the items by using principle components with varimax rotation. Seven factors were extracted, accounting for 69% of the total variance. The results showed the factor loadings of all items exceeded the acceptable level of 0.50, while the reliabilities of the factors were also higher than the acceptable level of 0.70. The Cronbach's alpha values for the extracted components are as follows political motive (∂=.939), business motive (∂= .938), education motive (∂=.912), entertainment motive (∂=.875), social interaction motive (∂=.862), communication motive (∂=.852), and religious motive (∂=.835).

Table 3. Factor loadings of Facebook motives

Factor 1: Political motive								
Label	Items	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7
Po14	To know about the political development in my country	**.842**	.161	.000	.143	.084	.090	.137
Po16	To know about the political problems occurring in my country	**.831**	.171	.030	.247	.072	.061	.100
Pol3	To get updates about political gossips	**.828**	.184	.156	.065	.097	.091	.202
Pol2	To share latest news related to politics	**.800**	.151	.155	.100	.097	.104	.252
Pol5	To be involved in political discussions	**.787**	.131	.217	.112	.042	.098	.187
Pol1	To know latest information about political affairs	**.775**	.125	.193	.172	.087	.176	.135
Pol7	To keep in touch with politics around the world	**.676**	.171	.109	.070	.182	.145	.126
Edu7	To share ideas on projects/courses	.156	**.736**	.231	.165	.154	.152	.098
Edu3	To invite classmates to seminar/conferences	.093	**.731**	.280	.083	.110	.183	.156
Factor 2: Education motive								
Edu6	To share web-links related to assignments	.186	**.716**	.220	.096	.148	.165	.165
Edu2	To discuss academic matters with group members	.182	**.710**	.150	.148	.046	.224	.163
Edu5	To find information related to studies	.231	**.689**	.102	.284	.071	.242	.018
Edu4	To motivate friends to study hard	.186	**.653**	.109	.323	.095	.281	.072

Continued next page

Table 3. (con't)

Edu1	To share academic-related news	.245	**.605**	.138	.147	-.03	.278	.226
Factor 3: Business motive								
Bis4	To promote my blog where I sell/buy stuff	.131	.145	**.859**	.017	.235	.049	.094
Bis2	To buy stuff (products/ services)	.168	.162	**.858**	-.03	.207	.112	.124
Bis3	To share advertisement that promote products/ services	.158	.212	**.831**	-.01	.172	.131	.133
Bis1	To sell stuff (products/ services)	.172	.218	**.796**	-.04	.242	.082	.092
Bis5	To join a group with similar business interests	.106	.250	**.753**	.12	.151	.034	.178
Factor 4: Communication motive								
Com3	To send and receive messages from friend and family members	.178	.135	-.06	**.777**	.095	.087	.121
Com1	To chat with friends and family members	.022	.256	-.02	**.775**	-.02	.129	.005
Com4	To share opinions with friends and family members	.249	.144	-.02	**.721**	.067	.163	.249
Com2	To maintain old friendships	.124	.272	.07	**.686**	.110	.145	.165
Com5	To express feelings and viewpoints	.312	.045	.004	**.589**	.160	.156	.336
Factor 5: Entertainment motive								
Ent2	To share movies, hobbies, previews, music, videos, etc	.070	.030	.231	.088	**.831**	.063	.110
Ent5	To download music, video, picture	.160	.112	.086	.074	**.801**	.027	.150
Ent3	To share links related to entertainment	.124	.166	.158	.158	**.772**	.091	.129

Continued next page

Table 3. (con't)

Ent4	To get update on gossip about celebrities	.180	.128	.241	.045	**.693**	.044	.246
Ent1	To play games	-.06	-.04	.420	.016	**.645**	.094	.096
Factor 6: Religious motive								
Rel2	To share wisdom from Hukama/religious scholars	.062	.271	.051	.099	.007	**.739**	.028
Rel3	To share Nashido/advised contents videos and songs	.114	.069	.142	.049	.207	**.721**	.151
Rel5	To share notes on religious values	.176	.262	.055	.230	.056	**.717**	.087
Rel1	To share reminders based on Al-Quran and Al-Hadith	.132	.348	.038	.145	-.033	**.680**	-.065
Rel4	To preach people to do good things by sending them text messages	.160	.223	.107	.182	.082	**.654**	.243
Factor 7: Social Interaction Motive								
Soc2	To share personal information	.240	.027	.139	.195	.256	.026	**.650**
Soc3	To build network with others	.285	.195	.157	.332	.060	.117	**.636**
Soc4	To share latest pictures	.280	.189	.228	.063	.185	.129	**.635**
Soc1	To check on wedding/ birthday/event invitations in the calendar	.243	.237	.245	.036	.281	.110	**.601**
Soc5	To make new friends	.134	.110	.067	.442	.128	.199	**.594**
Soc6	To share recent activities	.334	.342	.071	.223	.211	.024	**.551**
	Cronbach's alpha	**.939**	**.912**	**.938**	**.852**	**.875**	**.835**	**.862**
	Eigenvalues	**14.43**	**3.93**	**3.01**	**2.38**	**1.55**	**1.27**	**1.13**
	% of total variance explained	**36.07**	**9.83**	**7.52**	**5.95**	**3.88**	**3.18**	**2.83**
	Overall Cronbach's alpha	**.953 (40 items)**						

% overall variance explained	**69.270**

Note: the scale used in these factors ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree

4.3 Facebook Addiction

For this study, 11 items were adopted from a previous study (Sofiah *et al.*, 2011). The items were subjected to the exploratory factor analysis in order to explore the unidimensionality of this factor. Although these items were used as single factor in the original scale, this study revealed two factors that accounted for 65% of the total variance explained. The first factor that comprised of seven items was labeled as "disorder", and it accounted for 52% of the variance, while the second factor, which consisted of four items, was labeled as "attachment" and it accounted for 13% of the variance explained. Table 4 shows factor loadings of the Facebook addiction measurement scale.

The first factor obtained a high Cronbach's alpha value (∂=.881), while the second factor also showed high reliability (∂=.860). In addition, the first factor describes the consequences of extensive Facebook usage such as neglecting responsibilities, sleep deprivation, and ignoring other duties. It means that those addicted to Facebook prefer to log into the site rather than do anything else, while the second factor describes how an individual has become attached to the site, and feels bored if he/she did not log in to the site. Although the factor analysis suggested 2 factors, all the 11 items were used as single factors in subsequent analyses. Since the overall reliability (∂=.905) was higher than the reliability of individual factors (alpha for attachment was .860, and alpha for disorder was .881), it is assumed that these items shared greater communalities and were computed together as a single factor.

Table 4. Factor loadings for Facebook addiction scale

Factors	Item Label	Items	F1	F1
F1: Disorder	Addic11	My work/study getting worser because of the amount of time I spend on Facebook	.800	.246
	Addic10	My priority is to log on to Facebook rather than do other things	.794	.127
	Addic9	I neglect everyday responsibilities to spend more time on Facebook	.778	.217
	Addic8	I often lose sleep due to late-night logins to Facebook	.734	.293
	Addic7	I often think about Facebook when I am not using it	.659	.421
	Addic6	I often spend time playing games with friends through Facebook	.634	.120

Continued next page

Table 4. (con't)

Factors	Item Label	Items	F1	F1
	Addic5	I tend to spend more time on Facebook than going out with others	.562	.533
Factors	Item Label	Items	F1	F1
F2: Attachment	Addic1	Facebook has become a part of my daily routine	.100	.862
	Addic2	I find that I stay on Facebook longer than I intended to	.179	.831
	Addic3	I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto Facebook for a while	.303	.792
	Addic4	I think life without Facebook would be boring	.427	.699
		Cronbach's alpha	.881	.860
		Eigenvalues	5.711	1.417
		% of variance explained	51.916	12.880
		Overall alpha	**.905**	
		Overall % of variance explained	**64.796**	

Note: the scale used in these factors ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree

4.4 Correlation Coefficients of FB Motives with FB Addiction Dimensions

Before proceeding with further analyses, the scale selected for each item under each construct was added in order to obtain the total score for each construct. The mean and standard deviation for each construct is shown in Table 1. A bivariate correlation analysis was conducted in order to examine the covariance among the independent and dependent variables. According to Green and Salkind (2005: 256), a correlation coefficient of .10 is considered a small coefficient, whereas "correlation coefficients of .30, and .50, irrespective of its sign, are by convention, interpreted as medium and large coefficients, respectively".

As shown in Table 5, the results revealed that there is a significant relationship between Facebook addiction and the dimensions of Facebook motives. The results suggest that there is a significant positive and medium relationship of Facebook addiction with business ($r= .330$, $p=.000$), political ($r= .378$, $p= .000$), entertainment ($r= .483$, $p= .000$) and social interaction motives ($r= .462$, $p= .000$). Conversely, there is a small correlation coefficient of Facebook addiction with religion (r= .198, p= .000), education (r= .201, p= .000) and communication motives (r= .224, p= .000).

Table 5. Correlation between Facebook motives and Facebook addiction (N= 327)

No.	Motives	Facebook addiction
1.	Religious	.198**
2.	Education	.201**
3.	Business	.330**
4.	Communication	.224**
5.	Social interaction	.462**
6.	Political	.378**
7.	Entertainment	.483**

Note: ** = correlation is significant at the 0.001 level
* = correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

4.5 Hypotheses Testing

Regression assumptions were checked using histogram before the hypotheses were tested. The results revealed that religious, education, business, and communication motives were not normally distributed on the dependent variable. As a result, they were excluded from further analysis. Multiple regression analysis was then conducted using three independent variables and one criterion variable. Table 6 and Figure 2 provide the results of the multiple regression analysis.

Table 6. Multiple regression analysis for Facebook addiction with motives

Predictors	ß	T	Sig	Tolerance	VIF
Social interaction	.203	3.140	.002	.513	1.950
Political	.142	2.421	.016	.624	1.601
Entertainment	.329	6.064	.000	.727	1.376

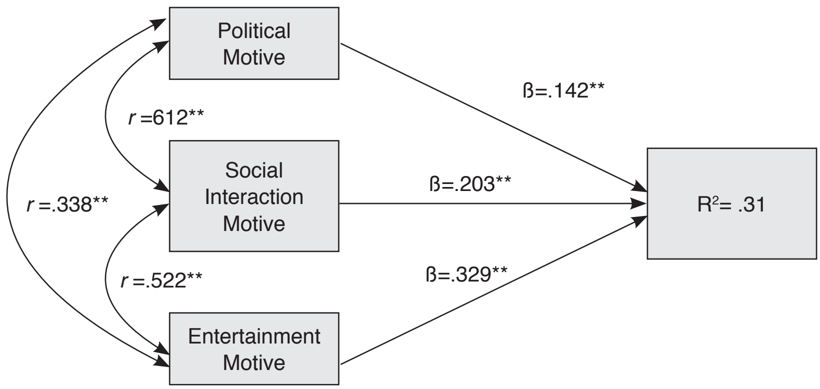

Figure 2. Revised research model

R^2= .307, df1= 3; df2= 323, F= 47.641 (sig= .000)

The results of the regression analysis revealed that social interaction (ß= .203, t= 3.140, p= .002), political (ß= .142, t= 2.421, p= .016), and entertainment motives (ß= .329, t= 6.064, p= .000) significantly contributed towards Facebook addiction among Somali youth. Thus, H5, H6, H7 were fully supported. These independent variables explain 31% of the variance in Facebook addiction.

In addition, there were significant correlations among the three independent variables. Political motive was positively correlated with social interaction (r=.612, p=.000) and entertainment motives (r=.338, p=.000), whereas entertainment motive significantly and positively correlated with social interaction (r=.522, p=.000).

On the other hand, we were more concerned with multicollinearity problems since we had several independent constructs. A high correlation among the independent variables is an indication of multicollinearity. If there is multicollinearity, "the effect of a regression variable on the variability of the response variable cannot be isolated from the effects of other explanatory variables" (Chatterjee & Yilmaz, 1992: 216). Therefore, the researchers argued that it is recommended to use the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) to detect possible multicollinearity problems; a VIF value between 5 and 10 denotes a multicollinearity problem. As all the VIFs for the independent variables of this study were found to be less than 5, this confirmed that there were no multicollinearity concerns. Table 6 provides more details.

5. DISCUSSION

The current study investigated the motives for using Facebook among Somali youths. In addition, the study explored the relationship between motives for using Facebook and Facebook addiction. Finally, the study attempted to examine the effects of

Facebook motives on Facebook addiction.

The study found seven motives for Somali youth to use Facebook, the most popular social networking site. These motives include religious, education, business, political, social interaction, communication, and entertainment. Previous studies found similar patterns of motives for using the site. For instance, Shahnaz (2011) found that education, religious, communication, social interaction, business, and entertainment motivated students in a public university in Malaysia to engage in Facebook. In addition, Sofiah *et al.* (2011) and Kavitha (2013) found five motives for using the site, namely communication, passing time, companionship, social interaction, and entertainment.

The study addressed the possibility of Facebook addiction among Somali youths. The results confirmed this and found that the site is incorporated into their life and they spend a lot of time on the site. It was also revealed that they also feel bored when they are not logged into the site. This correlates with previous studies (Sofiah, *et al.*, 2011; Kavitha, 2013) that found female students to be addicted to Facebook. These studies showed that their respondents used this site frequently and made it a part of their lives. They also neglected their duties and responsibilities, with their grades being affected.

In terms of correlation between Facebook motives and Facebook addiction, the study revealed a significant relationship between Facebook addiction and the dimensions of motives. Using bivariate correlation, the study found that Facebook addiction has a significant positive relationship with political, social interaction, and entertainment motives. Previous studies support this result where Sofiah *et al.* (2011) and Kavitha (2013) found that communication, passing time, entertainment, companionship, and social interaction were correlated with Facebook addiction among female students. It means that these motives contributed to the female students' addiction to the site.

The study also examined the predictors of Facebook addiction among the seven motives identified. However, four of the motives (religious, education, business, and communication) were excluded from regression analysis due to normality violations. The analysis of multiple regression revealed that Facebook addiction was significantly influenced by entertainment, social interaction, and political motives. Thus, entertainment emerged as the best predictor of Facebook addiction, followed by social interaction. This is supported by previous studies that found similar results. For instance, Sofiah *et al.* (2011) found that passing time, communication, and entertainment were the determinants of Facebook addiction among female students in Malaysia. In another study, passing time was found to be best predictor of Facebook addiction (Kavitha, 2013).

6. CONCLUSION

The current study investigated Facebook addiction among Somali youth and its contributing factors. This study utilised the U&G theory by exploring the motives for using Facebook, which is a popular social networking site. The theory proposes that audiences seek different motives from the media to satisfy different needs. As such, the current study found several motives for using this site among Somali youth which correlated with previous studies that have been reviewed. The study also suggests that the theory is applicable in the context of Somalia. In addition, this study found three motives that significantly contributed to the Facebook addiction among students. In addition to confirming findings from previous studies that identified social interaction and entertainment as Facebook predictors, this study revealed a new predictor, that is, political motive.

This study, however, has several limitations. One of its main limitations concerns the sampling procedure. Although the sample size (327 youths) can be considered satisfactory, it cannot represent the whole population of Somali youths as the study employed online survey which inadvertently excludes those with no internet access. Thus, the findings cannot be generalised to the Somali youth population. However, the study provides useful insights about the Facebook addiction of the youth. Future studies should expand on the sample size and representativeness by following approaches that are more systematic in order to be able to generalise the results to the whole population. The study also only used one language in its survey which could be a limitation to those who do not speak English. Therefore, future studies could use a bilingual or translated version of the survey in order to increase the response rate and interaction from respondents.

Moreover, the greatest challenge for this study was the skepticism of the respondents regarding the intentions of the study. Several youths questioned the study's objectives and benefits for their participation. In a sense, we can imply that these factors, to a certain extent, affected the participation rate. Future studies should tackle these concerns by finding more suitable ways to encourage participation. Another limitation of this study is its broad scope. The study focused on Somali youth who reside inside and outside of the home country. Thus, future studies could focus on more specific groups such as students, working youth, youths outside of the home country, or youths inside the home country in order to better understand the factors that are contributing to their Facebook motives as well as their addiction to the site.

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Space, Mobility and Communication

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the construction of city space and the ensuing communication problems. An ethnographic approach was employed in this study. Data was analysed using thematic analysis framework. The findings indicate that sterile space, mobile space and virtually-linked community led to the phenomenon of transcultural communication. Transcultural communication in this study involves hybridisation, which also leads to *métissage*—the mixture of different cultures in the spirit of finding a consensus in understanding each other. It can be seen as triggering both positive and negative consequences for the city's development. The paper concludes with the argument that community building demands socialised space with an identity, in addition to the availability of modernised facilities.

Keywords: space, mobility, transcultural communication, culture

1. INTRODUCTION

Space mobility has occupied a central place in both social sciences and physical sciences, particularly in geographical, anthropological and architectural studies. Nonetheless, it also has tremendous potential in the communication field, particularly in intercultural communication. Past research on planned cities and communities have focused on the success and failure of building a community, such as the case of Brasilia (Howard, 2003) and Las Colina (Ishikawa and Tsutsumi, 2006; Cervero, 2013). In addition, in the South East Asian context, specifically in predominantly Muslim communities, a planned cities is rather a rare phenomenon. Thus, to extend the knowledge base on planned cities which has impacted intercultural communication, this study aimed to investigate the construction of Cyberjaya city space and its relations to intercultural communication perspectives. Specifically, the aims of the study are:

(i) to examine the spatial experiences of the city dwellers and (ii) to comprehend the linkage of experiences to intercultural communication.

The research questions asked are:

(i) How is the city space consumed by its citizens?

(ii) How is consumption related to intercultural communication?

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The city of Cyberjaya is the first self-proclaimed "intelligent city" by the Malaysian government. Using an ethnographic approach, 60 informants were interviewed and findings were analysed thematically.

1.1 Intelligent City: Cyberjaya

Cyberjaya, a constructed "intelligent city", is part of the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) project in Malaysia. The project was intended to place Malaysia as a global player in the information economy. In response towards the growing tide of global competition, the Malaysian government entered the fray by creating a knowledge-based economy for Malaysia via the establishment of the MSC project (Mahathir, 1998). It was a risky but innovative move to put Malaysia back on track after the 1998 economic crisis. This was indeed an ambitious project as it banked solely on the information economy as the ultimate engine of growth, a premise which could backfire should the economic trends change. The MSC project was the result of a bold dream to transform Malaysia into a modern nation with a powerful new economy and the awareness of a knowledge-based society. It was envisaged and brought to fruition under the able leadership of the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammed.

The project was a huge investment by the Malaysian government and its strategy was to venture into the Information Age through the establishment of institutions that would plan, develop and implement strategies for the entire MSC project. Thus, the Multimedia Development Corporation (MDeC), a government-affiliated corporation, was established to initiate this project (www.msc.com.my/index.asp). The primary role of this organization is to lure foreign investors, especially foreign corporations in the Information Communication Technology (ICT) sectors, to invest in the MSC project in exchange for various incentives such as tax exemptions, trained manpower, advanced telecommunication facilities and industrial space.

The human capital needed to ensure the development of the MSC project comprised mainly of ICT professionals and administrators who form the central nodes of the MSC project. They are the individuals who have the necessary knowledge and skills in various areas of expertise such as information communication technology, education and management. In addition, they come from different countries with different cultural backgrounds. The planned community in Cyberjaya, the only city in the MSC project which encompasses both working and living spaces, is a social experiment in integrating technocrats and experts. The MSC project is a social and cultural engineering initiative from "above" and is designed to affect new spatial experiences for its occupants, visitors and admirers. As such, this phenomenon provides an interesting case study on the ways in which communities may be engineered in the information society and in turn, the implications for everyday life.

This is a self-proclaimed intelligent city by the Malaysian government (Yusof, 2010). It was constructed and designed in such a way so that it could become a meeting point of high-end knowledge workers. The potential outcome envisaged is an innovation centre for the Asian global knowledge industry. The dream is to be a part of the so-called Asian Silicon Valley. In light of the grim challenges of the European and American economic crises, Malaysia as a country located in the Pacific Rim, is seen to have the potential to spearhead the economic growth of the region through ICT-based industries. With the help of China, Japan and India who have been investing in the country and locating their ICT-based companies at Cyberjaya city, the dream is not regarded as far-fetched. The idea of the intelligent city in various places connotes the diverse nature of the space experiences among its citizens (Jussawalla, Heng and Low, 1992; Arun and Yap, 2000; Komninos, 2008).

Top intelligent cities have been given awards in appreciation of the efforts made by the government, private bodies and non-governmental bodies in creating such cities (Komninos, 2008). Given the top-down planning of the city with the idea of multi-cultural professional workers who are expected to come from all around the world, the question that remains is how does intercultural communication phenomenon play a role in this planned community?

1.2 Intercultural Communication and the City

The intercultural communication field has progressed well with various researchers contributing to the understanding of this topic (Kim, 2007). Nonetheless, each culture has its own interpretation (Hall, 1959, 1966, 1983). This city represents the created imagination of the planners to fuse traditional organic community values with modern instrumental societal values. The planners dreamt of combining the traditional values with the modern values. This city represents a social experiment of intercultural communication as although it is not organically developed, it hopes to be an organic city.

In their book, *Intercultural City*, Wood and Landry (2008) argued that intercultural communication engagement provides a positive development of the community. Cities in the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand which have embraced cultural diversity are poised to be competitive economically and in providing lively living spaces.

In a similar vein, Anderson and Kaur-Stubb (2010) argued that the future agenda of Europe is harmonising multiplicity of cultures in order to establish a strong economic block which is socially stable in the long run. Smart cities in Europe, for example, are embracing diversified community as an important part of the city life (Deakin and Al Waer, 2011). Nonetheless, Caragliu, Del Bo and Nijkamp (2011) contested the idea that smart cities in Europe are prospering due to the diverse characters of the cities' communities. Thus while whether the diversity is an antecedent or a result of smart cities is still uncertain, the fact that remains is that the most successful cities tend to be multicultural in nature. In addition, smart cities in Asia are banking on residing professionals who are evolving or will evolve into communities as the central entity of city life (Jessop and Sum, 2000). Nonetheless, previous studies did not look at the life of people living there from the perspective of intercultural communication. Thus, in this study, the researcher analysed Cyberjaya using spatial analysis to interpret its city life.

1.3 Space and City

Space mobility here refers to the physical mobility in a community setting (Miranda and Silva, 2012; Miciukiewicz and Vigar, 2012; Sennett, 1998, 2005). The spatial experiences of the Cyberjaya city revealed the role of mobility in defining the life experiences of its inhabitants/citizens and visitors (Yusof, 2010). Drawing on the concept of automation and speed, Virilo (1997) argued that human interaction is getting more limited due to the invention of private automation as a result of life's demanding needs. In this study, space mobility reflects the idea of the intelligent city as argued by Komninos (2008), and as pointed out in Méndez and Sánchez Moral's study (2011), mobility defines the flow of space, and life is framed within the flow.

The notion of space mobility, as conceptualised in this study, can be traced back to the ideas of Lefebvre (1974, 1991) in his three triangle spaces: Representational Space, Representations of Space, and Spatial Practices. These three concepts need to be seen in harmony as they are inseparable. Representations of Space refer to the spaces as imagined by the architecture, planner and authority of the city (conceived space). Representational Space can be defined as the spaces which are used in realising lived experiences of the city citizens (lived space). The third space is Spatial Space (perceived space). In the case of the Cyberjaya city, both the concepts of Representations of Space (conceived space) and Representational Space (lived space) have to be seen as one. Only by understanding both concepts as one entity, can the idea of space mobility could be clearly justified in this study. Henceforth, drawing from the idea of Representational Space and Representations of Space, the city space is developed as a futuristic modern living landscape for the elite, i.e. the professionals and administrators in ICT-based industries, which in turn will enhance the economic development of the country. The way the city is designed with segmented living, working, recreational and business spaces is seen as an attempt to offer holistic living experiences for the city residents. It is a grand plan aimed to provide the best for the so-called elites, i.e. ICT professionals and administrators who will be the city's future residents.

Separation principles introduced into the city reflect the idea of elites not participating in social activities with non-elites, i.e. support and non-professional staff. It is understood that this idea does not exist in isolation; its history is rooted in the United States and in other developed countries, but what is unique here is the way the whole city is designed to separate interaction in terms of physical segregation. The vision of the elite community living in the city is clearly etched in the physical development and mapping of the city (Yusof, 2010).

Although Virilo (1997) pointed out that speed was the key to success, because people nowadays are impatient, the reality is that speed also translates into money for certain stakeholders. Mobility in this sense can no longer be seen as an entity separated from everyday life. In fact, it is part and parcel of how the sequences of organised activities are defined. In various space studies which attempted to understand travelling experiences from the perspectives of geography, tourism and anthropology, scholars such as Virilo (1997), Castells (1996) and Burawoy *et al.* (2000) showed that the ideas of mobility spaces are linked to capitalism.

Space mobility, though, is regaining an important role in defining how individuals interpret their daily social life and work experiences. The context can be related to lived spaces as defined by Lefebvre (1974, 1991).

The third space is Spatial Space (perceived space), as argued by Lefebvre and extended by Soja (1996), and it offers us a multitude of interpretation of space from an understanding of one's logic and imagination. The interpretation of space comes from the individual's background, in terms of upbringing, education, working experiences, reading, religion, culture, peers, and so forth. Space mobility in this context can be seen from various aspects.

Spatial Space can be interpreted as a space which reproduces itself in different meanings. For example, road travelling is one of the famous examples of a spatial space experience which can produce diverse interpretations (Williamson, 2003; Sheller, 2004; Young, 2001). For aborigines, travelling in a car is considered as self-identity (Young, 2001), whereas studies on Malaysian highways are all about states and how roads link certain states that are sidelined (Williamson, 2003).

This study provides a sketch of the spatial experiences of the city dwellers through the concepts of space sterility, self-sufficient offices and commuting space.

2. METHODOLOGY

From 2004 till 2010, interviews were conducted with city dwellers who work and live in the city. City dwellers here refer to individuals who either work or live in the city. Using an ethnographic approach, the city dwellers who were interviewed included a broad spectrum of people, from office workers to housewives, as long as they are residents in the city. Permission was obtained from the federal government to conduct the interviews in this setting with the intention of using the data for academic purposes only. The interviews took place in offices, restaurants, shops, houses, car parks and around the city's lakes. The city spaces was divided into three main categories namely office space, residential space and social space. The central space is where offices are located. The social space is made up of restaurants, banks and shops which can be labelled as commercial centres. Finally, there are residential places where apartments, bungalows and semi-detached houses are located. At the periphery of the city are recreational lakes and parks.

Sixty respondents were interviewed (refer to Table 1 for sample details). The majority were office workers, while some were students and housewives. They came from diverse backgrounds: international and local citizens. Indian citizens from India made up the majority of the international office workers. The locals were mainly Malays, Chinese and Indians. The interviews normally took about 1 to 2 hours and were conducted mostly in English or in the native language, Bahasa Melayu. The questions focused on the lived experiences of the respondents and how these were related to the space consumption of the city dwellers. A sample of the questions include: "How do you spend your free time in this place?", or "Please tell me about your routine at your workplace.", or "What do you like about living or working in this city?". These questions served as stimuli to pave the way for more meaningful questions related to comprehending the space usage of the citizens. All respondents were asked the same questions. Although some were cautious in sharing their experiences during the initial stage, they started opening up more as the interview session progressed. After each interview, the researcher would either meet and discuss or email the respondents the summary of the interviews so that they were aware of the data gained from the exercise.

Table 1. Characteristics of respondents(N = 60)

Respondents	N	%
Gender:		
Female	29	48.33
Male	31	51.67
Age groups:		
20 – 30	17	28.33
31 – 40	31	51.67
41 – 50	7	11.67
Above 50	5	8.33
Marital status:		
Single	25	41.67
Married	35	58.33
Nationality:		
Malaysian	39	65.00
International	21	35.00
Position/Status:		
Office workers	31	51.67
Housewives	12	20.00
Students	17	28.33

2.1 Data Analysis

The study was conducted based on a thematic analysis framework. This involved qualitatively analysing themes using constant comparison technique (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) whereby the data were analysed for common themes using three stages of coding, namely: (i) open coding, (ii) axial coding and (iii) selective coding (Antony, 2012; Hallberg, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Firstly, the data were analysed for potential themes. Next, the themes were clustered according to their similarities/ compatibilities. Finally, the themes were classified according to their relationship at horizontal levels for main categories and vertical levels for sub-categories of each main category. As a result, each theme was interrelated, and there were main categories which could explain the research questions. The analysis focused on how spaces were conceptualised and interpreted from the respondents' perspectives. There were three main themes that emerged, namely sterile space, mobile space and virtually-linked community. These findings are presented in the following section, with direct quotations included where necessary to support a particular theme.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 The Sterile Space

Sterile space refers to the hygienic space in the context of the present study. Cyberjaya city was conceived and built within a Malay and Islamic cultural framework (Bunnell, 2004; Salleh and Meng, 1999; Setia Haruman, 2002). The foundation for cleanliness here was to develop a hygienic space for the citizens and visitors to use and to appreciate. In Islam, cleanliness can be defined from two perspectives, namely physical and soul cleanliness. The Quranic verses that support such a view are as follows:

> "Indeed, Allah loves those who are constantly repentant and loves those who purify themselves". (Chapter 2: Verse 222)
>
> "O you who believe! When you rise up for prayer, wash your faces, and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads (with wet hands), and (wash) your feet up to the ankles. And if you are in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba), purify yourselves (by taking a bath). And if you are sick or on a journey or one of you come from answering the call of nature, or you have had contact with women, and you find no water, then go to clean earth and wipe your faces and hands with some of it. Allah does not want to place you in difficulty, but He wants to purify you and to perfect His grace upon you that you may give thanks". (Chapter 5: Verse 6)

Drawing from the explanation of sterility from an Islamic perspective, the idea of hygienic life space is also practiced in cities such as Tokyo and Singapore. On the other hand, urban scholars argued that city spaces were normally chaotic, restless and non-sterile (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003; Bridge and Watson, 2004).

Interestingly, there has been new development in urban planning in predominantly Muslim cities such as Dubai and Cairo. In the case of Dubai, the city was constructed in less than 15 years to achieve the status of modern city with hygienic environment as one of the criteria (Bagaeen, 2007). In Cairo, though, the plan was to build a gated community for the young educated family which offers cleanliness as one of its marketing attractions (Almatarneh, 2013). Arguably, while most cities in Asia are struggling with hygiene issues, there has been consistent efforts to sanitise the cities through various endeavours such as redistributing city settlements, as seen in Jakarta (Vickers, 2013), Xi'an (Ma and Wu, 2013) and Shanghai (Ma and Wu, 2013).

This argument brings us to the contrasting life experiences found in a city like Cyberjaya compared to cities like London or Los Angeles. Although it seems unjustified to compare a new city with an old one, the character of the city is normally influenced by the ideas which had determined or shaped its initial inception; as in the case of Cyberjaya city whereby creating and maintaining a clean space from the very beginning has always been a central concern. Any visitor to Cyberjaya city would definitely witness the green, orange and blue army of city cleaners deployed to uphold its image of "cleanliness". The green team is the caretakers of the streets and gardens. The orange team is responsible for the street flowers. Lastly, the blue team is responsible for the cleanliness in the commercial centres. They work six days a week to ensure that the clean reputation of the city is well maintained. These workers cannot afford to play truant during working hours as their supervisors always keep them on their toes by diligently supervising the clean-up operations. Most of the respondents agreed that this city is clean as advertised in the many city banners proudly displayed in most public spaces (refer to Table 2). Interestingly, the notion of cleanliness has been normally associated with offices, hospitals and hotels. On the other hand, urban sociologists have argued that a natural city is normally full of contradictions, such as cleanliness and dirt, silence and noise, and rich and poor (Bridge and Watson, 2004).

Sterile space from the perspective of culture is another topic for debate. As the Malay culture follows Islamic principles closely, spatial practices in the Malay culture are reflected to the extent found in the Islamic culture. Culture in the Malay society is known as "*adat*" and it refers to the cultural practices of the Malay community. The Mosque, as a religious institution founded on Islamic principles, is also an example of a clean space in the context of the Malay culture. Its sacred status demands that the place be cleared from any dirt or misconduct which is against the Islamic principles, such as backbiting. Interestingly, a clean space in this city is often used as a marketing tool by the city developer to attract investors to start their businesses (Setia Haruman, 2006). Thus, cleanliness becomes a part of the attractive packages to lure investors to the city. Cleanliness has become a commodified advertising material in this context. It is part of the social capital transacted from the elite to the city planner. As Lefebvre argued in his "Production of Space", for representations of space as desired by the elites, the idea of cleanliness was thought to be an appropriate concept to attract visitors, potential investors and citizens to the city. The idea of elite space representation is also reflected in Habermas' idea of the bourgeoisie, where the supremacy idea supersedes the convenience of the masses. The concept of clean space presents a dilemma for the developer in communicating the planned vibrant image of the city. As one of the officers shared, "Yes, we want people to feel at ease with the city, but we also understand the practiced clean concept of the city may hinder people from using the city spaces". Miss Haja, an officer from an Information Communication Technology company, further argued, "Perhaps, what we need is to make people feel as a part of the city. The city management should unwind certain rules so that people from various backgrounds could feel at ease with the place. That will be the best advertisement for the city itself".

Clean or hygienic space here reflects the notion of representations (conceived) and representational (lived) spaces, as argued by Lefebvre (1974, 1991). Thus, the intercultural communication process in this city faces a number of challenges to flourish due to the lack of interaction among different cultures in the public spaces of this city. This phenomenon is partly due to the sterile characteristic of the city.

Nonetheless, there are some pocketed places where the intercultural communication process takes place such as in the offices.

Table 2. Illustrations of salient common themes: Clean space

No.	Background of respondent	Sample excerpts
1	Miss Haja, a female officer at a company	"Yes, we want people to feel at ease with the city, but we also understand the practiced clean concept of the city may hinder people from using the city spaces."
2	Mr. Khan, a male cleaner	"This place needs to be cleaned at all times."
3	Miss Salman, a female cleaner	"Normally, I do not entertain visitors in this area as I am busy working. I have to be vigilant as my supervisor will monitor us from time to time."
4.	Mr. Adam, a male officer at a company	"Look around us; this city is clean and sterile. It can be part of the promotion of the city to outsiders."
5.	Mr. Chan, a businessman	"It is easy to notice the outsiders in this city. This place is always being taken care of in terms of cleanliness and security. So, once you enter the space, you will be identified as a stranger or a city citizen."
6.	Mr. Raju, a male officer at a company	"Interestingly, when a place is clean, it is supposed to offer a comfortable environment for people to use. But perhaps here is different; people are busy in the office and fewer people are using the public city space. Thus, this clean space presents a rather different interpretation to visitors and citizens. Do they feel welcome?"
7.	Miss Hana, a female officer at a company	"It is not easy to be seen loitering in this city as most people don't. Here we can easily identify whether you are a stranger or locals just by seeing the way you use the space. Why? It is because it is clean, and you are actually under the watch by the others."

3.2 The Mobile Space

Studies on intelligent cities normally highlight the vibrant social life in these places and often use mobility as part of the engineering tool in defining and manoeuvring the city. It must be borne in mind that such places have been planned in such a way to integrate both social and working life.

The planned city with the idea of wide spaces with connected roads establishes the idea of the practicality of mobility. The construction of roads, the Central Business District, public spaces and residential areas reflected ideas that were also found in Brasilia (Howard, 2003). In a planned city with wide roads, spatial experiences in this city are defined by road travelling experiences. On the other hand, spatial experiences in other studies focused on community experiences along the roads and the drivers' experiences of travelling (Williamson, 2003; O'Connor and Kelly, 2006). In the context of this study, driving experiences are the only means to see city life. This city is a car city. Thus to know the city, one has to be mobile, i.e. travelling, and the car is the most convenient vehicle to move around in this city (refer to Table 3).

Automobile commodification defines the social experiences of car consumers. Historically, researchers from diverse fields interpreted automobile experiences from the perspectives of marketing, sociology, history and geography (Kal, 2008; Mahendra, 2008; Phillips, 2007; Rieger, 2010). Each field takes a unique view of the commodification of car experiences. Arguably, the bulk of space mobility/movement literature has focused on road rage, capitalism, modernism, community and territoriality (Kal, 2008; Mahendra, 2008; Phillips, 2007; Rieger, 2010). Interestingly, the space of movement in Cyberjaya is tied up with town planning, clean place and working community. Stories about roads in this city are part and parcel of the everyday conversation. A Malaysian Chinese businessman shared, "We always hear of road accidents in this city. There was a tragic accident near the entrance of the city whereby a car crashed into the drain at midnight. She was in her early 20s and was driving very fast, and it was raining heavily at that time". The roads were constructed in such a way that one feels a sense of tranquillity. The wide road design, structured roundabouts at different parts of the city, and roads decorated with rows of flowering trees all create this tranquil feeling.

The urban, sprawling character of this city is not only defined by its town planning, but also by the dwellers. The movement of cars in this city is defined by the working culture of the organisations/companies in the city. Office rush hours are the most common times when we could detect city life. This is the time when we could see people in the city rushing to their work places or returning to their homes. Other than that, signs of life could be seen through cars, vans and buses parked at the companies' premises. These pocketed lives are part of the movement space experiences in this city. Other than these pocketed lives, the city is rather silent and void of people. Thus in this context, the intercultural communication process emerges more in pocketed settings where the interaction happens mostly in offices and universities. The offices and universities are important places where individuals are engaged in direct interaction with visitors, colleagues, clients and friends.

Table 3. Illustrations of salient common themes: Mobile space

No.	Background	Sample excerpts
1	Miss Jannah, a female officer at a company	"This is a car city. What I meant here is that you need a vehicle to travel. Most of the places are

Continued next page

Table 3. (con't)

		rather difficult to be reached by foot. You need a car or any vehicle to survive."
2	Mr. Chan, a male shop owner	"Actually, this place is famous with road accidents. Most of the time, we are exchanging stories on that. We think it may be due to the perfect road conditions and driver's attitude."
3	Miss Chew, a female manager at a company	"It is rather weird, but we think when the road is perfect and there are few users especially during non-rush hours, drivers tend to be less attentive on the road. What I meant is that their mind is preoccupied with other thing and that is when accident normally happens."
4.	Mr. Salem, a male engineer at a company	"For me, I walk as I live nearby. But to move around during the weekend, we normally take buses for grocery shopping. It will be much convenient if you have a car to move around."
5.	Mrs. Hanum, a female retiree/housewife	"Our family is lucky to have cars to move around. Here, you have to be mobile. Like in my case, I can do almost everything with the help of my car. I cannot imagine if I don't have one. Yes, life is much at ease when you mobile."
6.	Mrs. Sal, a female shop owner	"Actually, you can see how huge is the parking space here and how many cars are parked in every office parking area. Those who work here normally commute and that's why they need cars. And when you see the distance from one place to the other, you will understand the importance of having a vehicle in this city."

3.3 Virtually-Linked Community

City inhabitants define social life experiences as virtually active versus quiet social life. Community life here is rather quiet due to the nature of city life in terms of its residents, users and visitors. Most of the interviewed respondents said that they commuted from the capital city to Cyberjaya every day. It takes about 45 minutes to travel by car from the capital city. Big companies normally provide transportation using private buses or vans to ferry their office workers to work. It has been observed that there are five main pick-up points for such private transportation, which are mainly at restaurants, big companies, grocery stores, stationery shops and banks. Nonetheless, from the observations and interviews, the city public spaces appear to be void of users. A significant number of respondents claimed that they were actually more socially connected with their virtual friends, relatives and colleagues (refer to

Table 4). According to a female manager in her 40s, “Life here is a bit different, it is a quiet life, people are connected but not in physical face-to-face interaction; they interact more actively in the virtual world”.

Table 4. Illustrations of salient common themes: Virtually-linked community

No.	Background	Sample excerpts
1	Mr. Rashid, male officer at a company	“It is interesting to describe life here. People are more connected virtually than physically. In fact, sometimes you don’t really know your neighbor.”
2	Miss. Chun, a female manager at a company	“Life here is a bit different. It is a quiet life, people are connected but not in physical face-to-face interaction. They interact more actively in the virtual world.”
3	Miss Han, a female female university student	“What I love most in this city is the internet facility. university student It is so efficient and that’s why we spend so much time online. But of course, a student’s life also involves face-to-face interaction. As students, we normally connect to each other virtually and physically.”
4.	Mr. Rizal, a male manager at a company	“Why do you think people are not around? Actually, they are either in the office or at their home. In both contexts, they are busy connecting with others. For example in my company, officers spend long hours in the office due to job demands. Thus, they are pretty close to each other.”
5.	Mrs. Sally, a housewife	“Life is pretty lonely here, especially if you are not working or studying. As for me, my circles of network are more towards online rather than face-to-face contact. And the internet facility is good to stay connected with my friends and relatives most of the time.”
6.	Miss Rafar, a female university student	“It is a unique city. You can observe how people behave here and how they use the public space. People are busy with their work, I guess. For example, our neighbor is a manager in a company. But we seldom see her. Most of the time, we do our own stuff and once in a blue moon we see her.”

Interestingly, the city has shown development in constructing new public spaces like cafes, restaurants, grocery stores and laundry shops at the periphery of the city. Nevertheless, one thing that the developer had failed to implement and optimise is to create pocketed living communities in the city. The city with all its facilities would only be considered successful only when there are large crowds using the facilities every day as part of the city life experiences. During the weekends, the city public spaces are usually empty and there are only the blue collar migrant workers working at the construction sites in the city.

The lack of visible public life in this city is not helpful in marketing the city to investors. City dwellers, as pointed out earlier, are more connected virtually rather than physically meeting friends at public places. White collar workers and mostly non-Malaysian citizens either take short holidays at interesting places around Malaysia or have weekend trips to Kuala Lumpur, the capital city. As for Malaysian white collar workers, they stay at places outside of Cyberjaya. Thus, they would spend their weekends at their homes outside Cyberjaya. As there are not many cheap housing areas in the city, most of the blue collar workers comprising shop assistants, cleaners and waiters would commute almost every day to the city and thus, the city would become alive mostly during office hours.

Most of the city residents who stay in the city would be either those who are highly-paid office workers (engineers, programmers, and managers) or mostly foreigners, pensioned government servants, housewives of highly-paid office workers and also university students. Given the phenomenon of the silent public space in the city, the researcher was interested in finding out more about activities of the city residents during weekends. It is not surprising thus to find that these residents are well-connected socially in the virtual world. They can get in touch with their friends and families globally as the internet serves as a social getaway to the larger realities of socialising life, even if they could not meet physically in the city. This reminds us of what Sennet (1977) referred to as the phenomenon of the lonely housewives and what Castells (2000) referred to as the idea of space of flow. The internet is used as a means to connect with one another and thus, to make sense of life for city citizens comprising of lonely housewives, busy executives and university students. The availability of social media, e.g. Facebook, serves as a lifeline network for socialising in the context of an enclosed neighbourhood such as this city. Interestingly, this phenomenon is no longer uncommon in other natural cities in Malaysia or outside of Malaysia. However, what makes this phenomenon unique is that the usual gathering places in natural cities are no longer public spaces which will be packed with people. People in this city are well-connected, but the connection is actually in terms of virtual social networks and not in the physical sense. Thus, intercultural communication interactions happen mostly in specific locations such as mentioned before, which is in offices and universities.

4. CONCLUSION

Three major conclusions can be drawn from the presented findings. The city is searching for a concrete identity. Presently, the city is struggling with various identities, and is facing a dilemma in presenting itself as a living city. The second conclusion is related to town planning and community development. The findings suggest that city developers and the community need to work together to create a vibrant social life aimed at enriching life experiences of the city. The third major observation that emerged is that the future cultural connection of the living community will depend on the economic development of the city. Most of the city inhabitants are working in international companies and thus, their residence in Malaysia will depend on the survival of those companies.

5. IMPLICATIONS

The findings which revealed the way Cyberjaya's citizens used and experienced the spaces in the city provided the researchers with significant insights on how the city operates. Consequently, the interpretations of findings reflected the standpoints of city dwellers on their understanding of ideal or convenient life experience. The codes, symbols and signs shared by space users reduce the uncertainty for them. People normally love belong to a group and not be singled out as "an outsider" who does not abide by the norms of the community. The idea of experiencing a new place is always an interesting prospect for active travellers around the globe. Auge (1995) proposed the concept of a "Non-Place" where people travelled and used it as a transit place and felt familiar with it, but yet, had not attached themselves to the place. This transit place is a good example of how the space mobility concept can be understood. The way people use airports, bus stations, train stations, hotels and many other transit places either for leisure, work or emergency reflects the importance of the place, and yet it loses the sense of belonging. Perhaps when Lefebvre argued that there was really no empty space, he meant that there was always meaning associated with the space, even though it was rather a quiet place in terms of its social identity. To be lost, like individuals who are lost in transition, may mean that there are no familiar codes and symbols to understand the lived experiences of the space itself. Space mobility in this sense offers an explanation or interpretation of the different codes and symbols used by the so-called locals in perceiving their space.

The transfer of knowledge and practices from various historical experiences has always been about space mobility. Scholars, merchants, travellers and militaries travelled from one place to another in their search for new knowledge, wealth, practices and colonies. In fact, the idea of intercultural communication, as popularised by Edward T Hall, was actually part of the space mobility experiences of travellers to foreign countries (Hall, 1992). Visitors need to understand the culture of the locals, and this has inspired studies on intercultural communication to date. This is because knowledge itself is power and empowered people will come to inherit advantages in constructing the future of others, as has been amply shown in history and in the present-day world.

Spatial experiences are part of historical and philosophical perspectives on interpreting the social and personal experiences of the city life. Many studies have been conducted in the fields of anthropology, history, geography, communication and education to define the spatial experiences of actors. They construct meanings through their everyday dispositions (Massey, 2005; Postill, 2006; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003).

However, the outcome remains uncertain. The critics of modern society such as Levine (2006) and Mumford (1961) argued on the enslavement of people through time and life priorities. Studies indicate that Asian countries which have achieved developed status tend to resemble their Western counterparts in terms of cultural expectations but with a diversion in traditional values (Chen, 2006; Zhang, Lin, Nonaka and Beom, 2005). It is common to view modern Asia as following the steps of "established" Western values especially in matters of time and order. In the case of Cyberjaya, the context of intercultural communication is rather different as there is a dynamic interaction among the various cultures that exist in the city.

The existence of a community in this city has made it richer with extended networks of virtual communities. With the advancement of information technology and the composition of this community who are mostly professionals, students and educated housewives, virtuality (Feenberg and Bakardjieva, 2004) is inevitable. This phenomenon has implications for the social shaping of the community and the way they communicate with their own "networked community". In the context of the study discussed in this paper, the researcher viewed this process as transcultural communication, a phenomenon which involves hybridisation (Pieterse, 2004) and leads to métissage (Wieviorka, 2000); a mixture of different cultures in the spirit of finding consensus in understanding each other.

Although there is an alternative argument that transcultural communication leads to conflicts in communication (Baraldi, 2006) and perhaps with the host culture (Eswari, 2014), this study adopts a different stand. In Cyberjaya, the prevalence of transcultural communication implies that a mainstream culture does not exist. This means that it is rather difficult to find a mainstream culture which normally dominates the idea of intercultural communication (Baraldi, 2006), or represents the dominant community in the vicinity (Hofstede, 2007). Lefebvre (1974, 1991) and Mumford (1961) argue that city experiences offer to a certain extent a dialogue between city citizens and city authority, which leads to a specific culture that is always negotiated and favoured by those who have more legitimate power in the city. The city planner struggles to balance between the modern principles of the city and the traditional values of what is supposed to be a Malaysian city. Perhaps the ideas of top-down imposed planned city spaces and traditional values do not merge nicely with the expectations of the city citizens. Having said that, this constructed city is still searching for its identity, and its citizens are involved in co-constructing a new culture rather than trying to foreground their respective individual cultures. The process of co-constructing meanings in everyday life may involve conflict, but what transpires in the city is just the opposite. This may also be due to the fact that this is a transit city where people live and work, but not on a permanent basis. They are mobile professionals who transit from one organisation to another as their careers are dynamic.Due to their work priorities, the concerns of an interactive culture are more prevalent in the working environment rather than in social activities. What is interesting is that pocketed intercultural communication experiences which take place in the city community happens in offices and universities. Indeed, we may need to rethink the idea of a real community in a transit space populated with global characters, transient individuals who practice transcultural communication and have no intention to settle down for good. This further raises questions such as: What will happen to those who decide to stay in the city and prolong their working contract? What will be the future intercultural communication identity of this segmented community?

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