CLIMATE CHANGE, PUBLIC OPINION, AND MEDIA PRESENTATION: A CASE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION IN ROMANIA AND CHINA ON CLIMATE CHANGE^{*}

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Abstract

Environmental communication is highlighted more in our everyday lives. From the Clean Power Plan, unveiled by Obama at the Climate Change Summit of Paris 2015, to Trump appointed as Climate Sceptic to the Marrakech Summit 2016, environmental communication is prevalent today. The presence of this issue in the political agenda, calls upon the attention of the media (traditional and social media). This paper shows how influential the Forth Power of a State is in the public opinion, how the State contributes to shaping it, and in which way it is possible to determine a certain social behavior. The paper focuses on European and Asian point of view and is based on the results obtained through the following two methods: a content analysis of the European Media news regarding the Climate Change during the one-year period of 2016 and a quantitative analysis of the questionnaires distributed in two different countries (Romania and China). The main research question that is presented in this paper is: How does the media deal with the environmental communication? Therefore, three main themes are explored. First, the way the media communicates with the public. Second, the length of time media has given to this issue. Third, the effect of the communication process on the European and Asian public opinion. The results demonstrated that there is a major need for the media to give space and importance to the environmental communication, and to regard carefully the way in which they do it.

^{**} Florina Lepădatu is a PhD Candidate in Public Diplomacy at the Center for Marxist Journalism and Education Studies at Tsinghua University, China. Contact: lepadatuflorina@hotmail.com Due to the method of communication, this results in a major consequence of why the public opinion has shown to have almost a negative-neutral attitude regarding this issue. The media, as the mediator between the State and the public, regarding such an issue, failed. Therefore, it is relevant for the two Governments, institutions, such as European Union and NGOs, to know why the public opinion does not react and act, regarding this issue, in the way they expect.

Keywords: environmental communication, Chinese media, Romanian media

Introduction

Nowadays we are witnessing the shift of the public's interest towards the environment. It is a huge change, given the fact that we are living under the agenda of "economic attention". The media is playing the key role in this environmental "game" by outlining the information and determining the success or failure of the direct implication of the public in the community media. In the study conducted by Robert J. Brulle, Jason Carmichael and J. Craig Jenkins¹ the first major factor that affects the public concern about the climate change is the media coverage. The importance the media assigns to coverage of climate change interprets into the importance the public accords to this issue. Besides, the climate change competes with problems such as economic crisis, issue wars, unemployment, issues that occupy most of the society's reserved space for public concern.

Therefore, the media has to stand on three essential points: message design, message content and message position. For instance, Anabela Carvalho and Jacquelin Burgess² demonstrated that media representation is an important agenda-setting factor for audiences in relation to "unobtrusive" issues such as climate change. More importantly, the media representation has a significant influence in shaping people's knowledge and perceptions of the issue³.

¹ Jenkins, Robert J. Brulle & Jason Carmichael & J. Craig, "Shifting public opinion on climate change: an empirical assessment of factors influencing concern over climate change in the U.S., 2002–2010" in Climate Change, 2012.

² Anabela Carvalho and Jacquelin Burgess, "Cultural Circuits of Climate Change in U.K. Broadsheet Newspapers" in Risk Analysis, 2005, 1457-1469.

³K. Wilson, "Mass Media as Sources of Global Warming Knowledge" in Mass Communication Review 22(1–2), 1995, 75–89.

According to the media communication theory, the process of communication between media and audience should come under the form of two-way interaction. The process of information has to empower the audience with knowledge about events and key concepts regarding the environmental issues. The expected feedback is a response to problems in a knowledgeable way. Such as the research of Irene Lorenzoni and Nick F. Pidgeon⁴ on the review of the major studies on public views of climate change. They demonstrated that the people are not likely to support initiatives addressing climate change. Unless they consider the issue across-the-board societal or ecological problem, or one affecting them personally.

To introduce the weak points presented between the media and the public, the article is focused on three principal issues. Therefore, they are highlighted as follows: the communication gap, the length and the time gap and consequence - effect crack. Subsequently, this article aims to demonstrate how the media deals with the environmental communication in China and Romania. In particular, the researcher focused on the results of the questionnaires, which provided a clear answer and an ultimate solution for the research question. Other studies that have been conducted are quite close to the present one and cover essential points such as media influence, agenda settings and so on. However, at the moment, not much work has been done which focus on Asian countries (especially in China) and European countries (especially east Europe). For example, the research made by Maxwell T. Boykoff and J. Timmons Robert⁵ relates closely to the present research conducted by the author of this paper. The researchers tried to examine the role of the media in influencing personal, national, and international action to address climate change. The results showed some distinct and significant deficiencies such as the fact that media plays a large role in the future of climate adaption aid, but this role was not explored completely.

⁴ Irene Lorenzoni and Nick F. Pidgeon, "Public views on climate change European and USA perspective" in *Climate Change*, 2006, pp. 73-95.

⁵ Maxwell T. Boykoff and J. Timmons Roberts, "Media coverage of climate change: current trends, strengths, weaknesses" in *United Nations Development Programme ~Human Development Report* 2007, 2007.

Case Study Presentation

The few types of research that have been done showed that the media usually give space to two major players: China and USA. More specifically the studies in this field are focused more on the USA and how Broadcast Networks Covered Climate Change: therefore, little space has been given to the Europe and Asian side.

China

The latest situation regarding the climate change is presented in the outcome of the conference of Marrakech held in November 2016, where China played a very influencial role.

Not much attention has been given to China under the umbrella of present work. The latest report that describes the situation in China and its citizens on the concern of climate change is the research carried by Pew Research Center in 2015. According to Pew Research Center⁶ China is classified as the country with least concerned citizens about the issue among 40 nations (see Figure 1).

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⁶ Bruce Stokes, Richard Wike and Jill Carle, Per Research Center Global Attitudes & Trends 2005 [http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/11/05/global-concern-about-climate-change-broad-support-for-limiting-emissions/], March 2016.

Figure 1

Latin America, Africa More Concerned about Climate Change Compared with Other Regions

Regional medians



Note: Russia and Ukraine not included in Europe median. Asia-Pacific median includes China. Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey, Q32, Q41 & Q42.

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Only 18% of Chinese citizens are gravely concerned about the issue, a drop of 23 points since 2010, describes the US Pew Research Center report⁷ (see Figure 2). The co-author of the report said there was "frankly, no explanation" for the drop, but suggested as a possible reason that "there must not be an as much public discussion about climate change in China as there are in other parts of the world".

⁷ Emma Howard, Climate change concerns Chinese citizens' plummets, The Guardian, 2015, [https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/nov/05/climate-change-concerns-chinese-citizens-plummets], March 2016.

Figure 2

Some Publics Are Less Intensely Concerned than Five Years Ago

Global climate change is a very serious problem

	2010	2015	Change	
	%	%		
Turkey	74	37	-37	
China	41	18	-23	
South Korea	68	48	-20	
Japan	58	45	-13	
Poland	31	19	-12	
Russia	43	33	-10	
Argentina	66	59	-7	
Indonesia	47	41	-6	
Pakistan	22	29	+7	
U.S.	37	45	+8	
France	46	56	+10	
Nigeria	43	61	+18	
Note: Only statistically significant differences are shown.				

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q32.

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The present paper will cover the most important points that were missing in most of the research works. The media coverage regarding climate change, public opinion and the end relation between these two actors. Furthermore, the present research will display the factor that countries such as China and Romania with time dissolved their concern in the topic.

Romania

The analysis of the literature showed that the media usually give space to the major economies of the world, ignoring countries such as Romania, where the European Union shadows the individual role of European countries.

At a global level, the European Union has been at the same time praised and criticized concerning climate change. On the one hand, the Europe has been called "the leader" in the fight against the climate change issues, thanks to the investment in renewables or new efficient technologies. On the other hand, the European Union has been criticized because of the unused potential that owns. The bureaucracy and lack of commitment of some country members regarding the EU policies oppress this potential.

In 2008, the European Union approved a legislative package on energy and climate to implement its list of objectives for 2020. The goals described in this package regards the building of a sustainable future through reducing power consumption, greater energy efficiency, and renewable sources⁸. To be informed and test the Europeans opinion and reaction on this issue, the EU is using the "Eurobarometer survey".

In 2009, this Eurobarometer was utilized in the 27 European countries to test the most serious problems facing the world. The top three results obtained in this survey are, poverty with 66%, economic crisis with 52% and climate change with 50%. In addition, there is a decline in the priority of European opinion on climate change as the top most-grave problems (75% in spring 2008 to 67% in February 2009). In the report was shown that only 52% of all 27 countries are considered well informed regarding this issue, where Romania is on the category of the lowest informed citizen stage on climate change issue.

In 2015 after five years, the Climate change issue was perceived to be the fourth most severe problem facing the world after poverty (30%), international terrorism (19%) and the economic situation (16%, a decrease of 8 percentage points from 2013 and 20 percentage points less from 2009). While on the global stage is a considerable decline on this aspect, at a national level there is slight ascending change on the interest about the climate issue (Romania 74%, +11pp)⁹.

⁸ Infrastructures for a suitable world, 2010,

[[]http://www.abeinsa.com/web/en/noticias_y_publicaciones/noticias/historico_noticias/2010/250320100_noticia.html], March 2016.

⁹ Special EUROBAROMETER 300 Europeans' attitudes towards climate change, 2008, European Commission.



Figure 3. Special Eurobarometer 300 - Europeans' attitudes towards climate change

Methodology

In this content, the author will analyze the newspaper articles about climate change and global warming which appeared during the year 2016 and January to March 2017. The papers taken into consideration are the Renmin Ribao newspaper (People's Daily) and Romanian newspaper Adevărul. The choice of these two newspapers was made according to the following main reasons: the power of each newspaper of agenda setting for the public, and because are preferred by politicians and other decision-makers. Authors such as Maxwell T. Boykoff and Tom Yulsma¹⁰ found difficult to give weight to the power that the lack of "media vigor" has on reporting about climate change, but consider important to have a constant attention on the ongoing climate change coverage in the most influential newspapers around the globe. As the Figure 4 shows that issues such as health, medicine, business, crime, and government are present in the agenda setting of the media rather than climate change, which can be translated into deliberate media negligence.

¹⁰ Maxwell T. Boykoff and Tom Yulsman, "Political economy, media, and climate change: sinews of modern life" in WIREs Climate Change, 2013.

Therefore, the present research is trying not only to see the status of the climate change covered by the media but also attempts to see the impact coefficient that this communication tool has on the population.





Administration

The questionnaire is the primary resources to obtain data from the public about their opinion regarding climate change and media display of this issue.

Following the parameters created by the researcher, it is easier to have a deep understanding and reasonable result. The respondents will have to answer by choosing one of maximum five options. In the questionnaire, there are none of the following options "I don't know", "Neutral", or "Maybe" to obtain an exact answer. The questionnaire is completely anonymous, and the researcher will limit itself only at the distribution of the survey through social media such as WeChat (for Chinese public) and WhatsApp (for Romanian public) without any other implication in order not to influence the answers of the interviewee. In the questionnaire participated 56 people. The demography of the survey

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p.8

results showed that the Chinese participants are divided between Beijing and Hubei. Meanwhile, the 9% of the Romanian participants were present on the Chinese territory at the moment of the compilation of the questionnaire.

Figure 5. Research Framework



The primary data collected from the sample population through interview schedule was analyzed with the help of statistical tools such as percentage, average, ratios, and weighted averages to make projections and to draw meaningful conclusions and further substantiated through statistical tests. The questionnaire was created thanks to the "sojump.com" Chinese program.

Results

1. Media

Media plays a major role in the present research. To answer the main research question: how does the media deal with the environmental communication?, the author of this paper focused on analyzing the articles present in the both Chinese and Romanian leading newspapers. In the analysis, the author took into account the following items: how many articles related to, climate change, pollution, global warming, etc. are present during the one-year period (from 1st January 2016 to 1st January 2017). Also, has been taken into consideration the length of the articles and on which page the items were present in the two newspapers.

1.1. Chinese Media: Renmin Ribao (People's Daily)

The view of Chinese Media regarding the environmental news oscillate day by day regarding the space given to this kind of news, and it can be considered vague about the content.

The research of the articles in the newspaper was divided according to the following keywords: climate change (何政化), environmental pollution (珍镜染), CO2 emission (二氧酰肽), energy consumption (能聘责), and climate warming (何政援).

For the keyword, "climate change" (气致比), were found 612 articles during the one-year period. Most of the articles are present in the last four pages out of 12 or 16 total pages of the newspaper. Periodically the press gives space to the section "Eco weekly", which consist of one page of news regarding climate change, pollution, etc. Nevertheless, the subdivision is called "weekly"; it is not present every week. In fact, the research shows that during the year 2016 this rubric was present only eight days in the entire year.

The reason behind is that the rubric entitled "important news" (\mathbf{F}) are given the priority on the environmental news. The People's Daily agenda is divided as follow: important news, which covers the first 4 to 5 pages; holiday life, sports, advertising, eco news, international news, supplement news. Non-matter the international news usually are placed after the eco news, does not mean that Chinese media considers more important the Eco news than news for outside China. Therefore, international news are having almost the same value as the environmental news.

For the keyword "environmental pollution" (环境染), have been found 431 articles during the year 2016. For the term "CO2 emission" (二氧成故), have been found 61 articles, while for energy consumption (能荣) were found 425 articles and the climate warming (气暖暖) item was present in 50 articles.

During the research, it has been encountered some relevant facts that is necessary to be mentioned. All the keywords are strictly related; therefore, most of the article that contains the keyword CO2 emission are present in the results of the articles, which include the item "environmental pollution". Consequently the number of the articles it reduced from 1579 to 837 articles. Another important fact is the placement of the news in the

newspaper. Even though the majority are placed in the last pages of the news, it has been found that are articles which place is, in the beginning, five pages under the rubric "important news". These articles are under the category of the key word "climate change". The presence of these articles in the first five pages is because the topic covered regards outside China news and describes problems of other countries, for example:

- "Bolivia suffered a severe water crisis" (2016/12/06 in the 22nd edition),
- "The United States reported in 2015 a record number of weather records" (2016/08/04, in the 22nd edition),
- "Will the sea level rise? (Focus green)" (2016/05/07, in the 10th edition),
- "The Paris Agreement, from commitment to action (an international perspective)" (2016/11/08 in the 8th edition).

On the other hand, the news are describing general futuristic ideas that contribute to stop the climate change.

- "Green building is also called urban blue sky" (2016/12/26 in the 23rd edition),
- "Build a green low-carbon global energy management pattern (G20 re-starting to build innovation, vitality, linkage, inclusive world economy)" (2016/09/30, in the 3rd edition),
- "Towards a New Era of Ecological Civilization: Green Development" (2016/07/12, in the 14th edition),
- ""Green together" is also a disaster prevention (ecological theory)" (2016/07/09, in the 9th edition).

Therefore, the Chinese climate change articles can be divided into three parts: international climate change, general news on climate change and national climate change situation (see Figure 6). Where out of 837 articles speaking of climate change more than 50% is given space to the first two categories: foreign situation and general news.



Figure 6. Division of climate change news in China

The author considered that it is necessary to analyze the context of some articles presented during the year of 2016; to have a better understanding of what kind of picture does the Chinese media display about the climate change to the Chinese public opinion. In an article published on 9th January 2016, entitled "Where does the haze come from? (Green focus)", it could be possible to see that the article has not given a clear and accurate answer: "Experts say the haze causes are multifarious, but the source is clear. Zhang Rongshun, deputy director of the National People's Congress Law Committee, held a symposium on the implementation of the Air Pollution Control Law at the end of 2015. He presented five chapters under the law of "Coal and Other Energy Pollution Prevention and Control": "Industrial pollution prevention and control", "motor vehicle pollution prevention and control", "dust pollution prevention and control" and "agriculture and other pollution control", from these targeted measures, in fact, it can be understood the source of the haze.

Thus, as it has been translated from the article, it is possible to determine that the Chinese media information is not clear. It can be difficult for the most of the public opinion (especially those who have a limited education) to understand the content of the articles.

1.2 Romanian Media: Adevărul

For the Romanian media has been done the same type of research as has been used for the Chinese media. The same words such as climate change (schimbare climatică), pollution (poluare), CO2 emission (emisii de CO2), energy consumption (consum de energie), and climate warming, (incălzire climatică), and global warming (incalzire globală) were used.

In the year, 2016 has been presented five articles regarding the "climate change":

- Trump's team asks the name of the Department of Energy employees who have worked on climate projects (2016/12/11)
- Almost 200 nations reaffirmed their support for the Paris climate agreement after Donald Trump's victory (2016/11/18)
- Global warming beats new records. April, the seventh consecutive month declared the warmest in history (2016/05/16)
- Scientists: Melting polar ice is changing the way the Earth rotates around its axis
- January 2016, the warmest January month in history (2016/04/11)

The news are present at the section "tech-science", section that includes news regarding also technology (apps, internet etc.)

For the keyword, "pollution" were found 131 articles, for the "CO2 emissions" were found three articles, climate warming 4 articles, and global warming 24 articles.

The most relevant articles from which can be understood the way Romanian media communicate the environmental news are those from the section "pollution" which all of the other key words searched were included in this section. Therefore, the author analyzed the 131 articles from the section "pollution", to have a better understanding of the Romanian media ways of communication. The newspaper's agenda is divided as follow: news/event, economy, international, education, techscience, lifestyle, health, culture, entertainment.

- China blames grills for pollution: authorities have taken extreme measures to reduce pungent and dense smog (2016/12/05)
- Red Code of pollution in Beijing (2016/12/15)
- A mountain of toxic "ghost" poison poisoned the city of Galati. How the authorities try to hide the disaster (2016/12/01)
- Cosmopolis and Rudeni-Chiajna: How Ilfov has turned into an outbreak of infection (2016/11/02)
- The solution of Vaslui authorities for the pestilential smell that pollutes the city: "The cold will dilute the smell" (2016/09/16)
- REPORT 92% of the world's population breathes too polluted air. Romania recorded 14,500 deaths due to fine air pollution in 2012 (2016/09/27)
- How polluted is the air in the Capital and what problems have arisen from this cause (20/09/2016)
- Chinese authorities have closed 700 factories do not pollute the air to G20 leaders (2016/08/25)
- Poisoning from the land of Romania: where do we get money to clean up the toxic soils (2016/02/15)
- Industrial pollution brings people back to protest in Sebeş and Alba Iulia (2016/02/14)

Romanian media difference is represented by the "space". The articles on national climate change are given more space. Despite the fact that the Romanian media presented to the public only 131 articles (706 articles less than Chinese media), it can be considered that these articles present a clear context and explanation. Coming back to the research question "How does the media deal with the environmental communication?" it can be said that media attention remains constant during the year 2016. However, the little alternation is due to the space of other news retained more relevant in the media agenda.

	DIVISION OF CLIMATE CHANGE NE	WS		
80%	70	06		
70%	"A mountain of toxic "ghost" poison			
60%	poisoned the city of Galati . How the	"REPORT 92% of the world's population		
50%	"Global	breathes too polluted air.		
40%	warming beats new	Romania recorded		
30%	records. April, the seventh	14,500 deaths due to fine air		
20%	consecutive month declared the "Trump's team asks the name of	pollution in 2012"		
10%	declared the warmest in the Department of Energy employees who have worked on climate projects"			
0%	INTERNATIONAL and GENERAL news on NATIONAL news of climate change	on climate change		

Figure 7. Division of climate change news in Romania

Public Opinion

The results showed that climate change is an important topic in both countries, China and Romania. In line with the hypothesis, the public opinion not only pays careful attention to the climate change news but also in both situations more than 80% demands more news regarding this topic. The key question is How Chinese and Romanians sees media's coverage on climate change? Nevertheless, to answer to this question was fundamental to find out what the primary source of information is? However, was surprising to see from the results that newspapers (online and not), are not the top sources of information for the public regarding the studied topic. The results showed that Chinese and Romanian public opinion relay on the "internet" source to get the environmental news followed by social media and TV (see Figures 8 and 9).



Figure 8. China's public opinion source of information

Figure 9. Romanian's public opinion source of information



Although the idea that the press coverage is influencing the public opinion and the last one is nothing else than the mirror of the media coverage, the questionnaire distributed among Chinese and Romanian public showed an unexpected result. Nevertheless, in both study cases, the public showed understanding regarding this idiom "climate change" (see Figure 10) and expressed an undivided interest in this topic (see Figure 11).



Figure 10. Do you know what is climate change?

Figure 11. Are you interested in climate change?



The coverage of this topic that media is given is not considered satisfactory either the Chinese public either from the Romanian public. More than 75% admitted that the information on climate change is too less (see Figure 12).





The rate that the public opinion gives to the quality of information received on climate change is worthy from both sides of the public (see Figure 13).

Figure 13. From 1 to 5 how you rate the information about climate change that you receive from the media (1 = Very poor, 5 = Excellent)



As was hypothesized, the public opinion would like to receive more information regarding this topic. At the question "Would you like to receive more information on climate change?", there were present same results for both countries (see Figure 14).

Figure 14. Would you like to receive more information regarding climate change?



The results of the newspaper's analysis and questionnaire analysis let to the following summary of the relationship between media reporting climate change and public opinion in China and Romania (see figure 15). It is possible to see that the coverage of the news regarding the "climate change" in both cases is "filtrated". In the Chinese, case the filters or gatekeepers are between Government and Media and Media and news. The Chinese government plays the significant role in the release of the news; therefore, there is major influence from the government on the news than from the Chief Editor of the news.



Figure 15. China's relation between Government, Media and Public Opinion

In the Romanian case, the filtration of the news comes to the level of Chief Editor. In a democratic society like Romania, the media should have the power to bargain and to threaten with the exposure of the real news to the citizens¹². To have this power, the press should be economically stable. In fact, the major factor that generates gatekeepers is the economical aspect. Nowadays, Romanians newspapers selling is not covering even the print expenses. Therefore, the press in Romania survives thanks to the sponsorship. This condition makes possible that the environmental news can suffer censorship because of the involvement of the chief editor in corruption cases (industries are corrupting the media to keep the public away from the real situation).

¹² Matthew Gentzkow, Edward L. Glaeser, Claudia Goldin, *Corruption and Reform: Lessons from America's Economic History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006, pp. 187-230.

Figure 16. Romanian's relation between Government, Media and Public Opinion



Conclusion

The study provides comparable data on the media attention for climate change during the one-year period (2016), in China and Romania.

The author has argued that there is a significant need for the media to give space and importance to the environmental communication, and to regard carefully the way in which the process of communication takes place. The two countries that have been taken in consideration for this research presents major important common points. Non-matter the different culture, position, political regime, and environmental situation, both public opinions (Chinese and Romanian) had same demands. The Chinese side offers a large consideration to the climate change type of articles more than Romanian side. However, the space given to this kind of news oscillate day by day because of the agenda setting. In addition, it is important to underline that the articles way of writing is quite complicated and unclear. The one common reason to the limited space, unclear explanation and the preference of internet and social media more than newspapers from the Chinese public opinion is the Publicity Department of Communist Party of China (CCPPD). Even though the CCPPD is considered to not make part of the Government of the Peoples Republic of China, definitely enforce the media censorship in China. It seems that the audience prefers more internet and social media because of the "trust" feeling towards these two tools of the new media rather than the old media. According to the Chinese public opinion, the Government has a bigger control on the old media.

The Romanian situation is different from the point of view of "importance" and "length" that media gives to the climate change news. The numbers of articles found are considerably less than the Chinese reports. An advantage that goes to the Romanian side is the focus on the specific news and the clarity with which are written.

It can be concluded that to have an informed and active public, it is necessary for the press to make use of the new media to give more space and to enforce the credibility in the news.

Based on the conclusions mentioned above, the media is responsible to put forward the following suggestions:

(1) The media should change the priorities on the agenda setting. From the data collected from the newspaper articles was possible to see that "environmental news" are not a priority on the media's agenda. It should not be forgotten the "agenda setting theory" which underline the fact that the press will not decide what to think, but what to think about certain events.

(2) It is necessary for the old media to pass to the new media and become as active as possible on the two largest channels such as the internet and social media. To gain the audience and therefore more attention, it is necessary to follow the "trend". As has been seen from the survey, the public opinion prefers new media as a tool of information. It is to take in consideration the Marshall McLuhan thought: "when new forms emerge, we see them through the lens of existing forms. In this case, the new form has been around long enough that we are seeing the old form through the eyes of the new"¹³.

¹³ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, London and New York, 1964.

(3) As Debashis "Deb" Aikat argued in his paper¹⁴, the mass media is one of the most active life support systems with the largest distribution and impact in the future at a global level. Therefore, the media is an advantage in the long way course. The powerful tool of the media, especially old media is the "storytelling". Media should use this strategic tool to send a strong and right message to a broad public.

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¹⁴ Debashis "Deb" Aikat, "Traditional and Modern Media" in Journalism and Mass Communication.

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