

Silence-Violence Cycle: Perception Expression Model of Minority Community

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Abstract

This is a commentary article on study of spiral of silence and spiral of violence, two theoretical concepts in mass communication genre, especially in minority community's perception expression pattern. This study explores the rise of the spiral of violence trend in the underrepresented and historically silent community. It is clear that fear of isolation of minority community force them to remain almost silent (even in existing press) and such behavior compels them to express their voices through series of protest after certain time frame (period), and it comes with spiral of violence form. It may go again in silence and the cycle (silence-violence) continues.

Keywords: Silence-Violence cycle; Spiraling effects; Minority's perception

Introduction

The spiral of silence is a mass communication theory introduced by Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann (1974) to describe the process of public opinion formation. Noelle-Neumann defines the "spiral of silence" as the process an individual experiences when "he may find that the views he holds are losing ground; the more this appears to be so, the more uncertain he will become of himself, and the less he will be inclined to express his opinion". The lack of self-certainty that the author speaks of is fueled by how an individual perceives his social environment. Noelle-Neumann calls this the "quasi-statistical picture of the distribution of opinions. Noelle-Neumann goes on to say that the individual who has the opposing opinion will eventually experience feelings of isolation or a danger of isolation if their views are publicly or openly expressed, they risk being isolated from the majority [1].

The spiral of violence is a mass communication theory introduced by myself in 2013 to describe the perception pattern of Tibetan refugee. I've made conclusion that the "spiral of violence" as: fear of isolation of minority community force them to remain almost silent (even in existing press) and such behavior compels them to express their voices through series of protest after certain time frame (period), and it comes with spiral of violence form; which affects: media, society and the minority community themselves [2].

Commentary

The research focused on four issues (a) before 1990's news coverage of Tibetan refugee (b) after 1990's news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press (c) 1990's democracy effects on News coverage and (d) aggression expression pattern of Tibetan refugee, where the spiral of violence has been tested and observed. Based on the conceptual framework and its purpose, the following analysis pattern was adopted by that study: what Tibetans do speak in Nepalese press? If not, why? What reasons behind it? Is it spiraling of silence? Is there any factor for such spiral of silence? If yes what it is? Is spiral of silence the end? Or there is something more after? If there is more than what it will be? Why minority like Tibetans express their expression violently? Where does it affect after all? Is there any model which represents all this phenomena?

Subject Selection

The focus of the study was to test spiral of silence Theory regarding

Tibetan refugee living now in Nepal, as they are minority community. Due to fear of isolation Tibetan refugee in Nepal do not speak even in press; whether the condition is favorable or unfavorable to them. Even in full democracy they are being afraid to speak in press and express their opinion freely. Such behavior of Tibetan refugee creates/produces a mass silent of minority community Tibetan in Nepal. And further it pinches them within self-day by day. The struggle happens within for not expressing the thoughts, opinions and feelings as perception compels them in situation of mass anger after certain time frame; which releases as a anger after certain time, even though demonstrations, which may go violent some time. Such phenomena creates spiral of Violence in a long time frame which effects society, media and Tibetan community themselves on various aspects [3].

Why Tibetans are silent in press? After different evidence and tests, the answer was: it is spirals of silence. My question there again was-"it is the end? Is it final? Is there nothing after spirals of silence? Is there any side effect that a spiral of silence does have?" Nobody ever has searched on this direction, even the past scholars who'd involved in spirals of silence test and moreover media effects on minority's perspective [4].

Silence to Violence

I've linked some theory for the shift from spiral of silence to spiral of violence by following way:

In terms of psychological analogies we could justify the stress with the reference of frustration and conflict which are "unresolved" inside the mind. We must look at Tibetans with their stressful state of mind which resulted different modes of conflict either in the form of resistance or with the desire of revolution. It was lead with the sense of frustration. Frustration is the behavioral aspect that causes "aggression and repetitive" behavior among other behavioral consequences. It is not only

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Received July 08, 2014; **Accepted** December 01, 2014; **Published** January 01, 2015

Citation: Aryal A (2015) Silence-Violence Cycle: Perception Expression Model of Minority Community. J Mass Communicat Journalism 5: 235. doi:10.4172/2165-7912.1000235

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the psychic factor but also resulted from the social needs. It is explained that "frustration is displaced elsewhere, usually to some less threatening object or to oneself, when it is impossible or dangerous to direct the aggression toward the frustrating event"¹⁴. Here we need to notice that aggression is resulted in the mode of displacing the threatening and frustrating event. When we discuss about Tibetans aggressive behavior, we could identify their frustration on the context of social values as well. So, we could refer psychological factor to the modes of repetitive and aggressive movements that Tibetans made in their places as their convenience.

But, the question arises about the factor of silenced nature of those people who didn't come across public provocation, but protested with aggressive and repeated protests. In this case we should understand the fact that voice is a great tool for psychoanalysis which deals the facts of unconscious mind. The factors related to voice are "manifestations of unconscious conflicts and tensions which it was the purpose of psychoanalysis to release." (Alice Lagaay, 54). Similarly, Lacan presents voice as "*objets a*". It is essential to observe the categories made by Lacan as "needs ("*besoins*")", wishes ("*demandes*") and desire ("*désir*")" which refer different aspects of psychoanalysis such as "physical nature," "symbolic realm of language" and the most "enigmatic" aspect of behavior respectively. Alice Lagaay explains that "according to Lacan's theory, voice belongs to the realm of desire, [...] the voice is actually devoid of phonic substance" (59). It means that the silenced behavior consists the voices of the unconscious mind which is 'enigmatic' part of human behaviors. So, silence does not mean the total wordlessness. Silence has bigger and serious realm of expression that they kept inside all the time [5].

Analyzing such different behavioral factors, we could confirm that the human beings have meaningful approach of relating the events and experiences. In this case, Freud has declared that "nervous symptoms arise from a conflict between two forces-on the one hand, the libido (which has as a rule become excessive), and on the other, a rejection of sexuality, or a repression which is over-severe" (353). Amidst these two forces human behavior is regulated. Whereas in the case of repression, the pattern of repression becomes more serious as it grows with a strong personality type. In this pattern 'mental events' are regulated with 'pleasure principle'. It is believed that different tension gets higher with the repressed psychic event which is an un-pleasurable tension. Freud claims that "it takes a direction such that its final outcome coincides with a lowering of that tension-that is, with an avoidance of un-pleasure or a production of pleasure" (595). Here we find the pleasure principle is succeeded with reality principle which brings the mode of un-pleasurable experiences. So, the mode of repeated violent activities of Tibetans could be analyzed in the form of reality principle which is the outcast of pleasure principle i.e. intensity with their real need of nation. The outburst is not only the factor of social provocation but the need of the individual's psychic reality [6].

We need to remember that they always remain silent as they could not expressed their voices openly which is more complex like the pleasure sense of their unconscious mind. Now, they move in mass to keep it safe and less critical as it could not be internalized. It Tibetans are forced to maintain their anxiety as the different defense mechanisms have controlled their presence. In such context their behavioral patterns are related to anxiety too [7].

More-over, we could focus upon the anxiety level of Tibetans which has given them a silenced manner of reactions. It begins with their state of unconscious mind where the painful and guilty sensation of feelings is repressed. Lois Tyson has described that the unconscious gives the

repressed feeling a "force by making them the organizers of our current experience: we unconsciously behave in ways that will allow us to 'play out,' without admitting it to ourselves". It creates a fear within and makes us behave differently. Lois Tyson presents such fear as:

[F]ear of intimacy—fear of emotional involvement with another human being—is often an effective defense against learning about our own psychological wounds because it keeps us at an emotional distance in relationships most likely to bring those wounds to the surface: relationships with lovers, spouses, offspring, and best friends. By not permitting ourselves to get too close to significant others, we "protect" ourselves from the painful past experiences that intimate relationships inevitably dredge up.

Here we find psychological factor of fear that keeps human being distanced as it bears that the person could not get too close as it could be harmful to him and the social consequences as well. In this sense the defense mechanism functions which keeps them safe in the mode of relational matter. But the situation gets break that we could not resist the painful feelings which outbreaks. Lois Tyson calls it the state of anxiety and explains as, "sometimes our defenses momentarily break down, and this is when we experience anxiety. Anxiety can be an important experience because it can reveal our core issue". So, the case of violent episodes of Tibetans is the mode of anxiety which expresses their fear of intimacy and fear of abandonment both. They want to keep themselves here as their need is to secure their mother land. The violent episode is followed with their silence responses as a way to express their needs to remain here. Besides, as it has been discussed about the psychological framing of violent behavior of Tibetans, we should not avoid the concept of violence which is expressed as:

There are at least two ways to become the dupes of violence that should be of paramount concern. First, there is the tendency to expect too much from violence, to look to violence either to express a decisiveness of purpose, or to provide a proof of authenticity that violence cannot in fact sustain. [...]. Second, there is a tendency to come to expect too little from violence, to believe that violence will simply wither away, due either to the weight of our moral vigilance or the effectiveness of the political, legal, social, or ethical instruments that we employ in the hope of avoiding the destruction of war.

In this concept of violence, we could trace the psychological behavior of Tibetans' way of relating the abrupt behavioral consequences of revolution.

To sum up psychoanalytical framing for the silenced but revolutionary behavioral factors, we need to notice the essence of voices in silence. There is the outburst of anxiety, the shadow images of pleasure principle and a different mode of violence. The following part of survey analysis that I'd made in my research supports the claim:

On my study: in an opinion-'Some expert says that when a person suppress their feelings and wish they suffer a lot. When a person suppress their opinion and remain silent also suffer a lot. What would you think?' 43% Tibetan refugee said they are strongly agreed on it. Another 43 % refugee are agreed on it and rest of the 14% said they don't know about it [8].

There are 43% Tibetan refugee who strongly agreed on suppression of expression within self makes them angry day by day. It increases the degree of anger within self, they feel so. Another 29% agreed on it. 14% said they are disagree, suppressions doesn't make them angry. And rests of 14% don't know about it.

Tibetan refugees who strongly agree on expressing opinion only in

favorable time are 29%. There are 57% who said they agree on it. And rest of the 14% neither agreed nor disagreed.

My research revealed that: after remaining certain period as in silent mood, they'd gradually start to speak and that is not in press but with collectively in open society. This has been being heavily covered by Nepalese press time and again in their news and views genre. Some of the major collectively expressed evidence found from content analysis in between pre and post restoration of democracy of 1990 was outlined like this:

Self-immolation or protest is very important for Tibetan refugee. They want to do it. 72% refugee says it's important for them to conduct it. And 14% says it is not at all important. Moreover rest of the 14% doesn't know about it. There are 71% Tibetan refugee they are disagreed on an opinion 'it is better that community with less population should never speak in press that is functioning in majority's community'. It means Tibetan refugee eagerly want to take part in media to raise their voice and to give some opinion through it. Rest of the 29 % said doesn't know about it [9].

Another issue with 100% rate is in Free Tibet movement in Nepal that Tibetan refugees want to run here with full wish.

After such amazing result I've raised some major questions in my research: now again what is it? Is spiral of silence not the end? Or what, is it the beginning? Yes, the evidence says it is the beginning not the end. Imposed wish by self-compelled them to express their individual perception collectively after certain time frame, usually when they felt safe for the opinion climate. Most on those periods Nepal seems to near on serious internal affairs (crisis) like this:

Study further revealed: there are 71% Tibetan refugee who said they took part in protest with 'Yes' answer. Rest of the 29% said 'No'. It means majority Tibetan community take part in any kind of protest that they organize for freedom and free Tibet. During survey most of the protest participant said they mostly take part on those protest of: March 10, Tibetan Uprising Day, Most of the time- India, Kathmandu; Beijing Olympic Protest for Human Rights of Tibetan refugee, 2008, Kathmandu Peace March, End of August, 2008, Kathmandu; Free Tibet (Political Protest), March 10 and December 10, Pokhara, Kathmandu; Candle Light Vigil, February 13, 2013, Jawalakhel etc.

On situation of above 4% Tibetan refugee agreed in try to gather groups from Tibetan community to tackle against unjust and to raise voice as opinion. 29% Tibetan refugee disagreed in it and rest of the 28% has nothing to do with it.

In case of indifference, torture and humiliations towards the pathetic condition and the voice wouldn't have listened by concerned body long time Tibetan refugee staying now in Nepal reacted by saying 'we try to make institutional move against it' agreed 86%. Rest of the 14% disagreed on it. They are against institutional move. But they are very few [10].

In case of indifference, torture and humiliations towards the pathetic condition and the voice wouldn't have listened by concerned body long time Tibetan refugee staying now in Nepal reacted on such condition 57% said they speak in group together against it through protest. There are 29% they have nothing to do with speaking in group, they are neither agreed nor disagreed. Rest of the 14% doesn't know about the matter.

There are 100% Tibetan refugee agreed on while taking part in

protest for justice and human right they want to participate with whole community.

Creating Measure

Two methods such as survey with questionnaires and content analysis were used in that research. The respondents were Tibetan refugee (n=700). Analyzed contents were news and views published in newspapers (n=779). Total 778 questionnaires had been distributed on selected refugee camps of Kathmandu on January, February, March and April 2013. A total of 700 samples were randomly collected from three refugee camps namely, *Jawalakhel*, *Boudha*, and *Swyambhu* representing the entire refugee for their aggression expression pattern analysis.

I've tested hypotheses through a content analysis and survey conducted in 2012-2013. The study was based on quantitative methods, but it also applied qualitative methods to cross check the findings received from the quantitative methods. Thus the study helped in expanding the current body of knowledge on refugee study, media study, human rights study, international relation study, political study etc.

Model

Due to fear of isolation minority community do not speak even in press; whether the condition is favorable or unfavorable to them. Even in full democracy they are being afraid to speak in press and express their opinion freely. Such behavior creates/produces a mass silent of minority community. And further it pinches them within self-day by day. The struggle happens within for not expressing the thoughts, opinions and feelings as perception compels them in situation of mass anger after certain time frame; which releases as a violence after certain time, through heavy demonstrations, which may go violent some time. Such phenomena creates spiral of Violence in a long time frame which effects society, media and minority community themselves on various aspects [11].

If we look previous data (Tables 1-3) in critical manner then it makes us clear that spiraling of 'silence' and 'violence' are two patterns of Tibetan refugee to express themselves with society. One comes after another and it happens with certain time frame. One develops up to climax and the falling begins in another form. Silence to violence and again violence to silence. Here is an account where situation was almost in violent climax:

S. No.	Year	Collective Perception
1.	1959 AD	Tibet Uprising and plight for Exile
2.	1974 AD	Khampa war, Mustang
3.	1989 AD	Tibet Uprising-II and Celebration of Nobel Peace Prize
4.	2004 AD	Free Tibet Movement and Protest in Kathmandu began
5.	2008 AD	Beijing Olympic and Tibet Uprising(Free Tibet)
6.	2012 AD	Self-Immolations (Apx. 200)

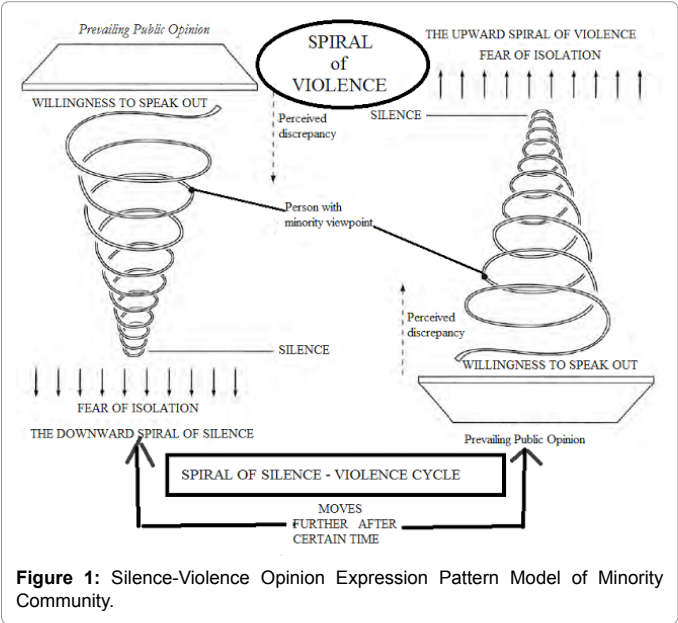
Table 1: Collectively Expressed Aggression by Tibetan Refugee.

S. No.	Year	Internal crisis
1.	1959 AD	King Mahendra vs. political parties for <i>Panchayat</i>
2.	1974 AD	King vs. political Parties for Referendum
3.	1989 AD	King Birendra vs. political parties for restoration of democracy
4.	2004 AD	King Gynendra vs. political parties for Republic
5.	2008 AD	CA Election and new constitution
6.	2012 AD	Failure of CA & with impunity

Table 2: Aggression by Tibetan Refugee, Linkage with Internal Crisis of Nepal.

S. No.	Year	Climax of Violence
1.	1959 AD	Tibet Uprising and plight for Exile
2.	1974 AD	Khampa war, Mustang
3.	1989 AD	Tibet Uprising-II and Celebration of Nobel Peace Prize
4.	2004 AD	Free Tibet Movement and Protest in Kathmandu began
5.	2008 AD	Beijing Olympic and Tibet Uprising(Free Tibet)
6.	2012 AD	Self-Immolations (Apx. 200+)

Table 3: Violence Opinion Expression Pattern of Tibetan Refugee.



Trend study proves after 1959 AD's Tibet uprising, situation begin cool down. Near of 1965 AD it was almost silent. Again situation started to heat upward and near of 1974 AD it took its climax with heavy violence and the result was- 'Khampa war, Mustang'. Again it cooled down during 1980 AD. After it again raised up and took the hit peak in 1989 with result-Tibet Uprising-II and Celebration of Nobel Peace Prize by leader Dalai Lama. Slowly it downed with restoration of democracy in Nepal up to 1999 AD. After it again raised and took it height of violence in 2004 AD with result- Free Tibet Movement & Protest in Kathmandu began. In this way after silence-violence cycle after near of 50 year's plight from Tibet they came with dangerous violent mode in 2008 AD with result- Beijing Olympic and Tibet Uprising (Free Tibet) and in 2012- Self-Immolations (Apx. 200+). Now they've started to lit fire on themselves worldwide.

This was a longitudinal study of a single minority-the Tibetan refugee. I'd analyzed a trend of Tibetans violence and silence pattern here. It was of before restoration of 1990 and after restoration of 1990 in reference to News coverage by Nepalese press. And finally a model of silence-violence effects in a cyclic order model is shown in Figure 1.

Conclusion

Fear of isolation of minority community [12]. Force them to remain almost silent (even in existing press) and such behavior compels them to express their voices through series of protest after certain time frame (period), and it comes with spiral of violence form. It goes again in silence and the cycle continues. I recommend a lot research in this direction.

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