

Theorizing Spiral of Violence: Death of Spiral of Silence Theory

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Abstract

This is comparative 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 challenging the traditional public opinion theory of the spiral of silence. Through interpretative technique comparison has been structured with result: the rise of spiral of violence theory is the ultimate death of spiral of silence.

Keywords: Spiral of violence; Spiral of silence; Theory

Spiral of Silence

The spiral of silence is a mass communication theory introduced by Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann [1] 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 (Pg.13)". 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 [2].

Noelle-Neumann developed five hypotheses on which to test the spiral of silence theory. The hypotheses were formulated based on prominent theories and core concepts of public opinion. The first hypothesis posits that individuals form a picture of the distribution of opinion in their social environment and of the trend of opinion. They observe which views are gaining strength and which are declining. Here, the author states that the individual pays close attention to what is happening in his social environment because it helps to determine how far [he] expects to expose himself publicly on a particular subject. The second hypothesis posits that willingness to expose one's views publicly varies according to the individual's assessment of the frequency distribution and the trend of opinions in his social environment. It is greater if he believes his own view is, and will be the dominating one or is becoming widespread. If the individual sees that his opinion is favored in the public, he will be more willing to express it. The third hypothesis posits that if the individual's assessment of the current distribution and the actual distribution are not congruent, it is because the opinion whose strength is overestimated is displayed more in public. The fourth hypothesis posits that in terms of assessment of public opinion, there is a positive correlation between the present and the future. If an opinion is [presently] considered to be the prevailing one, it is likely to be considered the future one also. The weaker the correlation, the more public opinion is going through a process of change. The final hypothesis posits that if an individual thinks that the trend of opinion is moving his way, the risk of isolation is of little significance [2].

Noelle-Neumann tested these hypotheses through a number of surveys conducted in the early 1970s. A key finding from her research was that when faced with public opinion, a small core group of silent

minorities were less likely to conform in any way. What they were willing to do was support their opinions by selecting persons and media that confirm their views. In this way, this group was more comfortable seeking out ways and support methods for comfortably expressing their views and opinions rather than pretending to accept prevailing views that were counter to their own [2].

Noelle-Neumann's study points out the assumption that the mass media does influence public opinion, but is not clear about the kind of relationship that exists between the two. The author draws attention to the link between the observations that an individual makes of his social environment and his own convictions. She calls the interaction between the two a principal feature of the process of public opinion formation. She opines that, mass media are a part of the system which the individual uses to gain information about the environment [2]. For all questions outside his immediate personal sphere, he is most dependent on mass media for the facts and for his evaluation of the climate of opinion. Noelle-Neumann introduced the term "quasi-statistical sense" to denote an individual's awareness of their social environment [2].

Noelle-Neumann addresses the question of whether mass media serves with an "agenda-setting function" or from a sense of urgency. She says that there have been "scientific discussions" about whether the media are "the mirror or the molder of public opinion. The author concludes that when it comes to the spiral of silence, mass media provide the environmental pressure to which people respond with alacrity (happiness), or with acquiescence, or with silence [2].

University of Chicago sociologist Mihaly Csikszentmihaly regards Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence as "the most original, comprehensive, and useful" theory of public opinion yet proposed? Despite this praise, he and other scholars raise serious questions about three specific research practices that they consider overly simplistic, or simply wrong [3]:

1. Assuming that fear of isolation is the cause of people's silence.

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Received December 27, 2013; Accepted January 25, 2014; Published February 02, 2014

Citation: Aryal A (2014) Theorizing Spiral of Violence: Death of Spiral of Silence Theory. J Mass Communicat Journalism 4: 175. doi:10.4172/2165-7912.1000175

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Noelle-Neumann bases her spiral of silence on people's fear of isolation, yet her extensive survey work seldom questions whether individuals who remain silent feel it more than those who speak out. This is similar to the practice of Leon Festinger and his followers, who assume that people change their attitudes in order to reduce cognitive dissonance but never check to see if they are actually experiencing that noxious feeling. Noelle-Neumann's reliance on the Asch conformity experiment to prove her point also seems questionable. When participants in that study had just one "true partner" who shared their judgment, they were able to withstand group pressure. Undoubtedly some people tend to remain mute more than others, but that reticence might be due to shyness, disinterest, or a desire not to embarrass a person with an opposing viewpoint [3].

2. Relying on the hypothetical train/plane test to measure willingness to speak out. Although Noelle-Neumann's train/plane test seems to be a clever way to assess people's enthusiasm or reluctance to share their opinions with others, the artificial nature of the question may trigger answers that don't reflect what people do or don't do in typical conversations. Cornell University communication professor Carroll Glynn and two colleagues performed a meta-analysis of 17 studies that correlated people's perception of support for their opinion with their stated willingness to speak out in a train-test type of situation. The minuscule correlation ($r=.05$) gave scant confidence of any meaningful connection. Although the researchers aren't ready to dismiss the theory, they conclude that "future research on the spiral of silence should concentrate on observations of actual willingness to speak out as opposed to hypothetical willingness [3].

3. Focusing on national climate rather than reference group opinion. Noelle-Neumann insists that public opinion is what we perceive to be the judgment of *strangers in an anonymous public*; that's the force that constrains what we say. Critics counter that the apparent mood of the nation exerts less pressure than do the attitudes of family, friends, and other reference groups. For example, consider the ostracizing force that a few devout evangelicals or Roman Catholics in the United States might fear within their church fellowship if they took a public pro-choice stance on abortion. The fact that legalized abortion is the law of the land and that a majority of Americans support *Roe v. Wade* wouldn't temper the threat. A recent study of attitudes toward affirmative action suggests that it's "perceptions of opinion in the 'micro-climate' of one's family and friends that are most closely linked to one's willingness to speak out [3].

Spiral of Violence

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 [4].

The focus of my 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.

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.

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?

The focus of that 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.

The research problems of that study were:

- a. What restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press?
- b. What restoration of Democracy in 1990 is effective to control anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press?
- c. Is there any differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after Democracy of 1990 by Nepalese press?
- d. Is restoration of Democracy in 1990 is useful for Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage?

I've tested hypotheses through a content analysis and survey conducted in 2012-13. 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. There were four general hypotheses (null and alternative each) that had been made before research task, they were:

- Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have no effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ($H_0 = \mu = \text{which is equivalent to test } H_0 = D = 0$).

- Restoration of democracy in 1990 is not effective in controlling the anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press ($H_0 = \mu = \text{which is equivalent to test } H_0 = D = 0$).

- There are no differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 by Nepalese press ($H_0 = \mu = \text{which is equivalent to test } H_0 = D = 0$).

- Restoration of democracy in 1990 is not useful (effective) in case of Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage. ($H_0 = \mu = \text{which is equivalent to test } H_0 = D = 0$).

Is restoration of Democracy in 1990 is useful for Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage? The answer of this question was like this:

On the basis of data available for quotes the expected frequency corresponding to the number time period and types of news quotes would be 14.615. The χ^2 analysis of news with Tibetan refugee quotes table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $\Sigma (O_{ij} - E_{ij}) / E_{ij} = 4.164$. Where 69 news with a TR quote, and 710 news items without a TR quote s with total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is $(c-1)(r-1) = 1$; and the table value of χ^2 for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841. So, the calculated value of χ^2 is much higher then this table value which means that the calculated value cannot be said to have arisen just because of chance. It is significant. Hence, the H_0 hypothesis doesn't support. This means that H_1 : Restoration of democracy in 1990 is useful (effective) in case of Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage ($H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$) has been accepted.

What restoration of Democracy in 1990 is effective to control anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press? The answer of this question was like this:

The χ^2 analysis of One-China and Anti-China table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $\Sigma (O_{ij} - E_{ij}) / E_{ij} = 1.47$. Where 117 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news with total 655 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is $(c-1)(r-1) = 1$; and the table value of χ^2 for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841. So, the calculated value of χ^2 is much lower than this table value and hence the result of the experiment does support the H_0 hypothesis. We can thus conclude and accept H_0 : Restoration of democracy in 1990 is not effective in controlling the anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press ($H_0 = \mu = \text{which is equivalent to test } H_0 = D = 0$).

What restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press? The answer of this question was like this:

Because of the matched pairs we use t-test and work out the test statistic of all categorized data. To find the value of t, first needed to calculate mean and standard deviation after suddenly $D \sim$ has been found = -169.33. Where calculated value of $\sigma_{diff} = 172.46$. And in this context the t-analysis of news coverage of all aspects table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $t = -2.405$ Where total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is

$(n-1) = 6-1 = 5$. As H_1 is one sided, we shall apply a one-tailed test (in the left tailed because H_1 is of less than type) for determining the rejection region at 5% level of significance which covers as under, using table of t-distribution for 5 degrees of freedom $R: t < -2.015$. The observed value of t is -2.405 which falls in the rejection region and thus, we reject H_0 at 5% level and conclude that H_1 : Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ($H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$) has been accepted. We can conduct A-test for same condition again. Since H_1 in the condition is one sided, we shall apply a one-tailed test. Accordingly at 5% level of significance the table of A-statistic $(n-1)$ or $(6-1) = 5$ d.f. in the given case is 0.372. Where the computed value of A from the same data table as used in t-test above $\Sigma D^2 / (D_1)^2 = 0.31$, is less than this table value and as such A-statistic is significant. This means we should reject H_0 (Alternatively we should accept H_1) and should infer that H_1 : Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ($H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$) has been accepted.

Is there any difference in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after Democracy of 1990 by Nepalese press? The answer of this question was like this:

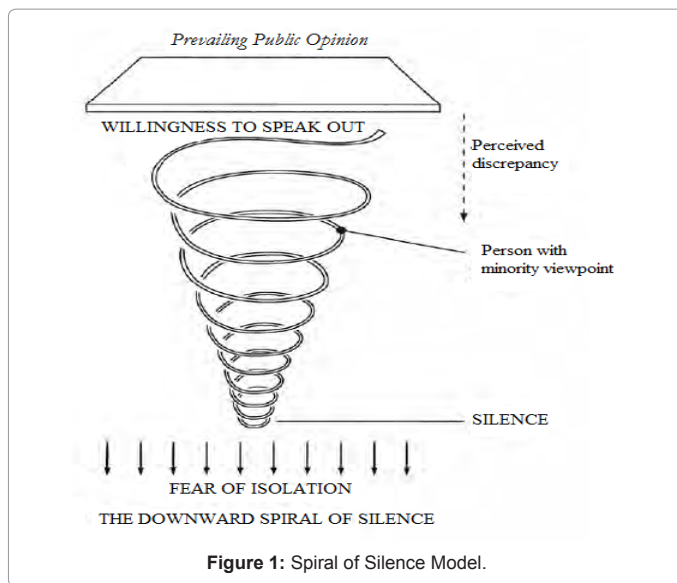
The χ^2 analysis of news tone/frame/angle table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $\Sigma (O_{ij} - E_{ij}) / E_{ij} = 27.61$. Where 406 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news and 124 not specified news with total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is $(c-1)(r-1) = 2$; and the table value for 2 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 5.991. So, the calculated value of χ^2 is much higher then this table value which means that the calculated value cannot be said to have arisen just because of chance. It is significant. Hence, the hypothesis doesn't hold good. This means that the news coverage patterns of Nepalese press between and after restoration of democracy differ and are not similar in volume too. Naturally then news coverage volume of one phase must be higher in quantity and space than that of other. The H_1 : There are differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 by Nepalese press ($H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$) has been accepted.

Research Gap

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. Let's look it: Figure 1.

Scheufele and Patricia Moy [5] wrote an analysis of the spiral of silence spanning 25 years of its existence in public opinion research and discourse. The comprehensive contents of Scheufele and Moy's article explored the numerous theoretical and conceptual perspectives that other writers have penned since Noelle-Neumann's 1974 introduction of the spiral of silence. The article also offered suggestions for future research that had not been examined at the time of the writing [2].

The authors begin by stating that the spiral of silence theory has created somewhat incongruent findings on the subject of "majority opinion and an individual's willingness to express his or her opinion". The authors wrote that the three factors contributing to the inconsistencies are conceptual, having to do with the measurement of variables throughout the process and the lack of attention to certain macroscopic variables. Of the macroscopic variables left largely



untapped over the 25-year exploration of the spiral of silence theory, the authors identify “cross-cultural comparisons” as the one requiring significant focus. Scheufele and Moy dissect the definition of public opinion by referencing two concepts offered by Noelle-Neumann [6]. The first is “Public opinion as rationality” and the second is “public opinion as social control”. Public opinion as rationality is a conscious process that comes about after careful consideration and public discussion. The authors term it as “a necessary condition for generating social change”. In the form of rationality, public opinion uses several modes of expression such as, facial expressions and highly visible symbols. Public opinion as social control is an opinion that, when expressed, does not lead to the risk of isolation from society, by society. The authors write that this format rises from the unconscious. They are “opinions that have to be expressed in order to avoid isolation”. In the form of social control, public opinion uses a more pervasive and “cue” based influencer from observations made of society at large. The writers opine that the spiral of silence “clearly falls under the model of public opinion as social control” [2].

The authors outline the spiral of silence using Noelle-Neumann’s (1991) five hypotheses that are expansions of her original 1974 writing. They are the threat of isolation, fear of isolation, quasi-statistical sense, willingness to speak out/tendency to remain silent and spiral of silence. Schuefele and Moy also add three more factors in explaining the spiral of silence as a process. The three are the moral component of public opinion, the time factor and the role of the media [2]. The authors not only clearly outline the conceptual and theoretical approaches that have been written over the last 25 years, but they offer their suggestions for future research based on these approaches. The three-part outline includes “an outline of key variables, including the criterion” opinion expression “and related measurement issues”, the reference group factor as it pertains to the process of the spiral of silence, and the spiral of silence “in the context of cross-cultural research” [2].

The authors address the cross-cultural aspect by positing “the distinction between “individualism and collectivism” as it pertains to one’s cultural framework could be a distinguishing factor of “people’s willingness to speak out beyond more temporally-bound perceptions of opinion climates”. The authors conclude by writing of the importance for researchers to turn to a more macroscopic focus of

the spiral of silence theory as opposed to the oversaturated microscopic focus that has dominated the last 25 years. They argue that the spiral of silence theory is indeed a macroscopic theory and posit, “not only can macro-theoretical approaches, like the spiral of silence, explain micro-inconsistencies on an empirical level, but a macroscopic focus is very likely the key to re-conceptualizing and defining concepts like hard cores and avant-gardes that have been somewhat neglected in previous research on the spiral of silence” [2].

Bowen and Blackmon [7] used the spiral of silence theory to support their writing on the dynamics of gays and lesbians choice to speak out or remain silent within workplace organizations. The authors address the willingness to speak out dynamic by positing that there is a second spiral of silence that exists on a “micro level within the workgroup and organization”. This sub spiral comes from an existing “negative climate of opinion” in the work environment that renders the gay or lesbian individual to hide their sexual orientation. The authors call this “organizational silence”. The opposite of organizational silence is organizational voice, which the authors describe as a voluntary and open disclosure of personal views in order to affect change within and organization [2].

Bowen and Blackmon write that people who have “invisible” differences like that of sexual orientation have a choice to make about whether they are open about it or not in the workplace. The authors begin by describing the spiral of silence theory as one that identifies a link between people’s willingness to express their opinion and the influences of “external forces such as the media”. The media is described much like Noelle-Neumann [6] as an influencer or guide for one’s perception of the “prevailing climate of opinion” [2].

The authors go on to explain that the majority opinion has a controlling effect on an individual’s decision to speak out because of fear of isolation. Bowen and Blackmon then attribute the aspect of “morally-laden issues” to the driving force behind the fear of isolation by using the topic of the military’s “don’t ask don’t tell” policy as an example. The authors write that within the workplace environment some members may be considered as part of the “in group” due to their commonalities. Likewise those who do not possess the same commonalities are considered part of the “out group”. In order to seem part of the majority in-group, gays and lesbians may choose to keep their sexual orientation hidden from their co-workers or decide to change the way they behave in order to fit in. The authors call this form of repression “an individual self-censoring spiral of silence”. The authors posit that most gays and lesbians in the workplace take a careful look at the organizational climate before making a decision to “out” them. The consideration is based on whether the workplace climate is “likely to be supportive or not” [2].

Bowen and Blackmon opine that the decision to hide such an important part of one’s personal identity can be harmful to the individual as well as their work environment. It prevents others at work from getting to know who you really are and creates a stressful and unproductive experience for the one who is hiding. The authors write, “Making an invisible identity visible may be more beneficial for social exchange than maintaining invisibility, since less effort must be spent on monitoring oneself”. The authors write that, for gay and lesbian employees, it is not only a question of whether to “out” themselves at work, but also to whom. The authors conclude that understanding the spiral of silence is a useful integration for managers and leadership teams. They write that such an understanding “may prevent” pluralistic ignorance “from disrupting group and organizational processes related to diversity” [2].

Ho [8] writes that a minority group's reluctance to speak out because of fear of isolation can hinder the process of public deliberation. Ho describes public deliberation as an essential aspect of democracy. In her article, Ho explains that the unwillingness to speak out is by a "dysfunctional social-psychological process" (p. 190). The author adds that computer-mediated tools are one of the ways that this dysfunctional process can be overcome while still rendering the minority group able to contribute to the process of public deliberation. She writes, "computer-mediated communication (CMC) may have the potential to create an environment conducive for public deliberation by attenuating the effects of the undesirable social-psychological influences on opinion expression". The author uses attributes of the spiral of silence theory such as "fear of isolation, communication apprehension and perceived current and future congruency" to support her writing. Ho writes that one's experience during face-to-face (FTF) interaction gives access to facial expressions and other social cues in order to determine the speaker's intent. However, in CMC those additional factors are not present and the user may perceive the same response with a completely different affect. Supported by previous studies by Siegel and Gallepe, Bastianutti & Cooper of CMC providing a veil of anonymity for minority group users, the author offers a hypothesis based that "individuals who are asked to speak out in the FTF setting will be less likely to express their opinions than those who are asked to speak out in the CMC setting". The author argues that the "fear of isolation should be dependent on the communication setting" [2].

Ho writes of mass media's effect on people's willingness to speak out and uses the topic of same-sex marriage as a morally laden issue upon which to test her hypothesis. Her research provided controls for demographics, media usage variables. The controls were based on studies by Lasorsa, Gonzenbach, King, & Jablonski, showing that variables such as age and gender are "associated with willingness to speak out on controversial issues". Specifically, women and the elderly are "generally less likely to state their opinions" [2].

Her findings conclusively displayed that "respondents were more reluctant to express opinions in the FTF setting than in the online chat room setting". The author also discovered that media influence, fear of isolation, communication apprehension and future opinion congruence were all influencers of the results. She writes that "these findings suggest that unique features such as anonymity and reduced social cues in computer-mediated discussion may be able to abate some of the dysfunctional social-psychological influence on opinion expression and create an environment conducive for public deliberation" [2].

Nell [2] says "this is counter to Noelle-Neumann's [1] original definition of the spiral of silence as a growing process where the minority group grows more silent as the majority group's opinion gets stronger and more pervasive in the public sphere. The rise of social media has created new avenues for networking and open discourse in GLBT communities of color. Ho's [8] article confirms this by positing, "the reduced social cues and anonymity in the computer-mediated communication (CMC) may reduce status consciousness to encourage individuals who hold the minority opinions to speak out" [2].

Spiral of Silence to Spiral of 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 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 event¹⁴". 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". 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.

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". 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". 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.

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.

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:

Fear 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 relaying 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:

Suppression and Tibetan refugee

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. 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 angriness 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.

What is collectively expresses aggression?

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: Table 1.

Survey test

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. 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: Table 2.

Survey tests: participating in a protest

My 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;

SN	Year	Collective Perception
1.	1959 AD	Tibet Uprising & plight for Exile
2.	1974 AD	Khampa war, Mustang
3.	1989 AD	Tibet Uprising-II & Celebration of Nobel Peace Prize
4.	2004 AD	Free Tibet Movement & Protest in Kathmandu began
5.	2008 AD	Beijing Olympic & Tibet Uprising(Free Tibet)
6.	2012 AD	Self-Immolations (Apx. 200)

Table 1: Collectively Expressed Aggression by Tibetan Refugee.

SN	Year	Collective Perception
1.	1959 AD	King Mahendra vs. political parties for Panchayat
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.

Beijing Olympic Protest for Human Rights of Tibetan refugee, 2008, Kathmandu Peace March, End of August, 2008, Kathmandu; Free Tibet (Political Protest), March 10 & December 10, Pokhara, Kathmandu; Candle Light Vigil, February 13, 2013, Jawalakhel etc. On situation of above 43% 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. 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.

At last

After long discussions the conclusion was made in my research- by fear of isolation minorities like Tibetan refugee do not give perception openly in press on controversial issues, they imposed their voice within self. And this action starts negative reaction in rapid way after certain period of imposition it bursts with collective manner and which affects everything, basically three aspects in relation to Tibetan refugee:

- a. Effects on Society
- b. Effects on Media
- c. Effects on Tibetan Refugee themselves

The figure was like this in Figure 2

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.

Death of Spiral of Silence

In the last 38 years since the spiral of silence was introduced as a mass communication theory, there have been many adaptations and challenges to its hypotheses. The core theory, remains intact, however it has expanded over time through new research and academic discourse. Scheufele [9] is known for his work on mass communication theory, including the spiral of silence theory. He recently completed a review of studies related to the spiral of silence theory. Scheufele opines that the quasi-statistical sense is not accurate all the time. He goes on to state that there may be times when a person's perception may be awry. Be that as it may, Scheufele connects and confirms, it is the perception of opinion distribution rather than the real opinion climate that shapes

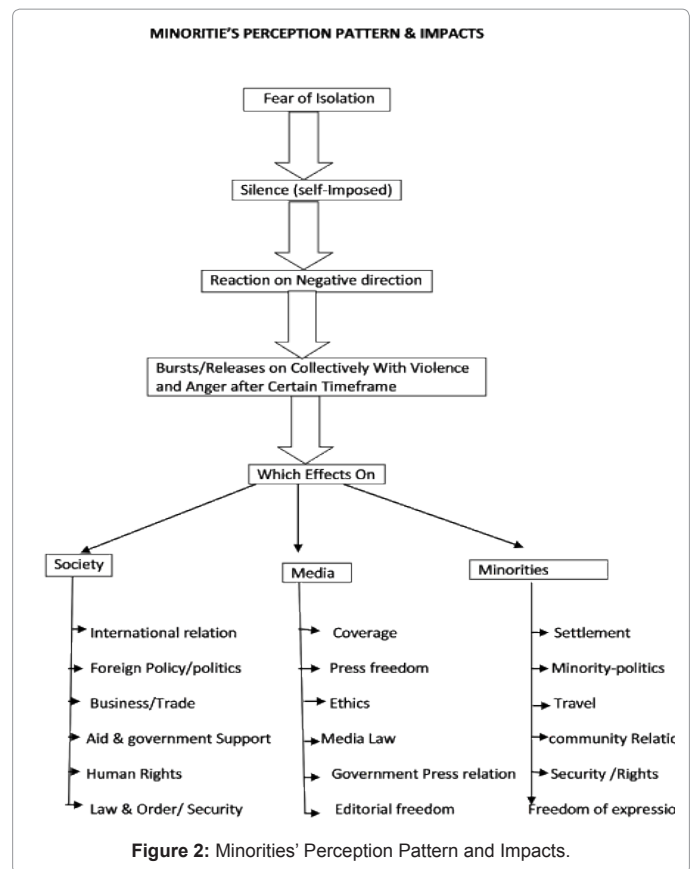


Figure 2: Minorities' Perception Pattern and Impacts.

people's willingness to express their opinions in public. The author also discusses the aspect of the fear of isolation. He writes that the concept is formed by groups who threaten the individuals who oppose social norms and majority views. Scheufele says that the isolation is a fear that individuals with opposing views have because they see their viewpoint as going against social norms. The author adds that Noelle-Neumann's theory was borne from two schools of theory, one being the philosophical and the other the social-psychological [2].

Scheufele makes a very poignant note that the spiral of silence theory is a "dynamic process" or a process that works over time. During these long stretches of time, the minority loses their will to express their opinion, slowly falling silent, the majority slowly begins to rise to the top. The majority viewpoint is eventually seen not only as the prevailing one, but also as the one that evolves into a social norm. He also states that the minority group's silence is what fuels the bias that supports the majority voice. The more silent one group is the more popular and noticeable the other group becomes. The more popular one group becomes, the less compelled the minority group is to be expressive. Scheufele writes that this cycle, the spiral of silence, only works for issues with a moral component or value-laden issues [2].

Scheufele also addresses the role of social groups as they pertain to the spiral of silence. He defines them in two ways, as a source of "important social cues when people try to gauge the social climate of opinion. The second is as a source of protection for people who choose to resist opinion climates and decide to go up against the hostility that some opinion climates may hold. This second group is whom Noelle-Neumann calls the "avant-gardes" or the hard cores. Hard cores tend to stay true to their existing opinions regarding an issue even while there is growing opposition. Avant-gardes, however, are more vocal

with their viewpoints that oppose the social norms. They also promote “new, unpopular viewpoints that go against existing social norms of predominant opinion climates. Avant-gardes use reference groups to support their existing beliefs and base their resistance to hostile climates on that support as well as on their own ideologies surrounding a particular issue [2].

Scheufele addresses the spectrum of critique on the spiral of silence theory. He states that the aspects of the theory that were first criticized are the same areas that have proven most beneficial for new research. One of the most criticized topics is the “willingness to self-censor” which was a term borne from Noelle-Neumann’s “fear of isolation. The willingness to self-censor became a hypothesis that was tested and measured thereby setting it apart from simply being a concept. Noelle-Neumann’s original spiral of silence writing was also criticized for its focus on the “fear of isolation” as the only factor preventing the individual from speaking out. Over time, other researchers have proposed additional factors that may be related to the fear of speaking out. A common element among the additional factors is that respondents are more likely to speak out despite the climate of public opinion against them if they are: younger, male, or extremely passionate about the issue [2].

The role of reference groups has also evolved as a source of criticism over the years. Some researchers say that reference groups provide an individual with bias in terms of how he/she views the actual social climate. For example, Moy, Domke & Stamm, state that when asked to assess the broader climate of opinion individuals may project from their experiences in reference groups to the world around them. Recent adaptation of the role of reference groups is that they are the primary threat to the individual experiencing fear because the opinions of the reference group can become more important than the societal climate of opinion. This particular theory regarding reference groups was successfully tested using the topic of affirmative action [2].

In my case I am 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 continues. I recommend a lot research in this direction but here I’ve to say a Farwell to Elizabeth Noelle Neumann with her spiral of silence theory after 38 years survival in mass communication theory field. Now, my turn!

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