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THE SUPERVISORY ROLE OF THE GUERRILLA-MEDIA IN THE HORIZONTALLY AND VERTICALLY EXPANDING NEW VIRTUAL PUBLIC SPACE

Absztrakt/Abstract

Az új média szereplőinek, elsősorban az erőszakos cselekmények kapcsán kialakult csoportját utcanyilvánosságnak nevezem. Az utcanyilvánosság szereplői, akik saját kommunikációs eszközeiket felhasználva képi, hang vagy szöveges információt osztanak meg egymás közt, vagy ezeket eljuttatják valamelyik hírügynökséghez. Legaktívabb tagjai a netriporterek, akik képesek – tudatosan - eseményt tudósítani és dokumentálni, de ezzel együtt részei lehetnek a „hírgyártásnak” is. Az utcanyilvánosság abban más a formális médiához képest, hogy a fogyasztókkal mellérendelt kapcsolatot tart fenn, a szerepek pedig felcserélhetők. A gerillamédia az engedély nélküli rádiókhöz hasonlóan hozzájárulhat a társadalmi változásokhoz. Mindezek alapján megállapítható, hogy az új média, az utcanyilvánosság sem képes maradéktalanul betölteni az információk ellenőrző szerepét.

The new media actors, particularly in the context of violent events I called street-formed group of public simply: street publicity. The street-public actors who use their tools of communication, and who share their imagery, sound or text information with each other, or send this to news agencies. Most active members of the net-reporters who are able to report and document incidents consciously, and they can be a part of the "news manufacturing". The medial structure of street publicity differs from the formal media, in the co-ordinated relation and roles interchange ability. The activity of public discourse is increasing by the effect of violence and ban. The guerrilla-radios like the radios without a license in the media contribute to social change. All these suggest that the new media, the street publicity can't be the control of information alone.

Kulcsszavak/Keywords: *utcanyilvánosság, virtuális média, gerillamédia, netriporter, teleföntanú ~ street-formed group of public, street publicity, virtual media, cyberspace, guerrilla-media, netreporter, phone witness*

INTRODUCTION

The conscious use of the media players has expanded in recent months in a great extent with new-media players I call street publicity.¹ On this basis, the media-space boundaries have not expanded but disappeared. The real-time news make sense instead of pre-and posteriority events and there is an endless need for the real-time news. Today the limitation period of the news are measured in seconds.

My thesis is dealing with mainly the actors of virtual media-space surrounding the violent events.

The naturally status of the street publicity players are restless, the high level of interest and scepticism.

In my opinion the the street-formed group of public is named the new public, street publicity can be used to monitoring role of formal media. The members of society, in a democracy or pre-democracy can be essential in the participation of information. The members of public space contribute to the multi-layered analysis of the publicity and they document and published the events in cyberspace. The street-public actors who use their tools of communication, and share their imagery, sound or text information with each other, or send this to news agencies: huge or smaller radios, tv or web editors. The activity of street-public actors is outstanding in violent situation, or at least significantly increases with the danger of the risk of violence.

It's typical that CNN began the 21-hour news summary on 15 April 2011 (in the Central European time zone) with an amateur video shared shortly before.

Agreeing with Feintuck and Varney (2010: 14-17.) opinion: the strictest limitation of the freedom of the press is the pre-censorship or prevention of the appearance. So an amateur recording can be really a counterpoint.

The boundaries of media-space is significantly has expanded and doesn't coincide with the national borders. The street publicity, as the management of media space is still nowhere to be attempted, the network is not suitable for block.

In my paper I examine the contents of significant news sites. I have not compared the news appeared on different surfaces, but I've typed the say of amateur journalists.

THE NARRATIVES OF STREET PUBLICITY

In recent months the events of the Arab world have made absolutely clear that the formal media is forced to cooperate with virtual space's player, who does not work for order in most cases. However, we do not believe that the information shared by the public street is intended to reflect reality. I must agree with Umberto Eco who believes: you can easily understand the sequence of events if they are coherent interpretation (Eco, 2007).

The blog of Manuel Rubiales (2011) I regard as a startingpoint. He said that everyone has a duty to control the line of democratic misled to understand what is happening around us. The Spanish Rubiales compares the Internet with the REI (Radio España Independiente), which is a seventy years old guerrilla radio.

I will return to this, but during the paper writing the virtual public interested in the case of Straus-Kahn. He was the head of IMF and his affair was published first by a Montreal student on Twitter.

The French-Canadian boy, his friend and his father reject the charge that the young man would have-played any role to overthrow the head of the IMF bank.

¹ The first concept is the 2011th March 4 was used in Tirgu Mures, new media, real and virtual spaces'conference / Sapientia-EMTE /. The following paper extends the performance and the revised version

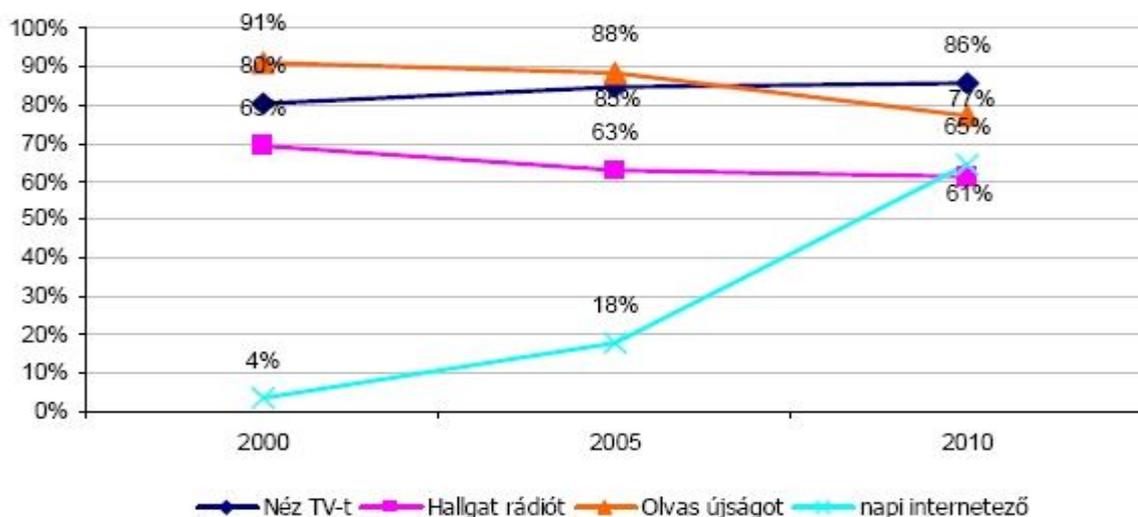
To prove the above statement is not the topic of this thesis, anyway, it would be difficult to do and question whether that will ever be found. However, can be concluded in the foregoing that the virtual public square would be converted in an incredibly fast by topics of public-discourse and it can be also defined globally.

The new-media creators, editors, reporters and „guard dogs” have become massive media consumers resently, besides the current editorial workl. Starting from this it, there is the chance that the new media content creators not only hold a mirror to the society, but whether consciously or less consciously influenced by the viewer, reader, and listener. The new media player may be active eyewitness only. However I have called it the street publicity, but I would prefer phone-witness, who share with friends unknown and upload mainly pure text messages, images, audio or video too, and it prepares to accommodate to the cultural differences. I’m sure the opinion bloggers are new media players too. The street publicity may be part of the guerrilla-media. On the other hand is the hate speech (Hargitai 2009), which is done in order to hostile influence, specifically. Very high rate of information flow nowadays, therefore it can not easily reflect in the editorial boards of professional. Based on these one of the basic most important journalistic rule is surely violated, namely compromised the control of complementary information. The third representative of the streets publicity is the net-reporters. It can be found in the personality of net-reporter appearance in willingness, interested in the high-degree of actuality news and able to articulate the information obtained.

The new media supplemented with netreporters, consequently increased of players in street publicity, and the public actors use more and better smartphone. Create a virtual agora where the internet is essentially present, people use it daily in their smartphone. You can find a common narrative of the media messages and a common value system. The players do not necessarily need to be fixed place.

However, 4.1 to 5 thousand million mobile phone user are worldwide currently, based on data from The Washington Post there are. Internet use in Hungary has increased 4% to 65% in the last ten years, according to the National Media Analysis: examining the 15-19 age group. (Source: GfK Hungária - Ipsos, National Media from 2000 to 2010)

15-19 évesek napi médiafogyasztása
(a 15-19 évesek %-a)



Internet use in Hungary has increased 4% to 65% in the last ten years, according to the National Media Analysis: examining the 15-19 age group. (Source: GfK Hungária - Ipsos, National Media from 2000 to 2010), light Blue shows the use of internet²

In my opinion they can also generate social change which move dynamically, organize and transform in the virtual space, assists in the process of democratization. Willy-enter the street publicity engages involuntary citizens of society that become active players of expression. The new media are keeping on dynamic move the social structure of the public.

The medial devices will not only change, they go through the change of function, but also very fast and continuous convergence is observed. As a result of a foregoing develop a new tool that integrates the earlier ones, added to the basis of the needs and generate additional transformation. (McLuhan, Marchall 2001)

The new public media events are created and carried beyond by street-reporters to inform, confirm social solidarity. They have a key role in shaping values, as written in formula a theory of ritual communication by Dayan and Katz (ARNOLD, Molnar 2009). The network communication of equal operators is not in itself ground for conversation, but also a cultural melting pot, on the other hand a group organizer as well.

The following features, impact and dynamics of street publicity is typed by public properties and various internet contents. Concluded that the current political power can be terrified by the dynamics of a virtual public space. The authority in China, after Egypt, Tunisia and Libya took action dramatically against a virtual space of public discussion: slowed down, filtered, or completely eliminated the use of internet.

In my opinion, virtual guerrilla-media is created with the power compared with the power of censorship attempts establish.

The Spanish word Guerrilla comes from 'la guerre' means little war, the struggle of irregular elements, which directed against the reigning power. The virtual guerrilla-media actors can be a telephone witness and the opinion blogger. The third representative of guerrilla-media is net players who lead to a moral panic with false news and hate speech. Let's call them web-Help.

Based on experience, the guerrilla media working without licence and prohibition, at least as effective as guerrilla marketing. The guerrilla media can be a particularly intense effect in particular, where there are attempts to limit the power of it. The authorities limit or completely prevent the effect of new networks and organizing media, where media consumers are not careful enough range. In other words, they pose a threat, which does not occur in the conscious media citizen (Császi 2009).

The guerrilla media is in many respects similar to the XX. Century guerrilla radios. Among other things the guerrilla media affects the public to restructure and simultaneously the social multiplier effect can not be underestimated either.

„LA VOZ DE LA VERDAD”

The Radio España Independiente (La Pirenaica)³ started broadcasting seventy years ago. Five years after the Spanish Civil War (1933-1936) and two years after the Franco dictatorship gave decree so called "No source of news". From that time the political power has censored private radios and the state radio became official news source. REI was guerrilla radio, which broadcasted alternative information against the unilateral dictatorship across borders, even if REI was committed communist and it was on the left. „The effect of La Pirenaica far superior to other, similar unlicensed guerrilla radio: connected people and

2 <http://kozmedia.blogspot.com/2010/10/nemzeti-mediaanalizis-10-ev-alatt-4-rol.html> (Last Downloaded: 23th April 2011)

3 The REI in 1941 from 22 July 1977 to 14 July was the first time Moscow and Bucharest, aired from 1955 to

organized the resistance against violence.” It should be noted, - Plans wrote - that the REI-mediated information was sometimes exaggerated, biased. In spite of this, REI published information, which Spanish public media didn't (Plans 2011).

The radio sound archives are serving as a historical source for millions of Spaniards. The guerrilla channel gave an opportunity to express their views which would not have been possible elsewhere in dictatorship. (Pamies, 2007 23-31) The REI's information was taken by people, so-called Palomas. “Pigeons” carried news on sound track, orally, in writing, no later than one week they have reached out to the editorial. Today I would say that these messengers were phone witness. The seventy years old guerrilla radio had formal monitoring role of the dictatorship. It should be noted that guerrilla radio had close ties to left-wing so can not be called biased.



1. figure. “REI logo”, photomontage made by José Renau by Pcasso's peace dove

Still far from being clear that the "Twitter Revolution" (for others is called the Facebook revolution) what role in the transfer of power in Tunisia. But it is clear that as a group organizer had an impact on the development of events.

Mark Lynch (2011), a political science professor known at Foreign Policy believes that the social networking sites and the effect of television together have led to the transformation of the structures of power.

However it should be reported that the medial space of street publicity is traditional media. But of course is not, because the actors of cyberspace share news and information with each other. This may be influencing factor: the street-public actors send messages only to each other. At other times they can be a control of formal media.

The new-media is the fifth branch of power by Bajomi-Lazar.

Montesquieu wrote the three - traditional - branches of power, legislative, executive and judicial power, as is well known. Edmund Burke – 18th century English politician – called journalist the fourth branch of power (The Fourth Estate). They took a sit in the parliament gallery "up there" and Burke suggested that the journalists of the inspectors of democracy. We have to agree with Bajomi: the fifth branch check to the traditionally democratic societies and can controll the censored official media. The street publicity (so called fifth branch) carries out its function that they communicate unpredictably in real time and documented and enunciation more diverse opinion.

4 With Spanish Communist Party (PCE), a historical archive of recordings preserved in the REI, the radio messages sent to more than 15 thousand is a letter, containing recordings of the radio catalog consists of more than 12 boxes. (Hoya, 2011)

The Telegraph's online interface using twitter writes that the main weapon was broom after revolution on Cairo's main street. Suggest that the protesters organized the clean up of waste and debris on the community site because cleaning service didn't work.

As part of the self-organized society is participate in street cleaning.

The new virtual "weapon" is the smart phone. It's able to cause social changes and influence social control while we use it alone or with other media.

TO LIVE TOGETHER WITH THE APPARENT NEWS

The professional media is now added to the street publicity. The newly-created virtual public space is fundamentally different from the previous medial square: faster, more reliable, more diverse and has got co-ordinated structure. Previously is believed to be unchangeable hierarchical relationship between journalist and the media customer. Instead of the street publicity has been a future of the juxtaposition of subordination and the network connection lately.

Everyone can be a bit of photography, editor and reporter; the next moment can be an active media consumer. All the while the roles are mixed up naturally, of course, as is demonstrated in the juxtaposition of subordination characteristic. One of Tunisian cyber-fighter is quoted by Denes Baracs by the French Le Monde newspaper based in, who says literally: "we were on the streets day and by night in front of the screen." Baracs, 2011)

The new interactivity is much more creative and means much more active participation in the former media, as well. Participation in this media I've called input, while access to the media is an output. Media consumers not only interested in news and the values conveyed by media, but media consumer wants to take part in shaping society's values, increasingly. On this basis, one must understand the statement that the new media build path to audience which continues to grow. (Istvánffy 2005)

He did not say any chance that was created a global, but a single media-space. The groups in the virtual agora are organized with common narrative; they become interested in the topics. Lynch mentioned earlier, for example, makes reference to a WP article an "Arabic, or Al Jazeera narrative."

But able to determined public opinion (net-atmosphere) any crash, catastrophe or shocking case and able to construct a common narrative. There are those who do not deal with the Middle East crisis, of course. They are completely indifferent to the issue of the Arab world. While others are relates to the virtual community of the world remote corners of the neighbourhood or even street.

But why? What it takes someone to the moment of explosion, Domodedovo turn on the phone's camera? Why make a record that covers the face of our eyes. What could be the purpose of the close up photographs of a police action, and then share the video, or send an editor.

Connected to the former, one of the most important question to be answered - in my view as to why is activated the phone witnesses, particularly in violent situations?

LET US CONSIDER WHAT MOTIVATED THE STREET PUBLICITY

I. The telephone witnesses (net-reporters) are:

- messaging
- media coverage, vanity
- anonymity
- to satisfy the immediate hunger for news: the real-time monitoring to attract people
- documentation, to obtain most accurate and are transmitted
- media control, to say what others can not
- avoidance of physical, psychological, relational violence, to obtain the best possible position
- consolidating our position on their own

II. The Web Help:

- causing panic
- anonymity
- influence the opinions and heuristic decisions, for its own sake
- media coverage vanity
- making money
- avoidance of physical, psychological, relational violence, to obtain the best possible position

Among the motivations can be found so-called conscious elements that are characteristic of the mediacitizens, according to Lajos Császai. This group's members are the ones who are able to assess accurately, that they live their life what media are built (Császai 2009), but also have the opportunity to make choices and therefore "transmit" and debated. But the business objective is a conscious element since a sizable sum of money to get. (In Blikk newspaper, or the online edition paid thousand Hungarian forint to striking image, for example, when one politician left in the car park of disabled, a vigilant passer-by photographed.)⁵ The motivations have instinctive elements such as survival instinct; we can see all of phone witnesses, and web help, too.

VIOLENCE ONLINE - THE ROLES ARE INTERCHANGEABLE

The most popular European, English-language online news portal's first text message lets you know that either sms or e-mail, text, picture can contact with them in mid January 2011, at nine o'clock in the morning. And as soon as possible, they also contributed to give this information. Obviously, everyone suspects that there is a filter where news go through, but it's not at all deterred from phone-witnesses to report the death of their relatives.

"Sara, a young woman in Tripoli, has told the BBC World Service her cousin and a friend were shot dead by security forces on Sunday, and she is very worried about her three brothers, who have told her by phone that they have also been shot. She says it is not safe for her brothers to return home at the moment. "Since last night, I have been worried and pray that

⁵ http://www.blikk.hu/blikk_aktualis/tilosban-parkolt-luxusautojaval-lazar-janos-2044263?nocache (Last Download 26th febr 2011.)

their phone cards don't run out. Because once they lose all their credit, we can have no communication."

I have an important note to BBC: the events can be followed minute by minute, that does not need to refresh the webpage. That is really real-time participation; I will not miss anything if I do not click to another page. 6

We read a similar message on CNN site, which warns that we can find unstructured news in this section.

In most cases the phone media-witnesses behave as citizens who are not content with information delivery but form an opinion, and plays a role in shaping society's values. The phone-witness is not satisfied with passivity of transmission instead of they would like to participate in journalistic rite. Bajomi-Lazar notes (Bajomi-Lazar 2010) to Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz's theory of media-event (1992). The real-time events "people are so attracted because they feel like a participant." This is necessary because the majority of people is looking for orientation, they want other confirm what is order and chaos. It is not a coincidence that a number of televisions also gave a live broadcast about street confrontation in 2006 in Budapest, or riots in Paris, or conflict in the Middle East, North Africa producing a large television.

It is similar to the motivations of phone-witnesses. It also may be true because in interchangeable roles people feel obliged to share violent scenes with professional media. In fact he is very happy looking at it, even if watching own film he horrified in the evening.

The "spectacle of violence is not necessarily alarming, but also meets a need for some kind of ancient." Bajomi-Lazar notes that the "medial space and the spectacle of violence are inseparable since the beginning of human civilization. Ancient requirements related to the reproduction and survival. In other words, they are in an advantageous position to assess the ground, they become predictable in oral or physical violence, and they receive a greater chance of survival (Toth 2007).

Császai believes that violence is symbolic representation of the cultural community in protecting its members to physical violence. The spectacle of violence in society also agreed to strength our system of norms, standards. The acceptance depends on what are their reactions when they are breached. The more deeply rooted in a moral norm, the more intense reaction will be if it is breached. Finally, we can state that the violence in each cases depends on the culture medium.

MEDIA LITERACY, RISK

Live broadcast and documentation of violence, - as a moral panic (Császai, McRobbie) - serve as a deterrent. We should test what the political power can do or get adequate support the mass (so called opposition), which stretches the boundaries of social norms? The media literacy is a constantly moving front line, where the power and the street publicity magnifies and distort events from the perspective of their own. The dynamics of official media and street publicity represents a control over.

The media coverage is the major motivation for Twitter users, uploaders - videos and messages - and sharing group. It's not relevant to them to hear their voice, show their face on TV, or read their messages, although this is one aspect among many. It's enough if the recording will be valuable to others, gives rise to a shared video and they can be proud of it.

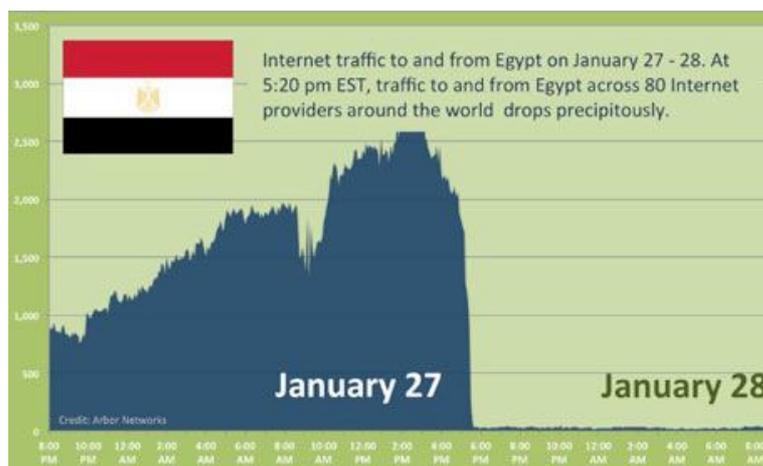
⁶ Welcome to iReport, where people take part in the news with CNN. Your voice, together with other iReporters, helps shape how and what CNN covers every day. So you know: iReport is the way people like you report the news. The stories in this section are not edited, fact-checked or screened before they post. Only ones marked 'CNN iReport' have been vetted by CNN. <http://ireport.cnn.com/> (Last Download: 01th Marc 2011)

The shared message (official media, net-citizens) for the people to influence their own as well: "I promise to get back tomorrow." This sentence is worth much more on BBC's online interface broadcasting as if someone had sent an SMS to a friend. According to Aronson, someone who has consistently engaged (Aronson, E. 2008) rather keep the promise for others (towards myself). The effectiveness of persuasion depends on the extent to which I am involved in the virtual space.

Also there is a risk of spreading the wealth of information in cyberspace: one can read dozens of false news, other information was deliberately misled, similar to the Rwandan hate-radio (RTL M 1993-1996) which could call the people for violence with an amazing efficiency (Hargitai 2009). Efficacy was that the recipients were not media-conscious citizens. First time of emission the RTL M was called by the American ambassador is the best source of information and the radio broadcast music which could not be heard in the formal, boring public radio.

Similarly the guerrilla radio can also be a best source of information, all the more American statistics show that among Egyptian young, educated and urban population increased the number of net users one percent to 21 in late January (Sheridan 2011).

However it's out of questions possible that the majority of them have become active net citizens in a few days. The following chart shows the period when the Egyptian authorities limited internet use on 28 January 2011. (Labovitz 2011)



2. figure. Egypt cuts off most internet and cellphone service on January 27-28 2011

The falls or less verifiable data is given in connection with Buazizi Muhammad's volunteer fire death, which many say started the Arab revolutions. The 26-year-old boy who was selling vegetables, he is revered as a hero in the world. However, at least there are as many obscure points in the history as we are sure: the part of street legend is the alleged young's university education, is being unfairly punished for that, that his car in which the vegetables are offered was really seized? (HVG Online, 2011) HVG reported that a street named after him in Paris shortly and is expected to make a history film about him. All these suggest that the new media, the street publicity can't be the control of information alone.

Doesn't seem that there is, but it is, and it shows, we can translate of Walter Lippmann's idea: is not the place to look at something and decide what we see, but we decided what we see and then let's see. All of these, it seems does not help that opinion on what they say, the order of magnitude more people than ever see.

7 Jeel Ghathub tweets: "It's important to note, We Are Not pushing for the old Monarchy or any is to come backo nly for the Advancement Political Persons Libya FREE" @ Tripolitanian tweets: "@ rstripolina Yea ITS quieting down, Still some people out, they're really tired, lots dead, promising to come bk out tmrw tho 'http://www.origo.hu/itthon/20000223betiltottak.html (Last Download 2011th Feb. 25)

The new media, street publicity according to the characteristics carry the possibility of marketing, as well as the guerrilla media. News and advertisement are business. The CEPT (Conférence Européenne des Administrations des Postes et des Télécommunications, ie the monitoring of the European telecommunications organization) which brings together twenty European countries, has a report from 2006. According to this 800 unlicensed radio worked only the Netherlands, most of which were created for commercial purposes. (Farago, 2011) During the Arab revolution the following advertisement appeared on social networking sites: A nice play on "revolution" with "evolution" on this T-shirt as pointed out by Pakinamamer on Twitter. 8



3. figure. One of the many T-shirts ordered from internet

SUMMARY

I've called the new media players, particularly in the context of violent street-formed group of public simply: street publicity, which is suitable to fill the role of formal control media. The street publicity can be observed in the social media space but is able to fully apply only with the formal media. The most active members of it are the net-reporters who are able to report and document incidents consciously, and they can be a part of the "news manufacturing".

The new virtual "weapon" is the smart phone. It's able to cause social changes or social control while we use it alone or with each media. The medial structure of street publicity differs from the formal media, in the co-ordinated relation and roles interchange ability. The groups in the virtual agora are organized with common narrative; the geographical location is not a factor in generally.

The activity of public discourse is increasing by effect of violence and ban. The censorship and media licenses deprivation lead to create a guerrilla media. The guerrilla media can be a particularly intense in particular, where there are attempts to limit it by the power.

The virtual guerrilla-media is a tool that does not have a license or permit a legal attempt to use the covert messages to share. Guerrilla-media may also be created when the power is trying to block, ban or censor the internet network, organized street publicity.

8 http://www.zazzle.com/egypt_tshirt-235316776064147879: Last Download 27th Febr. 2011.)

The conscious use of the media is a constantly moving front line, where the state and the street publicity deliberately exaggerates and distorts the events their own perspective. The dynamics of official media and street publicity may represent a control over each other. All these suggest that the new media, the street publicity can't be the control of information alone.

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