

**The State of Women and Media:
Focus on Violence Against Women
Thailand country report**

January 1998

Ubonrat Siriyuvasak & Metta Wiwattanukul

The State of Women and Media : Focus on Violence Against Women
Thailand country report
by Ubonrat Siriyuvasak & Metta Wiwattanukul
January 1998

Introduction

In Thailand the print media, newspapers and magazines, are read by educated readers and are more accessible in the urban areas. The daily circulation of the major 28 national newspapers are 2 millions although the readers are much wider. In recent years (1990-1997), the number of magazines have flourished due to the economic boom and the increased in advertising revenue for consumer goods. There are a large number of current affairs, business and computer and IT magazines, home and decor, construction and real estate magazines as well as sports, motor and specialists magazines for men. Women magazines are mostly centred around the domestic domain with serial fictions as the main staple of these magazines. There are also several new American and European women magazines such as Cleo, Elle, Cosmopolitan, operated through the magazine franchise. They are meant for the upper-middle and upper class readers.

In the 1950s-1960s radio was the most pervasive and popular medium among the elite and mass listeners. Television gradually gained wide popularity after its inception in 1955. In the 1980s, when the costs of television sets were more accessible to families in both the urban and rural areas it became the most popular and influential medium. But unlike the press, radio and television are state-owned. The private operators receive concessions from the Public Relations Department, the Mass Communication Organizations of Thailand (MCOT), the Defence Ministry, the Police Department, the Post and Telegraph Department, and other state agencies who own the stations legally. The majority of the radio and television stations are operated commercially. Thus, they depend entirely on advertising revenue. Channel 11, however, is the only exception. It was stipulated by law to be a non-commercial education station. Due to the lack of government financial support it tried to bring in private partners and opened for business sponsorship in 1996. But Channel 11 was unable to compete on the same par with the rest of the commercial stations.

In 1996, ITV, the new UHF television station went to air. It was the consequent of the May Up-rising in 1992 for which demonstrators called for an elected Prime Minister instead of the non-elected military strongman. They also called for more freedom of expression on state radio and television and for political reform. As a result, a new television was opened for private bidding. Siam TV and Communication, a consortium of 10 companies, won the concession in 1995. The new station, ITV, provided more news and current affairs and documentary programmes compared to the other commercial channels which broadcast approximately 70-75% entertainment programmes.

As for cable television, the middle and upper class audiences in Bangkok were able to subscribe to cable television since 1989. There are now 3 major private operators, IBC, Thai Sky and UTV, whose programmes are mostly imported from the US cable networks. Subscription fees range from 400-1,200 baht/month or US \$ 8 to 24 (the rate of exchange is US \$ 1 = 50 baht).

For the cinema, teenagers make up the majority of movie-goers in both the urban and rural areas. They prefer American, Hong Kong and Thai movies. Lacking government support and capital investment the Thai movie industry is losing its competitive edge to the foreign movie industries.

The Number and Types of Media in Thailand 1997

	Number	Ownership	Operation	Audience
Television <u>9</u>				
VHF	5	state	4 commercial 1 non-commercial	Mass audiences in urban & rural areas Limited - elderly, Open U students
UHF	1	state	commercial	Well-educated, urban audiences
Cable	3	private	commercial	BKK upper & well-educated audiences
Radio * <u>494</u>				
FM	288	state	commercial	Urban listeners
AM	206	state	commercial	Rural, lower income listeners
Newspaper ** <u>28</u>				
Thai	22	private	commercial	Tabloid papers are more popular
English	4	private	commercial	Upper & well-educated readers
Chinese	2	private	commercial	Ethnic Chinese readers
Magazine *** <u>103</u>				
weekly	23	private	commercial	Comic, entertainment & women magazines have the largest readership
bi-weekly	22	private	commercial	
monthly	54	private	commercial	
bi-monthly	4	private	commercial	
Cinema <u>520</u>				
Bangkok	250	private	commercial	teenagers aged 12-19, 20-29 are the major movie-goers
Outside BKK	270	private	commercial	

* most radio stations are operated by private operator on a commercial basis except for Radio Thailand central station.

** these are national papers produced in Bangkok and the major readers are men

there are approximately 20 provincial/regional papers

*** among these there are 22 women magazines (the largest number of magazines) and there are 5 health magazines, 2 of which are aimed at women and family readers

Source : **The Advertising Book 1997-1998**, pp. 187-203.

By comparison, television is the most popular and influential medium among the major media in Thailand. 82% of the Thai household own television set and television has a 90% coverage area. It is the medium with the second largest media reach. Radio which is the most accessible medium has a 95% coverage area and the majority of the 9.6 million households has more than 1 radio receiver.

Among the popular media women make up about 50% of the total audiences. On prime-time television, 19.00-22.00 hrs., the daily Thai drama serial are broadcasted on most channels right after the main evening news bulletin. The intended audience for these dramas are women - housewives, working women and students. On radio, women listen to music and radio dramas.

Women Employment in the Thai Media Industry 1992

Positions	Gender Ratio	
	Women	Men
1. Executive	1	5.6
2. Professional	1	2.2
3. General Staff	1	1.8
4. Technical Staff	1	8.0

Source : Siriyuvasak (1993) **Access of Thai Women to Communication Education and Work in Journalism and Communication .**

In the study on Access of Thai Women to Communication Education and Work in Journalism and Communication (1993) the findings showed that there were more women students enrolled in communication education at the ratio of 3:1. However, they were mostly in the areas of public relations and advertising. Film studies and journalism are mostly the domain of male students. But in the media organizations the situation is the opposite. There are more men than women in all positions (see table above). Women are clustered in the general staff positions such as account executive, co-ordinator. Technical position is exclusively for male staff. The study found that the women executive were the owner of the enterprise. The women professional staff are mostly young graduates and unmarried. Their working lives are shorter compared with their male counter-part. Once these young media professional are married a large percentage resign from their jobs. This is due to family values that women are mothers and wives. When asked if there is any gender discrimination in the profession and in the organization the answers were divided into 50% yes and 50% no.

An overview of the women's situation

Violence against women as reported in the news have increased in recent years. Between 1992 to 1997 the reported rape cases have doubled (see table below). The most vulnerable age group is 16-20, 21-30 and 11-15. There were 26 cases of rape among children aged 0-10. It is alarming to see that a large number of small children were the victims of rape. The Foundation for Child Protection reported 200 cases of child abuses in

their care between 1995-1997. Among them the youngest was a 7 months baby whose legs were broken and was seriously injured from raped. The Police Hospital reported that between 1989-1992 there were 150 cases of children being raped per year and between 1993-1994 there were 390 cases per year. Most of them are under 15. Statistics also showed that 51% of rape cases were committed by relatives and friends or neighbours/acquaintances. And nearly 50% of these were carried out inside the victims residents.

The Friends of Women Foundation documented 140 rape cases during January-August 1997 from 5 major daily newspapers (**Thai Rath, Matichon, Daily News, Khao Sod** and **Krungthep Thurakit**). Among them there were 80 cases of rape and attempted rape, 33 cases of rape and murder, 12 cases of sexual torture and 2 cases of torture and murder. When compared with the 1996 statistics rape and murder cases rose from 15.7% in 1996 to 23.6% in 1997 or an 8% increase.

**News Reports on Violence Against Women (Rape Cases)
1992-1997 ***

Age group	1992		1993		1994		1997	Total
	Injured	dead	injured	dead	injured	dead		
1. 0-10	1	0	4	0	8	1	12	26
2. 11-15	5	1	7	3	31	0	{ }	47
3. 16-20	8	16	17	5	28	4	{ 26 }	104
4. 21-30	2	8	14	6	14	9	8	61
5. 31-40	2	2	2	4	6	4	2	22
6. 41-50	0	0	1	3	2	0	-	6
7. 51-60	0	0	0	3	2	0	-	5
8. 61 up	1	1	0	3	3	1	-	9
Total	19	28	45	27	94	19	48	280
	47		72		113		48	280

* For 1997, the statistics shown were reported between Jan-June.

Source : The Foundation for Women, 1997 for 1997 statistics.

Matichon Information Centre and the Foundation for Children's Development, 1996

For 1992-1994 statistics.

Documented from **Thai Rath** and **Matichon** daily newspapers.

The Centre for the Protection of Children Rights reported that between 1983-1997 the Centre assisted 747 cases of child abuse. The Women Rights Protection Centre of the Foundation for Women reported that in 1997 alone there were 1,051 cases of violence and abuse which the Centre provided assistance. Among them there were 35 cases of rape, 9 cases of sexual harassment, 19 cases of sexual abuses, 94 cases of domestic violence and 90 cases of adultery.

From the reports of Women's groups and Child Rights groups it is evident that violence against women is increasing. The Foundation for Women specified that between 1992-1995 there were more cases of children being raped. This was due to the pervasiveness of construction sites in Bangkok. Children from the rural areas travelled with their families into the cities and must stay at the sites during the whole period of construction which can range from 6 months - 2 years.

Some of the NGOs which are active in documenting rape and violence cases as well as providing home, child care centre and consultation on a personal basis and by phone to those seeking help are:

1. Emergency Home - provides food, shelter and consultation for women, and assist in co-ordinating with welfare agencies, both state and private
2. Foundation for Women - provides care and consultation for women, and establishes the Women Information Network to document VAW
3. Friends of Women Foundation - provides legal and social assistance to women and campaign for equal rights
4. The Centre for the Protection of Children Rights - provides care and assist children who are victims of physical, social and psychological abuses, campaign and promote child rights in accordance to the Convention on the Rights of the Child
5. Hotline Foundation - provides consultation for women on telephone and through home visit

On the question of the relationship between media portrayal and violence against women there have been a small number of studies. However, most of these studies analyzed the portrayal of women in the news, drama, music and songs but did not demonstrate the connection between media portrayal and the act of violence. The study on the news reports on rape cases by Suwanee Kalayanasan (1993) showed that the narrative emphasized the rape scene and the violence act in great detail. They tended to dramatize the story and effectively reinforced the sexual control and threat placed upon women. In the popular media genre such as music and drama the study on the Images of Women in the Media (1990) showed that they generally reproduced the sexual and gender stereotype portraying women as sex objects within the domestic sphere. These are the kinds of values cultivation that reproduce the existing attitudes and consciousness that women are the property of men and husbands. Examples of independent women, successful professional women or liberal minded women and feminists are rare. If they are the main characters in the story their destiny would be fatal (Bongkot Sewatham, 1990).

On the other hand, the proliferation of pornography in magazines, calendar and video games, for example, are a cause of serious concern for women's groups. There are also numerous publications of promotional materials for sex tour published in Europe and Japan. These provide information and photographs of women sex workers and their sexual acts. On the Internet, there is a web site on Thai girls - WWW.thaigogo.com - which show photos and video clips of sex workers. While the popular media genres reinforced

traditional values on gender which confine women physically and intellectually pornography openly promotes women as “*sex commodity*” to be consumed, if not by commercial relationship then by violence. But the counter-argument from the Thai macho culture (especially the Police who is directly responsible for implementing the Obscenity Bill) is that pornography does not trigger sexual violence nor rape. On the contrary, they believe that It actually decreases sexual violence and improve sexual relations.

Assessment of existing media policy

An elaborated policy guideline on women and the media has been included, for the first time, in the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001). In guideline number 6 it specified that,

“To promote the role of the media as the catalyst in up-grading the status and the lives of women, The media should provide accurate information on women, avoid sexual and moral debasement and gender prejudice. In addition, the media should campaign for a more active and participatory role of women in the production and consumption of media products.”

But the guideline did not go into any detail on the media code of conduct in relation to the coverage of women’s issues.

For the media industry and media professionals the present Code of Ethics of the Journalist Association of Thailand is set out as follows;

1. Freedom. To promote and protect freedom of information and freedom of expression and opinion.
2. Responsibility. This means to be responsible to the public in presenting news and information which are objective truth. If this fails journalists must redress the incorrect information or news immediately.
3. Decency. This implies good practices - politeness and honesty, in acquiring information, documents, photos, etc. for public interests.
4. Honesty. This implies respect for the trust given by news sources and to protect the identity of the sources.
5. Integrity. Journalists must work for the sake of public interest, not seeking personal gains nor illegitimate organization benefits.
6. Professional commitment. Journalists must retain professionalism and conserve the unity among professional colleagues.

The Code of Ethics of the Journalist Association of Thailand emphasized mainly on the ethical conduct of journalists in acquiring information and to report news and express their opinion objectively. There is no specific guideline on the presentation of news and programmes especially on women's issues. By comparing the Code of Ethics against the guidelines set out in the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001) the latter is more focused on specifying the avoidance of sexual and moral debasement and gender prejudice in the media.

Several studies on media organizations and news presentation on violence (Pimporn Yingyong, 1996, Uraben Triyangkul, 1992, Kamonwan Loliwanon, 1991) share the same conclusion that all of the organizations under study do not have particular code or guideline on how to present news on women's issues and on violence against women. They found that most of the news on sexual abuse and rape/murder came under crime news and not women news. Crime news are handled entirely by male reporters. Pimporn Yingyong found that in 1996 among the 41 news report on women and sexual abuses in two major daily newspapers 80% and 72% were reported as crime news, 16% as religious, 3% and 18% as social and 9% as education news. In Uraben's and Kamonwan's studies they found that television news editors were the final gatekeeper of the news programme. The stations under study did not have any special code on violence and women's issues. But they reported that during the period of the study violence news, on location war reports, for example, were shortened and horrific scenes were censored.

The legal provisions against libel, moral debasement, pornography in the media stipulated in the Suppression of the Promotion and Trading of Obscenity Materials Bill of 1928 was mainly to control the promotion and sales of pornographic materials. The bottom line is on the moral control of individual in the society. The law does not concern itself with eliminating violence against women in and through pornography.

As Sanitsuda (1997) pointed out, according to the Obscenity Bill of 1928 anyone who sells, distributes, imports, advertises sexually obscene materials or involves in pornography business are entitled to a maximum three-years imprisonment or a maximum fine of 6,000 baht (or US \$ 120) or both. But publishers of pornographic materials, by avoiding the legal definition of obscenity, are able to violate the law without being penalized. The Police Department who is the enforcer of this law raided publishing houses from time to time whenever there were public outcry. In actual practice, soft porn magazines are sold along side women's magazines and children's comics on news stands.

Monitoring group on VAW are mostly NGOs working on women's issues and children's issues mentioned above. They regularly campaign for the protection of the identity of women and children victims of sexual violence and for a non-stereotypic portrayal of women and the girl child. In 1996, the largest newspapers published the nude photo of a well-known pop singer in the front page. A group of citizens who called themselves "*Media Consumer Power*" campaigned for the public to sanction the paper for 3 months. The campaign was well received and the paper was criticized for its indecent publicity and lack of moral judgement. It was the first example of a citizen group monitoring and taking action against the media on VAW.

The effort to develop a code on VAW, unfortunately, did not arise from within the media industry itself. Although the Press Council of Thailand came into existence since

October 1997 sexism in the media - the portrayal of women as sex objects and sexist language - is not on the agenda of the newly established council. There is a sub-committee on drafting a new Code of Ethics which attempt to tackle the issues of accuracy, balanced reports and the right of reply. The small number of feminist journalists do not foresee any change of heart in the male-dominated profession for whom pornography is taken as a non-issue and protest against pornography ridiculed (Sanitsuda, 1997).

On the contrary, the effort to campaign and develop guidelines for the media on VAW came primarily from the NGOs and academics. In 1995, the National Council for Child and Youth Development and Child Rights ASIANET of the Faculty of Law, Chulalongkorn University organized a round-table discussion on "*Child information and the mass media : Problems and solutions*". In 1996, the Friends of Women Foundation, Foundation for Children's Development and the Media For Peace Project, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University organized a seminar on "*Violence against children and women in the news*". From these and earlier campaigns a number of legal and professional guidelines were recommended;

1. Legal recommendation

- a) to make amendment in the Youth and Family Court and the Criminal Procedural Codes of 1991 to protect the right of women and child victim/defendant from being exposed to any publicity outside and inside the court, the media should be penalized if this provision is violated
- b) to provide special training for the police and court personnel to adhere strictly to the legal provision on the right of women and child victim/defendant
- c) to prohibit photograph taking, video recording and audio recording of women and child victim/defendant when the re-enactment of the crime is being carried out and during court procedure
- d) to protect the women and the girl child from being commodified in pornography, soft porn, advertisement and other media genres

2. Professional recommendation

- a) media organizations should provide guiding principles to guarantee the rights of women and children in the sexual violence news reports
- b) media organizations should provide guiding principles on non-discrimination reports, non-sexist language, and to avoid sexual and moral debasement and gender prejudice
- c) media organizations should provide internal code on how not to commodify and not stereotype the images of women and the girl child and children in advertisement

Media and VAW : Assessment of content and image

During the past five years (1992-1997) there are, on the one hand, some improvements on news report on sexual abuses and rape on television. But on the other hand, the number of sex workers and prostitution continue to increase as well as soft porn magazines and pornography in all forms of media. Two prominent genres are karaoke music video and pornographic movies.

In the study, *The Use of Mass Media for the Promotion of the Advancement of Women*, Kanjana Kaewthep (1997) concluded that VAW in television news have improved since greater care is given to protect the identity of the women victims from the camera lenses. By comparison, it is more positive than press reports on VAW. From the research finding, it showed that women media professionals and women audiences (who were interviewed) were dissatisfied with the television performance. They felt that television news were aimed at commodification of women rather than the suitability of the news. They suggested that VAW news reports should be re-defined and presented for the benefits of women and the society, and journalists must adhere strictly to the professional code of ethics.

During 1995-1996, through the campaign of the NGOs on women and children the media became well aware of the women's situation and have assisted in disseminating information on various cases of VAW through television spots, talk shows, special reports in magazines. However, some media professionals, by the lack of experience or carelessness, were unable to tackle the issue in a sensible manner. This causes concern among a number of NGOs to seek new presentation technique that would both inform the public, and at the same time, protect the rights of the VAW victims.

The areas with little improvement or worsen are advertisement, dramas and pornography. On advertisement, Kanjana Kaewthep (1997) concluded that the stereotype images of women in the domestic sphere and consumer of beauty and health care products remain the dominant themes in most of the ads. Media professionals reasoned that this is due to the advertisers and the economic constraints of the media enterprise.

Another popular genre, television dramas also portrayed women and girls seeking love and romance. Cinema on the contrary, did not give priority to women's issues in recent years. They tend to aim at teenage audiences and their growing-up problems. Nonetheless, both share similar themes and propose similar solutions for their women characters. The blame and stigma would be placed upon women when conflicts on gender relations, sexual relations and rape in the story could not be resolved.

On pornography, the genre has diversified into many new forms during the economic boom in 1990-1996 in which consumerism was at its zenith. The glossy porn magazines were highly popular among male readers despite the expensive cover price, at 150-200 baht/copy (or US \$ 3-4). Calendars of local alcohol paid millions of baht for their models each year paving way for the positive commodification of pornographic models. Some of these women models invest in photographing and publishing the magazines themselves. Some of them work alternately between modeling and acting or programme

presenter on television. Thus, shifting the stigma away from pornographic model to professional worker in the media.

Pornographic karaoke video is widely available in video shops around the country and command one of the largest shelf space in the shop. They are ready for sale or hire. In the majority of cafes or small local restaurants these videos are shown for customers. Sometimes they are shown on domestic coaches travelling to and from Bangkok. The producers are able to violate the Obscenity Law without being penalized. And there have been little complaints on restrictions of sale and exhibition so far.

Action and strategies

In the annual report on Women's Rights in 1997 the Friends of Women Foundation reported that in 1997 the National Commission on Women's Affairs reiterated its women policy and plan for the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001) in 5 strategic areas;

1. the development of women potential and their quality of life
2. the development of social environment to enable the development of women
3. the promotion and practice of CEDAW
4. the development of under-privileged women
5. the development of the management system for women's development

In August 1997, the Police Department agreed to employ 160-200 women police officer for 1998 in the urban and rural police stations which have cases on women, youth and family and in the 29 provinces which the Youth and Family Courts are located.

The new coalition government declared its policy and platform on women in November 1997 that it would protect the rights of women and children workers, support the family, the religious institutions, the media and the NGOs to campaign and participate in resolving the problems of street children, child labour and prostitution, and to promote equal rights in employment and in the decision-making positions by revising laws, orders and other stipulations in accordance with the new Constitution.

Two laws related significantly to VAW were amended in 1997. The Suppression of the Trading of Women and Children Bill of 1928 now provided protection for both boys and girls aged under 18. Penalty for those in the sex trade will be levied upon the act of "*buying, selling, bringing, sending or receiving, confining or providing for the women and girls to involve or admit to involve in the trade...disregard of their consent*". This is new step towards women's rights. In the previous law women were the sole culprit in the sex trade.

The second revision is on the Criminal Code and the Criminal Procedural Code which included oral sex as another category of sexual abuse. It also extended the protection on rape and sexual abuse for boys. Regarding pornography, the law levied higher penalty for producers of pornographic media which show picture or voice of children under 18 year old. The imprisonment sentence is between 2-7 years, fine is between 20,000-70,000 baht (or US \$ 400-1,400). For publishing the picture or voice of children under 15 year old the imprisonment sentence is 2-10 years and fine is 20,000-

100,000 (or US \$ 400-2,000). And for those who own the pornographic media the sentence is 3 years or fine no more than 30,000 baht (or US \$ 600)

In November 1997, the Criminal Law Institute and the Association of the Women Lawyers held a seminar on the “*Justice system and the victims of sexual abuse*”. The agenda is to question if the justice system is protecting the rights of women and children. The participants proposed that the cases of sexual abuse should be processed speedily, the court and police department should employ more women officers, provide guidelines for the media in protecting the rights and identity of the victims, change the attitudes that women are the cause of rape and that protection should be given to the victims during and after the court proceedings.

From the seminar room, women’s groups and women labour organizations take the VAW issues to the public by campaigning together on the International Day to End VAW. Several activities were organized. Street theatre on “*Sexual Danger*” was played in schools, factories and shopping centres. A seminar on “*The Sadness or the Joy of Sexual Relations*” was organized followed by a formal proposal to the Prime Minister on VAW. Among several recommendations in the proposal it specified the suppression of pornography of all forms, and that victims of sexual abuse must be protected from media publicity. The proposal also requested provisions on mental care and psychological consultants, hot line information and home for the safety of victims.

During the past five years the Thai public is better informed on the issue of VAW and some legal revisions have been made. Although the media have been enthusiastic and supportive of the campaign on VAW. But in their own domain and in the daily fare they provide for their audiences the media lack any guiding principles on VAW in their code of ethics. Hence, much improvement needs to be done to end VAW in the media the future.

References

Bongkot Sewatham (1990) **The Social Construction of Reality in Thai Movies : The Case of Delinquent Women (1985-1987)**, MA thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

Friends of Women Foundation (1997) **Women’s Rights in 1997**, Bangkok.

Kamonwan Loliwanon (1991) **Violence in Television News and the Attitudes on Violence of Secondary School Students**, MA thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

Kanjana Kaewthep (1997) **The Use of Mass Media for the Promotion of the Advancement of Women**, Bangkok : National Commission on Women’s Affairs.

Kanjana Kaewthep (ed.) (1993) **Images of Women in the Media**, Bangkok :

Research Office, Chulalongkorn University.

National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCWA) Office of the Prime Minister
(1995) **Perspective Policies and Planning for the Development of Women (1992-2011)**, Bangkok : Office of the Prime Minister.

Pimporn Yingyong (1996) **Front Page News and Photos on Sex and Violence in Daily Newspapers : A Comparative Analysis of Khoa Sod and Matichon**, MA thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

Sanitsuda Ekachai (1997) **The Impotency of Thai Anti-Pornography Law**, Paper presented at the Regional Conference on Gender and Communication Policy, 30 July - 2 August 1997, Antipolo, Philippines.

Suwanee Kalayanasan (1993) **An Analysis of Rape News in the Media**, MA thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

The Advertising Book 1997-1998, Bangkok.

Ubonrat Siriyuvasak (1993) **Access of Thai Women to Communication Education and Work in Journalism and Communication**, Asian Mass Communication Information and Research Centre (AMIC), Singapore.

Urapen Triyankul (1992) **Professional Ethics of Television Producers on the Presentation of Violence in Crime News**, MA thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

* Information on violence against women is contributed by Usa Lertsrisantad of the Foundation of Women and Wani Bangprapa of the Friends of Women Foundation.