

論文要旨

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論文題目（外国語の場合は、和訳を併記すること。）

Power Perceptions and Political Participation in the Digitalized Era:

How Internet Digital Media is Transforming Politics in Papua New Guinea

デジタル時代における権力の認識と政治的参加—インターネットデジタル

メディアが、パプアニューギニアの政治をどのように、変えてきているのか

論文要旨（別様に記載すること。）

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Over the years, there has been an increase in democratic studies concerning the accountable use of public power, good governance and greater political citizen participation in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Most of these studies have largely focused on traditional representative institutions such as elections, voting and political parties. However, despite adopting a wide range of democratic representative institutions, PNG continues to suffer from poor government accountability and citizen participation. Despite these shortfalls research has rarely moved beyond traditional representative institutions to assess other non-conventional power checking monitory mechanisms particularly within the present era. This thesis aims to fill in this research gap by assessing new unconventional power checking monitory mediums that have emerged as a result of advancements in technology and communication.

Keane explains that improvements resulting from the internet and online digital media has created the growth and spread of novel monitory bodies and mechanisms that today compliment traditional power checking institutions like elections. Symbolized by the internet, Keane describes this new phenomenon as ‘communicative abundance’ characterized by a revolutionary age of overlapping and interlinked media devices that for the first time in history integrate text, sound and images in digitally and easily storable and reproducible forms. Keane further redefines democracy through the rapid growth of these different kinds of extra parliamentary, power scrutinizing bodies and mechanisms propelled by communicative abundance that flank elections called ‘monitory democracy’. These bodies and mechanisms compliment conventional power checking institutions providing the public extra viewpoints and better information about the operations of various governmental bodies while also assisting in strengthening the diversity and influence of citizen voices and choices and monitoring the misuse of power.

Building on Keane’s argument concerning monitory democracy and new internet online digital media it should be investigated how these improvements have impacted the ways different citizens communicate, form judgements and opinions and how this affects political behaviour in monitoring the abuse of power in PNG. Based on these new insights, this thesis asks three overarching questions: *What are the impacts of internet online*

*digital media on power perceptions and political participation among citizens in monitoring the abuse of power in PNG? How do they compare with traditional media roles and journalism practices? And how has this affected PNG politics and its process of democratization within the contemporary digitalized era?*

This research aims to achieve three main objectives. Firstly, Keane largely focuses the application of this democratic concept in Western democracies with little reference to non-Western democracies. This offers potential to offer fresh insights on the impact of internet online digital media from non-Western democracies concerning power perceptions and political participation in the contemporary era. Secondly, it tests the theory of monitory democracy and internet digital media in PNG. PNG provides an ideal test case due to marked improvements in internet services and internet online media after the introduction of Digicel in 2007. Periods after 2007 have become increasingly dominated by internet online media dwarfing traditional media sources. Thirdly, it offers novel arguments regarding the effects of monitory democracy and internet online digital media on power perceptions and political participation within PNG's new and present internet era. These new insights could provide better understandings concerning the impact of internet online media in other non-Western democracies.

The thesis also aims to contribute to PNG's existing democratic literature by extending political participation beyond traditional representative institutions like elections. It assesses emerging new trends involving the effects of new unconventional power checking monitory mediums that have emerged as a result of advancements and improvements in internet digital media in Port Moresby, PNG. Port Moresby was specifically selected for this research due to the fact that advances in internet services have been more evident and clearer. It explores these improvements and whether they have contributed in making citizens better aware to collectively participate in monitoring the abuse of power beyond traditional representative institutions.

The thesis is a comparative case study analyzing the transforming logic of media, journalism, power perceptions and political participation resulting from new internet

digital media. Data collected comprise of interviews, semi-structured questionnaires, news articles, reports and academic research concerning power perceptions and responses from citizens towards incriminating information provided by both traditional media and online news media platforms. It focuses on two separate cases that mark two starkly different periods in PNG's political history. The first case occurred during the 90s. This was the era predominantly dominated by traditional media sources and journalistic practices largely influenced by the state and market forces. Citizens during this period remained passive and unresponsive to national issues and were more concerned with local issues. They also grouped themselves along traditional, cultural and regional divisions. This created long lasting traditional, cultural and regional cleavages within PNG's society. Political participation was reduced exclusively to elections and centered primarily on these different but yet tightly closed social cleavages. The Second case happened in late 2016. This is the period after the internet boom in 2007 where improvements in internet online digital media have been clearer. This period sharply diverges from the former and is indicative of transformations in media logic, journalism practices and its impact on power perceptions and political participation. It is also marked by comparatively greater citizen awareness, openness and proactiveness in monitoring the abuse of power outside and beyond elections. Breaking from past traditional, cultural and regional cleavages different citizens within these cleavages are able to better participate in monitoring the abuse of power through liberal institutions such as student unions, associations and NGOs. These liberal institutions are today able to bridge different citizens in monitoring power in ways comparatively different from the previous era. This has resulted in a burgeoning new political culture indicative by a greater citizen demand for accountability, transparency and openness through internet digital media both online and offline.

However, the results similarly reveal that citizens have become ever more divided concerning the abuse of power and how it should be addressed within the contemporary era. These divisions are based on a multitude of factors largely concerning employment, generation, socio conditions, institutions of association and their relation to the state. The thesis goes on to argue that although internet digital media has had some positive improvements on power perceptions and political participation, it has paradoxically

divided citizens based on these different perceptions and understandings. This has resulted in new social cleavages that were comparatively latent during the previous era.

In arguing John Keane's theory of monitory democracy and internet online digital media PNG offers new insights into the working of internet digital media in non-Western democracies. Citizens even though they received information from internet online digital media interpreted them strictly to their favor. This has limited rousing broad public interest, support and collective citizen mobilization in opposition against the abuse of power. Others chose to protest against the state while others refused. Protests against the state might not be as comparatively rewarding as those in the West since the state in non-Western democracies is still perceived as the largest employer and service provider. Attempts to protest and challenge this status quo might not prove useful in non-Western democracies. For the PNG case, indifferent to other Western democracies citizen awareness and information from new internet online digital media has further led to the acceptance and endurance of poor governance and accountability due to emerging new social cleavage divisions.

Case selection was based off the varying effects of traditional and internet digital media and its impact on citizen understanding and dissent. In both cases, the research discusses how two different Prime Minister's had used their powers to protect political interests and stifle investigations. However, the former resulted in no opposition from traditional media outlets while the later lead to a brief backlash of events following its exposure by concerned citizens on social media. This was picked up by traditional media sources assisting in setting the agenda for public debate and action. Both cases and their reactions from citizens were mostly prevalent in the capital city Port Moresby where improvements and advancements in internet services were more widespread.