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Factionalism among Sindh journalists in Pakistan: Causes and motives

Bashir Memon¹

Abstract

This paper presents preliminary data regarding rifts among journalists in Sindh province, Pakistan. It analyzes the reasons and motives of differences among the journalists of Sindh and responsible for rifts. It focuses on the reasons for factionalism among the journalist community in province. The data is collected through six focus group discussions of purposively selected districts of Sindh province. The major findings show that differences among journalists community have developed mainly due to vested interests, conspiracies of media organizations/owners, and government; along with senior journalists monopoly established over the juniors in the news profession. Due to these reasons journalists have moved away from district press clubs and have developed their own new press clubs. Others have regrouped themselves under the tutelage of some media organizations.

Keywords: *Factionalism; journalists; grouping; media organizations; press clubs*

1 Introduction

Apparently it seems that occupation-based unions of members of different professions exist and thrive everywhere in the world. And so is an example about journalists in Sindh province, Pakistan. They press clubs and unions to protect their rights and raise voice against the violation of their professional rights. Simultaneously, however, the Sindh journalists have been seen to become victims of factionalism among them. As due to some reasons, instead of becoming together at one platform one union or press club, they have established more than one press club. In this way, this article is an attempt to find the answer of the causes

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and motives behind the rifts among the Sindh journalists and who is responsible for such consequence. To the best knowledge of the researcher, this research attempt is the first of its nature, particularly in the context of journalism culture in Pakistan. As the related literature-review about journalistic studies anywhere does not indicate any findings about studying the causes and motives behind the factions and divisions among journalistic unions in the form of press clubs.

1.1 Literature review

Journalistic studies in the form of surveys were conducted during the 20th century in Germany and the US. And it was in the 1970s that such studies 'became widely accepted among scholars internationally' (Weischenberg and Scholl, 1998: 37) cited in (Deuze, 2002, p. 1). According to Deuze, some of the most significant of these studies were those conducted by Johnstone et. al (1976) in the US; Kepplinger (1979) in Germany; and Tunstall (1970) in Great Britain. These focussed on journalists' personal characteristics such as their educational, ethnic, or religious background, the division of labour within news organisations, the way journalists perceived their role in society, and their perception of the threat put by increased media concentration . Further, Deuze notes that the first national survey on journalists was undertaken in the US by Johnstone, Slawski and Bowman in 1971 which was then published in book form in 1976 (2002, p. 1).

Additionally, Johnstone et al. say to have carried out the first systematic study of the social characteristics of journalists (Johnstone, Slawski, & Bowman, 1976, p. 1). Their study sought to 'present a representative overview of the nature of newsmen and news work' in America (Johnstone et al., 1976, p. ix), and examined the American journalist from every angle: his (or her) social origins, patterns of training and recruitment, career histories and job aspirations, division of labour within news-media, professional behaviour and values, working conditions, financial rewards, and sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction . What was novel about this study, according to the authors, was that except for a few studies dealing with the 'characteristics of individual journalists' there were no previous studies of members of the profession as a whole.

The other systematic study of American journalists was conducted by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986), and examined the

changing nature of the role of the journalist, the background and education of members of the profession, their attitudes, beliefs, and values; and the effects of new technology on journalists' work (David H. Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986, p. vi). Weaver and Wilhoit compared their findings with those of Johnstone et al. who were all sociologists. Despite remarkable similarity in the general pattern of both the above mentioned studies, there was one sharp contrast between their goals. As Johnstone et al. argued 'Our goal is sociological inquiry, not social criticism' (Johnstone et al., 1976, p. vii); in contrast, however Weaver and Wilhoit maintained that though their goal was 'systematic inquiry', but they did not claim to approach their study as disinterested academics. Rather they sought to find ways to make 'journalistic careers more fulfilling and rewarding' (1986, p. vi). Subsequently Weaver and Wilhoit undertook two follow-up survey studies '*The American Journalist in the 1990s*' in 1992, and '*The American Journalist in the 21st century: U.S. news people at the dawn of a new millennium*' in 2002, both patterned on the 1971 study of Johnstone et al.; however the 2002 study included internet journalists and included more open-ended comments about why respondents chose journalism as a profession, their job satisfaction, journalistic freedom, performance of news organisations (D. H. Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007, pp. vii-viii).

Hanitzsch in this regard observes that similarities exist between the professional routines, editorial procedures, and socialization processes of news professionals in every country. Simultaneously, the professional views and practices of journalists in different countries are influenced by the 'national media system' of which they are a part, which results in some differences (Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 413). Therefore, the attempt to explore such differences and similarities in journalistic culture has become an interesting sphere in the field of journalism studies.

1.2 Research gap and research question

Keeping in consideration the discussion of the above literature review the gap is found in the related literature about studying the journalists in the context of factionalism among their community and its reasons. Therefore, this study focuses specifically the rifts and their causes among the journalists in Sindh province, Pakistan. And below is one of the research questions which were developed in the consideration of research gap and addressed in focus group discussions:

Research question: What are the reasons for the rifts among Sindh Journalists?

2 Methodology

2.1 Research design

The focus group discussions were used to collect data; because, the nature of the research question required qualitative data to be answered. As focus groups according to (Puchta & Potter, 2004) elicit participants' feeling, attitudes and perceptions about a selected topic. The targeted population of this study was working journalists in Sindh employed in either privately-owned or state-run media outlets for diverse media organizations of Sindhi, Urdu and English language.

2.2 Location, population, sample and sample size

The location of the study was Sindh province which during the data collection period was administratively distributed in twenty three (23) districts. To arrive at the sample a purposive sampling technique was applied, because according to Hansen et al. (1998) in focus groups the persons who are invited to participate must be able and willing to provide the required information (A. Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, Newbold, & Halloran, 1998). Therefore, out of a total of twenty three (23), six (06) districts were purposively chosen. The reasons for selecting those six districts follow: First, compared to all other un-selected districts, the membership figure of the journalists in the six selected district press clubs was larger. Therefore, it was easier to arrange the required number focus group discussions and to select the articulate journalists. Second, due to personal contacts of the researcher with some journalists, the researcher had more access to the journalists in these purposively selected district press clubs. Third, it was determined to conduct at least six focus group discussions; because according to Hansen et al. (1998) 'it would be difficult to justify fewer than six groups' (A. Hansen et al., 1998, p. 268). And about the number of participants in each group, though it was attempted to arrange at least six participants for each focus group, as Morgan (1998, p. 1) suggests that 'six to eight participants in each group'. However, in practice on average five (5) participants could be arranged for each focus group discussion.

2.3 Data collection

The instrument for focus groups contained a pre-determined agenda, which was used in each and all discussions allowing the participants to speak on the agenda as they wished while a moderator kept seeking to elicit and measure the arguments, views and responses of the participants. And the questions on the agenda were formulated as loose, broad and much more flexible; because owing to such formulation the discussion may also suggest additional topics of inquiry to be pursued suggest (Alreck & Settle, 1995, p. 397).

2.4 Recruitment of the participants

The recruitment of the participants was made with the co-ordination and consultation of office-bearers and senior journalists of the selected press clubs. The selection of the participants was determined keeping in mind that all the participants belong to different media outlets and they must be willing and articulate. The timing of all the focus group discussions was fixed at evening, except two. Finally, out of a total of six the three focus group discussions were arranged at the press clubs of the concerned districts, two at district bureau offices of media organizations and one at the regional office of a news agency. See table 1 for exact details about the time, location and number of participants in each focus group discussion.

Table 1: Time, location, duration and number of participants in focus group discussions;

| Sampling Unit | Date and time | Venue | Partic- ipants | Duration |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| District Karachi | 06-4-2009-6:00 pm | District press club Karachi | 05 | 59:34 |
| District Sukkur | 11-4-2009-1:00 pm | Office Daily Ibrat newspaper | 05 | 47:39 |
| District Khairpur | 11-4-2009-6:00 pm | Office Sindh TV channel | 06 | 46:52 |
| District Larkana | 12-4-2009-1:00 pm | District press club Larkana | 04 | 50:28 |
| District Hyderabad | 13-4-2009-9:00 pm | Office APP news agency | 06 | 01:15 |
| District Thatta | 14-4-2009-5:00 pm | District press club Thatta | 04 | 57:49 |

2.5 Implementation of the focus group sessions

The focus group discussions began with an introduction by the moderator which had three sections: Welcome statement, a brief overview of the subject matter to be taken up, and an explanation of the discussion rules.

2.6 Recording the focus groups

The principal data produced by focus groups are the verbal responses, statements, opinions, arguments and interactions of the participants (A. S. Hansen & Newbold, 1998, pp. 276-277). Therefore, taking into account the nature of the data, all the focus group sessions were audio-recorded. Because, this is the most simple and inexpensive method, and it can be transcribed verbatim or condensed into brief, written reports (Alreck & Settle, 1995, p. 404). In addition, audio-recording is considered the most common way of making the focus group conversations analysable (Morgan, 1998, p. 56).

2.7 Data analysis

According to their nature 'the fundamental data that focus groups produce are transcripts of the group discussions' (Morgan, 1988, p. 10). Thus, the analysis of focus group data involves the researcher's subjective process of making sense of what was discussed in the groups. Therefore, a final written report of the focus group data has been put together and discussed under the major themes and research question that took place across the full set of groups.

2.8 Ethical issues

In consideration of the ethical aspects the participants were informed that what the purpose of the focus group discussions was and where and how they would be conducted, with whom and who the researcher was and what they represent, and also they were told that the discussions would be audio-taped.

3 Findings of the focus group discussions

3.1 Factionalism and its reasons, among Sindh journalists

To begin with, it is nowadays commonly observable that almost in all the districts of Sindh, journalists instead of being at one platform

are found distributed into various groups. Some journalists have established new/separate press clubs, having seceded from the district press clubs. Others have grouped themselves under the flag of a specific media organization. Therefore, the chief purpose of this research question was to know and assess the factors behind such groupings among journalists in Sindh province, Pakistan. In this regard, the two informants belonging to one urban focus group started in this way that *'there are many reasons'* (Karachi focus group) or *'there are various factors involved in dividing the journalists'* (Karachi focus group). Thus, those diverse reasons and factors enumerated by the focus group participants in the discussions are thematically discussed as follows:

3.1.1 Conspiracy by media organizations/owners

One of the various reasons, the participants enlisted in their responses were *'conspiracy by media organizations'*. As four participants said that, along with other factors, media organizations are also responsible for the division among journalists in following words that *'media organizations are also involved'* (Hyderabad focus group), and *'media organizations are involved in dividing the journalists'* (Karachi focus group). The third participant while placing the responsibility with media owners also revealed their interest behind the division among the journalists in following manner, that *'media owners also want the division of journalists; because, journalists back bite each other, in this way the organizations stay well-aware of the activities of their reporters from whom they extort money and how much money they extort so the media organizations also can have a share of it'* (Khairpur focus group). The fourth participant, along with media organizations also blamed the state, in his words *'the reasons behind it (groupings) are media organizations and the state'* (Larkana focus group).

3.1.2 Conspiracy by state/government

Moreover, about the involvement of state behind the rifts among journalists six other participants underpinned this theory by stating that *'official authorities also want their groups, so the journalists will be weaker'* (Larkana focus group), the *'state wants the journalists to be divided'*, (Thatta focus group), *'itself in the media there are some non-serious journalists so the state divides the journalists'* (Thatta focus group), and *'they (the state) want journalists to be divided, they will never like to see the unity of journalists'* (Thatta focus group). One other participant while enumerating many factors behind the rifts

among journalists not only took the name of the state, but also called it a chief beneficiary in the following way that *'the chief stakeholder is the Establishment of the state'* (Karachi focus group). Regarding the tactics of state in dividing the journalists, one participant said that *'government people by various tactics create groupings as they can damage the press'* (Thatta focus group). And some other tactics as were stated by one participant follows that *'they (the government people) buy journalists, award them government contracts and offer even hard cash and put pressure upon them'* (Thatta focus group). Added to that one of the tactic used at district level as told by one participant is the *'government formulates policies at district level they divide journalists into groups, and for that purpose they prepare lists of journalists who would be obliged and who would not be obliged with information collection at district level government departments'*(Thatta focus group). The participant further continued that *'to a great extent the government has had success in creating rifts among journalists'* (Thatta focus group).

3.1.3 Interference by political parties

Some participants cited involvement or interference by political parties as one of the factors behind the rifts among the journalists in Sindh. In this regard, one participant said that *'other reason political parties as well place their persons in the press clubs'* (Karachi focus group). Moreover, one participant mentioned the names of the mainstream political parties in Pakistan behind the rift among journalists in following words that, *'There is political involvement. The PPP (Pakistan Peoples' Party) would like one of theirs to be the president of the press club and the Muslim League would like one of theirs to be the president of the press club'* (Larkana focus group). And a similar view was given by another participant from another focus group that *'The specific persons of MNAs (Member of National Assembly) and MPAs (Member of Parliament Assembly) who work for their interests are the office-bearers of press clubs and keep a hold upon press clubs'* (Sukkur focus group). In conclusion it seems that politics or politicians have also a part in getting the journalists divided into groups.

3.1.4 The monopoly of senior journalists at press clubs

Another reason for factionalism among journalists, in the view of one participant, was that *'one of the main reasons for grouping is senior journalists'* (Khairpur focus group). In this way, different participants gave different reasons why senior journalists have

become the cause of rifts. As one participant said that it was the result of the emergence of electronic media. He stated that *'this is the era of electronic media and senior journalists who belong to print media have lessened their importance, so they have nothing to do and just conspire and poison the ears of junior journalists against each other'* (Khairpur focus group). However, another participant, categorizing the journalists into two political ideologies, said that *'there are two categories of journalists first, those who joined journalism before 1990, who used to report in favour and praise of bureaucracy and bureaucrats. Second, category is of those fresh blood and idealists who belong to the politics of leftism, so after 1990 when the Soviet Union of Russia was dismantled they came to the profession of journalism. And due to the arrival of these left-wingers the seniors became disturbed'* (Thatta focus group). The opinions of other participants implied that somehow these senior journalists want to keep establishing their monopoly upon the press clubs and do not allow press club membership to others. As one participant described the situation in the words that *'actually the number of journalists who write and report stories sitting in hotels is more than the member journalists of this press club where we are sitting now. However, if you will not accept them and for a long period would not award them membership of the press club then they will set up new groups or press clubs'* (Thatta focus group). The view of this participant also got support of another participant from a different focus group in the following words as *'in the press clubs of small cities membership is not awarded to junior journalists, therefore, they are divided into groups and they set up their separate press clubs'* (Khairpur focus group).

The reasons for not allowing membership to the junior journalists by senior journalists, one participant explained in this way, that *'due to fear of defeat in election seniors do not award membership to junior journalists, therefore, the juniors get disappointed and set up new press clubs'* (Hyderabad focus group). The other reasons for not allowing the press club membership to new entrants, young or junior journalists are that *'since years vested interest type of persons have occupied the press clubs. They have linkages with government departments and they extort money from there. Therefore, if a new entrant is entered in the field of journalism, they fear that the share of extorted money will dwindle in value, therefore, they (senior journalists) do not own to new entrants'* (Karachi focus group). In a similar vein, another participant also mentioned a similar reason for not allowing the press club membership to junior

journalists, in his words *'because the number of shares will increase in the booty'* (Khairpur focus group).

3.1.5 Leadership and press club funds

The other main factors behind rifts among journalists, according to the participants are leadership and funds. In regards to leadership, many participants said something like the participant who explained *'they want to be office-bears of the club'* (Khairpur focus group), *'everybody likes to establish one's dominance or aspire to be the officer-bearer of the press club'* (Khairpur focus group), *'clash of interest and a desire to be a leader are the reasons behind grouping'* (Larkana focus group). Some participants even mentioned the reasons for the interest by the journalists to be leaders or office bearers of the press clubs in the following way that *'leadership is the main reason, because when one becomes president of the press club he is recognized everywhere, in press conferences DCOs (District Coordination Officers), DPOs (District Police Officers) address him or when the president of the press club meets politicians they honour him'* (Larkana focus group). Another participant stated that *'we are agro-based and a feudal society, so everyone wants to be leader; because, if someone becomes the president of the press club, automatically, his personal relations increase in society'* (Larkana focus group). In addition to that some participants also identified funds, which are given to the district press clubs by government or ministers, as one of the reasons for rifts among journalists. As one participant said: *'funds are given to press clubs so conflicts over funds and conflicts over becoming the president of the press club'* (Sukkur focus group) are also reasons. Another participant identified funds as the reason for divisions: *'the reason for grouping is funds which are deposited in the account of the press club'* (Larkana focus group). Moreover, one participant while calling the funds a bone of contention among journalists also mentioned how frequently those funds are received by the press clubs: *'funds which the district government or the Sindh government awards annually'* (Sukkur focus group). More significant, as one participant noted about funds held by press clubs, was that *'there is no check and balance of them (funds)'* (Sukkur focus group).

Finally, another factor for the rifts among journalists is ethnic differences, particularly between Sindhi and Urdu speaking journalists. Regarding this cause one participant stated in detail that *'particularly, in our region (Sindh province) there is ethnic difference. There was a time in the Karachi Press Club that Sindhi*

journalist could not enter. He was not allowed to enter. This time the Karachi Press Club membership was not open because they knew that the number of Sindhi journalists would increase' (Karachi focus group).

4 Conclusion

Factionalism among Sindh journalists is common in almost all districts of Sindh. For example, some journalists have walk out of the main/basic district press clubs and established their own separate press clubs. Others have grouped themselves under the flagship of some exclusive media organisations. The causes for such factionalism may be conspiracies by media organisations, media owners, state or government. Further tactics of the state or government to divide journalists are buying them by awarding government contracts, offering hard cash, and pressurizing. At district level governments divide journalists into groups, and for that purpose they prepare lists of journalists who should be supplied news and who should not. Moreover, political parties also divide journalists by placing their members in the press club, who are then elected to posts within the press clubs, and serve the interests of their political parties. The other main reason for the division among journalists is the monopoly established by senior journalists, who rarely award press club membership to junior journalists.

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Indigenous media programmes in foreign languages as strategy to enhance the globalisation of the Nigerian culture

Endong, Floribert P. C.¹ & Essoh, Ndo E. G.²

Abstract

The growing globalisation of the Nigerian motion pictures (Nollywood) and the Nigerian hip-hop music production has caught the attention of many scholars, politicians and critics. These two sectors of popular culture production, so far represent the major vectors of Nigeria's contribution to the international communication flow. Despite this favourable situation, additional efforts are still necessary, to enhance Nigeria's contribution to the global information flow. Based on semi-structured interviews with experts and secondary data, this paper argues in defence of the use of indigenous media programmes in foreign languages as strategies to enhance the globalisation of the Nigerian culture. The paper contends that Nigerian news and cultural production strategies should perfectly emulate big international (Western) news agencies that broadcast in a diversity of foreign languages including European, Asian modern languages; and even some African vehicular languages. The paper explores a number of imperatives for such a project to effectively emerge and survive in the Nigerian media and cultural ecology. It equally analyses the prospects of such an initiative and identifies potential challenges to it. The paper finally provides ways of overcoming these challenges.

Keywords: Media programming, foreign languages, Nigerian culture, globalisation, cultural imperialism

Introduction: Nigeria in international communication

African countries generally have a minute, nay insignificant contribution to the international communication flow (Endong 2014; Kerr 2011; Ekpang 2008, Salau 2006). Like the majority of

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under-developed countries of the globe, they immensely depend on particular western countries (precisely the USA and her capitalist European allies) for information and entertainment. In effect, the international communication flow is still immensely dominated by the West as the biggest and most influential media conglomerates as well as the major news agencies of the planet are based in the west (Endong 2014; Kerr 2011; Ekpang 2008, Iyorza 2008; Tanjon 2006, Watson 2006, Salawu 2006; Brandston and Stafford 2006). Hamelink (1996:362) corroborates this view when he notes that entertainment is heavily represented in the one-way traffic of the television programs circulated in the world and this leads to a global spreading of cultural values that pervades the soap opera and the crime series produced in the metropolitan (mostly third world) nations, notably African countries. Hamelink further contends that:

The industrial corporations, however, provide more than just television programs, they also graciously entertain the world with films, records, cassettes, women's magazines, and children's comic [...] Although the international communication flows tends to consist mainly of entertainment products, the role of international news in transferring values should not be underestimated. The selection few large international news agencies undoubtedly reflects the values of the metropolitan countries.

The international communication flow is therefore dominated by foreign media multinationals. These news agency and other media conglomerates are veritable channels of the Western cultures. They are vectors of the decried phenomenon of cultural/media imperialism and continue to thrive thanks to the accentuated westernisation of Nigerians (Endong 2014). Nevertheless, Kolbowe and Madu (2012:87) somehow contradict the thesis of media imperialism with respect to media (television) production in Nigerian. They insightfully opine that the indigenization of media - instituted by the Nigerian Broadcasting (NBC) code - has remarkably enable the resistance of cultural/media imperialism in Nigeria.

Television was Nigeria's foremost medium of cultural and media imperialism but the recent trend in programming presents a paradigm shift as it is now a transmitter of indigenous items that are packaged by people with traditional knowledge. This development is a product of the regulations of NBC, its monitoring role, the appreciation of Nigerian cultural heritage by broadcasters, among others. Such indigenous consciousness has

improved the sector and reduced the unidirectional flow of information from the West to developing nations.

Two important sectors of popular culture production namely Nigerian motion picture industry (Nollywood) and contemporary Nigerian urban music (hip-hop) constitute the major areas of Nigeria's contribution to the international communication (Kerr 2011; Ibok 2008; Iyorza 2008). Kerr (2011:18) concedes that informal channels of distribution of media products such as social networking sites, e-mail attachments, You Tube and the like, continually facilitate the increasing globalisation of African media production in general and the Nigerian film and music industries in particular, thereby facilitating a growing contribution to the international communication flow from Nigeria.

Informal distribution of audio and video clips through You Tube, social networking sites and e-mail attachments can build inter-regional tastes for local African productions that, to an extent, undermine formal distribution channels of Fox, Time Warner or Ster Kinekor. Innovative marketing processes partially account (along with the assiduous video piracy of Chinese retailers) for the phenomenal successes of Nigerian videos in many parts of the African continent and beyond.

In the same light, Kolbowe and Madu (2012:88) view the presence of Nigerian news in the international air space with very high optimism. They opine that the integration and movement of information from developing to developed nations is intensified by the trend in satellite broadcasting. Though these satellite broadcasting channels (dominated by the West) tend to emphasize the negative aspects of news from the developing nations, the nature of African cast in the international media would also change with time, with the increasing presence of African/Nigerian media in the satellite news diffusion. This presence is therefore viewed as a serious contribution to redressing the double phenomenon of international information imbalance and western media imperialism.

Thus, cultural and media imperialism, which was achieved through the influx of foreign contents affecting cultural, political and sociological ideas of the audience, has highly declined. [...] The presence of African news in the international air space has been a mixed blessing because western media highlight more negative than positive social realities of the developing world.

Such reportage is not holistic and can be linked to hard news craving, marketability of network and bias. There is need for balanced reporting of events from a holistic viewpoint (Kolbowe and Madu 2010:88).

It is easily noticeable that the major news agencies of the globe used foreign languages to intensify the globalisation of their news production and to reach as many audiences as possible in the world. News agencies such as BBC, VOA and RFI for instance are noted for their programmes in a variety of foreign languages. These stations have created broadcast services in languages such as Spanish, French, Arabic, Portuguese and even in some vehicular African languages such as Hausa, Swahili and the like, in a bid to diversify their audience and increase their contribution in the international communication flow (Tanjon 2006; Sajawu 2006). This indicates that the mobilisation/use of foreign languages in international broadcast have a great importance in this era of globalisation and serious competition in the sphere of international communication. It is a tool African states –notably Nigeria - may equally employ to sell their cultures in the international market through international broadcasting (satellite TV or radio).

This paper attempts to show the extent to which media programmes in foreign languages (French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Arabic among others) may increase the globalisation of Nigerian culture and ultimately improve Nigeria's contribution to the international flow. It explores the major prospects and challenges to such a laudable project and offers some strategies adoptable to overcome obstacles to the project.

Foreign language broadcast in Nigeria

A good number of critics view the creation of media programmes in foreign languages as one of the multiple imperatives for the development, promotion and globalisation of the Nigerian culture. According to these critics, such media programmes (in foreign languages) can serve as strong vectors of the exportation of Nigerian cultures around the world as they offer real opportunities for reaching diverse international audiences. Iyorza (2008:90-91) reports for instance that media imperatives for Nigeria's cultural development and globalisation demands the true function of the Nigerian mass media (radio, television, film industry, newspaper and magazines), to entertain, inform and

educate in both local (indigenous) and foreign languages. He recommends that more efforts be crystallized on international broadcast which entails programming in foreign languages.

Transmissions should be reviewed online, the federal government should put in place laws that would enhance longer hours of international broadcasts during which programmes content of radio and television relevant to Nigerian realities, history, culture, artefacts, values and national interest are featured. Media programmes should be broadcast in English language, Pidgin English and other foreign language for people in other parts of the world to listen, view and understand and all local stations within the country must hook up during such broadcast.

In the same line of argument, Nsan, Diana Mary – a media producer with Cross River Broadcasting Channel (CBRC) – observes that the relatively insignificant amount of international broadcast in foreign languages is partly responsible for the reduced promotion of the rich Nigerian culture in the international scene. Because of this reduced presence of media programmes in foreign languages, some of Nigeria’s cultural potentials are unknown to many people in other places of the globe. She further contends that media programmes in foreign languages, notably in the French language, can help correct the negative reporting made by foreign international media organisations on African cultures in general and Nigerian cultures in particular.

Media programmes in foreign languages that showcase the Nigerian culture have potentials of presenting and projecting the real image of the Nigerian people and culture [...] This image is often wrongly painted by foreign media which are noted for their negative reporting about Africa and thus, about Nigeria. Programmes in foreign languages can therefore constitute a veritable tool of the promotion of Nigerian cultures and why not vectors of Nigerian propaganda.

Besides simply advertising Nigerian cultures, it may offer a forum for selling the Nigerian destination to tourists all over the world. By such a strategic channel, these tourists may be encouraged to attend cultural exhibitions taking place in Nigeria. Ako, Eyo, a producer with the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Calabar notes that such programmes “will draw expatriates’ attention to Nigerian cultural heritage and cause them

to concentrate and know details about the Nigerian cultures. [...] they can even talk about these programmes and come and partake in our cultural exhibitions such as carnivals, festival and the like”.

However, media initiatives in foreign languages by Nigerians are very rare. The few observable media initiatives in such languages include the French Village Community radio in Badagry (Lagos) and French and Spanish translations of/in some religious programmes over Emmanuel TV. To these two principal bodies one may also mention the Voice of Nigeria (VON) project which undoubtedly constitutes the major media initiative in foreign languages by Nigerians.

In effect, the *Voice of Nigeria* is the sole media outlet authorised by law to broadcast to the outside world. It was established basically for propaganda purposes with the vision “to become the International Radio Broadcast of first choice for anyone interested in Nigeria and Africa”. Its creation is firmly associated with the growing influence and cardinal role Nigeria plays in the affairs of African continent. Its creation also follows the pressing need to have an external radio station through which authoritative information about Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, could be disseminated. Its mission is consequently: “[To reflect] Nigerian and African perspective in our broadcast, win and sustain the attention, respect and goodwill of listeners worldwide, particularly Nigerians and Africans in the Diaspora, making Nigeria’s voice to be heard more positively in the shaping of our world” (Ndukwe 2013:18). The media organ very much functions as its western counterparts such as the Voice of America, as it broadcasts in over eight languages including English, Hausa, Arabic, Kiswahili, Ffulde, French, Yoruba, and Igbo. The authorities of the media house are presently working towards reintroducing the German language –which for some time was stopped as well as towards the introduction of some other foreign languages such as Chinese, Spanish and Portuguese.

The existence of the VON notwithstanding, international broadcast in foreign languages remains a minor feature of broadcasting in Nigeria. Mbanefo (2011:53-54) decries this situation with close reference to broadcast in the French language when he submits that “certainly, Nigeria is not lagging behind in the area of broadcast journalism when it comes to satisfying monolingual conception of English-based broadcast [...] However, there seems to be a serious lacuna in the area of French based

broadcast journalism". There is therefore a need to make a case for foreign language broadcast in Nigeria. Though such a project is visibly monumental, the country possesses valuable resources that can be harnessed. The following section of this paper attempts to analyse these potentials.

The prospects of foreign languages broadcast

It goes without saying that foreign language broadcast may need a pool of local human resources possessing linguistic aptitude in foreign languages, to be able to conceive local programmes showcasing Nigerian rich culture. This brings to the fore the necessity to stabilize the teaching and learning of foreign languages in Nigerian educational institutions, especially in universities. So far, the Nigerian Government has particularly been supporting the teaching of the French language - Nigerian official second language (Federal Republic of Nigeria 2004; Ministry of Education 2010) - as early as the primary level of education. Furthermore, the Government – through the appropriate agency – is encouraging the teaching of some other modern languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, German and recently Chinese (Mokwenye 2007) at university level.

The existence in the country's universities of Departments offering programmes in foreign languages and translation studies and producing cohorts of graduates in these fields is a valuable asset and factor working indirectly in favour of foreign language broadcast as products of such foreign language Departments can be absorbed, (after appropriate and well regulated recycle training by media houses) to conceive, direct or present indigenised programmes in foreign languages (Esoh and Endong 2014; Rasaq 2013; Mbanefo 2011; Mokwenye 2010).

Another factor working very much in favour of foreign language broadcast is the existence in Nigeria of linguistic programme for professional purpose (especially in French), being dispensed by specialised cultural bodies and institutions such as the network of *Alliances Françaises*, the Badagry French Village and the French Institute (*Institut Française*). Good examples of such programmes include the FOS (*Français sur Objectifs Spécifiques* [French for Specific Objectives]) and FLP (*Français Language Professionnel* [French as Professional Language]). These programmes are exploited by a good number of private and governmental enterprises and multinationals wishing to extend

their foot prints and reach to foreign countries, especially those within the ECOWAS sub-region. Such programme can, as well, be exploited by Nigerian media houses to enable their staffs acquire necessary linguistic aptitude in foreign languages for the conception and production of indigenised programmes in selected foreign languages. Rasaq (2013:81) argues that such programmes (FOS and FLP) are suitable for the enhancement of professional communication, the transfer of human resources and the search for new professional perspectives by multinational enterprises and public international institutions. With particular respect to the FOS scheme, he insightfully notes that such programmes “*Jouent un rôle actif [...] permettant aux personnels mobiles de s’adapter aux nouveaux environnements professionnels. Au Nigeria, nous avons des exemples empiriques impliquant la formation en FOS des fonctionnaires, des diplomates, des personnels dans les sociétés multinationales visant à créer de nouvelles opportunités et porter le flambeau du pays dans les pays francophones*” play an active role [...] as they enable migrant personnel to adapt to new professional environments. In Nigeria, we have empirical examples attesting the fact that there is the training, through the FOS programme, of civil servants, diplomats and staffs from multinationals, wishing to create new opportunities and to be flag bearers of the country in francophone countries [Our translation].

Furthermore, the Nigerian universities have produced a number of foreign language educationists (for instance Tunde Fatunde) who have served as correspondents for some foreign media outlets using modern foreign languages as working languages. Some of these language educators are very well known and have worked or continue to work with Nigerian international media such as VON. These foreign language educationists include Akin Demeideros, Mr. N. Nwobasi (of the Foreign Service VOA), Mark Ekundayo Dada, Akin Kolade, Jacob Ukoyen, (of the University of Ibadan), Karl Mann (of the University of Ilorin), Lena Okon, among others. All these are clear evidences that local media houses may find potential broadcasters in some foreign languages even among Nigerian foreign language teachers (Pocher 2011). All these foreign language education experts are visible resources that both private and government media houses may harness to implement foreign language broadcast in Nigeria. Such resources (university graduates in foreign languages, foreign language pedagogues, training programmes such as the FOS and FLP) may be exploited for the conception and production of

indigenised programmes in foreign languages that will be vectors of the intensified globalisation of the Nigerian culture and that will help increase Nigeria's contribution to the international communication flow.

Challenges faced by foreign languages broadcast in Nigeria

Foreign language broadcast in Nigeria is faced with a good number of challenges. The most serious of these challenges is perhaps the relatively high cost incurred for the production of such programmes. Producing classical radio and television programmes in English is often very demanding in terms of finance. This has most often caused many local media outlets to resort to infotainment or the importation of foreign media content - which visibly are perceived to be cheaper than locally produced programmes (Endong 2014; Hamelink 1996, Effiom 2006, Ekpang 2008, Tanjon 2008). Hamelink (1996: 357) opines that US television entertainment fills in larger proportions of the airtime in many countries. Moreover local programs are produced according to US formats, even small television networks in poor countries unquestioningly follow the western example of broadcasting as many hours as possible. Such a practice then pushed these networks into open arms of the Theo Kojak and the Starsky and Hutch, where the production of an authentic local program may cost \$1000, the local station owner may import North American culture for less than \$500.

If such difficulties are observed for classical programmes, what will be the case for the production of indigenised programmes in foreign languages which virtually entails the more or less 'extravagant' expertise of both special staffs (who are bilingual or polyglots) and eventually expatriates? Another challenge may be Nigerians' negative attitude towards the teaching and learning of foreign languages. Many Nigerian do not see the need to teach or learn these languages. They arguably view these foreign languages as threat to Nigerian indigenous languages (Mokwenye 2007). It would not be surprising that many Nigerians do not fervently see the need to conceive and air media programmes in these languages. According to Mokwenye (2010:7) many Nigerians are still to be sensitised on the need to positively change their attitude toward foreign languages and give them a place in sensitive professional fields such as the media profession,

diplomacy, tourism and the like. With particular reference to the teaching of French in Nigeria, he contends that:

It is expected that attention should be directed towards a number of areas of demand for French language as tourism, diplomacy, conflict resolution, multilingualism, journalism and so on. For this reason, I believe that participants [Nigerian critics and language experts] would be thinking seriously about the need to address the issue of re-aligning our teaching programmes in such a way as to prepare our students to fit into these areas of activity among others. We must not function in such a manner as to create the impression in the minds of our students that French is only an academic course that does not have any practical relevance especially in the world of work outside the teaching profession.

There is therefore still a need to make a case for the teaching of foreign languages and by extension, a case for foreign language broadcast in Nigeria. The benefits of such a broadcast though great and very perceptible are still not seen by many Nigerians. As noted by Mokwenye (2010) above, many have limited the teaching of foreign languages to the confines of academic courses meanwhile they can be used in the Nigerian media in the production of indigenised programmes that potentially will contribute in the globalisation of the rich and complex Nigerian culture.

Another challenge may be local criticism based on arguable incompatibility between the content of these programmes and the language of production. As notes by Ako, Some local critics may attack such programmes on ground that they are odd and not necessary. She posits that "I may look odd for our programmes on Nigerian cultures to be aired in foreign languages, (say in Chinese). Local audiences may not really appreciate them and so might see the rational of airing them".

Conclusion and suggestions

This paper has presented indigenised media programmes in foreign languages as one of the multiple media imperatives for the increased globalisation of Nigerian cultures. It has argued that the conception of such programmes and their airing through international broadcast, coupled with Nigerian motion picture industry (nollywood) and Nigerian hip-hop, will naturally increase Nigeria's contribution to international communication flow. The paper has pointed the fact that foreign language broadcast (media initiatives in foreign languages) is rare and quasi-inexistent in Nigeria. The reflexion has gone further to

explore some of the prospects of this form of broadcast. The paper, in this respect, identified products of foreign language Department of Nigerian universities and language training programmes for professional purposes such as the FOS and FLP among other factors and resources creating prospects for foreign language broadcast in Nigeria. The paper equally mentioned a number of challenges to such a scheme, including the high cost of locally produced programmes, the progressive westernisation of local producers and Nigerians' negative attitude towards foreign language teaching and deductively towards foreign language media programmes.

Based on observations made in this study the paper suggests that the Nigerian government sit up financially and institutes a quota for foreign language broadcast in the broadcasting code which presently is in force in the country. Indigenised media programmes in foreign languages should be encouraged and given an equitable portion in the various Nigerian audio-visual media houses, especially those that are on cable.

Also, foreign language teaching programmes aimed at linguistic training for professional purpose should be harnessed to get a size if not the entire media personnel of respective Nigerian media houses, trained in foreign languages so as to be empowered to function and run indigenised programmes in foreign languages. Where financial resources permit, expatriates and Nigerian language experts be employed and circumstantially trained to run these programmes.

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Portrayal of the Muslim community and Islam by Indian cinema post 9/11: An analysis

Abstract

Indian cinema has been a mirror to the multidimensional nature of the subcontinent, be it in its portrayal of Indian culture, society, castes, classes, politics, art, or religion. Movies like *Bombay* depict the trauma of an inter-religious love and marriage of a young Hindu man and a beautiful Muslim woman, and their ultimate triumph, amidst a communal riot. Muslim terrorism was depicted in movies like *Roja*, *Mission Kashmir*, *Maachis* and others, with Kashmir and the Indo-Pakistan conflict as the theme. Minorities especially Muslims, as spies, traitors, or smugglers, has been a common theme in commercial cinema. This paper attempts to examine the representation of a minority community— the Muslims- in Indian cinema post 9/11. The paper presents a content analysis of the films *New York*, *Anwar* and *Vishwaroopam*. Predominantly, so far, the representation of this minority community in Indian cinema has remained within the dominant discourse, even in its stereotyping.

Key words: Indian cinema, portrayal, Muslims, post 9/11, content analysis, stereotyping.

Introduction

In this era of communication explosion, wars begin and end with media (MEŠIĆ, Mirza). The media play a significant role in the process of social construction of reality and can be used as a potent weapon to mould and sculpt people's perceptions, as the information that individuals are exposed to greatly influence their perception of the world. In short, we amble about with media-generated images of the world, using them to construct meaning about political and social issues (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, and Sasson, 1992).

Simply put, the media shape the world as we see it. In fact the prime objective of media is to shape public opinion, and reshape it again if needed (Khan & Bokhari, 2011).

All the same today no discussion is complete without taking into account the role of media in representing concerns of the citizens.

It has grown into an important and immensely powerful institution, which kick starts debates, paves path for dialogue, and shapes public consciousness (Kumar, 2011).

The concept of social construction of reality includes the ideas of socialization by which individuals make sense of the world through various variables, one of which is the mass media. The media can be seen as a socializing agent by constructing reality and then disseminating this reality to the public (Pollok). The public in turn reconstructs this mediated reality. The process by which the media interpret and construct the world, or external reality for us is called representation.

Indian cinema has been a mirror to the multidimensional nature of the subcontinent, be it in its portrayal of Indian culture, society, castes, classes, politics, art, or religion. A major theme peculiar to Indian cinema has been the portrayal of love and the opposition faced by the lovers- ending either in their union, separation or even death – a major threat to their union being religious differences, apart from caste and class (*Chemeen, Julie, Marocharitram, Laila Majnu, Gadar, Veer Zara*).

While films on communal riots in post independent, post partition India have been made to critical acclaim and with commercial success, movies as recent as '*Bombay*' (1995) depict the trauma of an inter-religious love and marriage of a young Hindu man and a beautiful Muslim woman, and their ultimate triumph, amidst a communal riot. Muslim terrorism was depicted in movies like *Roja* (1992), *Mission Kashmir*, *Maachis* and others, with Kashmir and the Indo-Pakistan conflict as the theme. Minorities especially Muslims, as spies, traitors, or smugglers, has been a common theme in commercial cinema. Equally popular are themes with minorities (again, especially Muslims) as patriots who don't hesitate to give up their lives for their country. Movies like *Amar Akbar Anthony* have a colourful, romantic and fun portrayal of Muslims and have endeared them to the audiences (Nafisa H. Kattarwala). Kattarwala credits Hindi cinema with also having tried time and again, to represent Islam as the religion of love (*Love & God, Laila Majnu*).

In '*Chak De*', the Muslim Hockey coach of the Indian women's Hockey team takes it upon himself to prove his patriotism to the country and ensures that the team wins the world cup. He is forced to prove himself after he loses the finals in

the Men's Hockey match as captain, against the Pakistani team and is accused of being a traitor. It has to be mentioned that even in movies where Muslims are depicted in a negative manner (as terrorists, for example) there are smaller, less important Muslim characters that are portrayed in a positive light. But the terrorist is always a Muslim.

Malayalam cinema is probably the more secular in its approach to portrayal of the Islamic protagonist- this is a reflection of the Malayalam society, which is considered far more tolerant and secular than most societies in India (*Chemmeen, Ustaad Hotel, His Highness Abdullah*). *Ustaad Hotel* portrays three generations of a Muslim family, the first generation protagonist is the 'good', patriotic Muslim, while the second generation protagonist is the neo rich 'Gulf Muslim' and the third is the more 'modern' generation (M.S. Hyas, 2012). The movie is more a subtle message on family planning, according to Hyas.

Post 9/11, '*My name is Khan*' was a bold attempt to negate the fast emerging stereotyped image of the Muslim as a global terrorist, with the main protagonist of the movie, a Muslim, constantly repeating the phrase, "My name is Khan and I am not a terrorist." The fact that he has Asperger's Syndrome, and says only what he means, is an alibi to his statement "My name is Khan and I am not a terrorist". You have to believe him.

'*Viswaroopam*' (2013) directed by noted Tamil Actor and Director Kamal Hassan, deals with global Islamic terrorism. While the terrorists are Muslims, the man who infiltrates their camp and foils their plans of terrorist attacks in the U.S., is also a Muslim.

In their content analysis of 50 Hindi movies, Muhammad Ashraf Khan and Syeda Zuria Bokhari (2011) aimed to identify the slant or treatment given to Muslims in these movies. They found that an overwhelming number of movies had an unfavourable representation of Muslims (65.2%), while 30.4% of the portrayal was neutral. An insignificant 4.4% of the portrayal was favourable. As many as ten parameters were considered for the rating (including dress, motivation, profession, patriotism among others).

Khan and Bokhari also note the paradigm shift in the portrayal of Muslims in Hindi cinema, from movies on Muslims as emperors and Mughals (*Mughal e Azam, Taj Mahal, Razia Sultana*), to the Jihadis in the late 1980s and 1990s (*Roja, Mission Kashmir*,

Sarfaroosh, Fiza, Fanaa). Now it is the Muslim as a global terrorist (*Kurbaan, Vishwaroopam*). Apart from the Muslim historical, rarely has a Muslim been the main protagonist or hero except probably in Malayalam cinema.

In his analysis of Hindi cinema, Maidul Islam (2007) accuses Bollywood (the Hindi film industry in India) of depicting the Indian Muslim as one who gives precedence to his religion rather than to his country. He further accuses Bollywood as portraying the Muslim either as 'feudal landlords or terrorists, villains and gangsters'.

The study

Three movies: the first, the Hindi movie *New York* (2009), the second, the 2012 Malayalam movie *Anwar*, and third, the controversial Tamil movie *Vishwaroopam* (2013) show three different aspects of the impact of the 9/11 attack on the perception and understanding of the Muslim community and Islam.

The movies will be analysed for their portrayal of Islamic terrorism post 9/11, the representation of Muslims, and to identify stereotypes if any. It will also try to answer the question, do the Indian films represent the reality of the Muslim community or are just portraying a warped image of the community.

New York

Yashraj films is one of the largest production houses in Hindi cinema, famous for movies of the romance genre.

New York depicts the plight of Muslims in America in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. Islamic terrorism makes victims out of the ordinary Muslims living in America, by creating a wave of distrust and antagonism against the community as a whole. 1200 men of foreign origin were illegally detained and tortured in the months following 9/11 (see post script of the movie) by a panic-stricken nation shaken at the terror acts in its soil that killed thousands of innocent civilians.

The Hindu heroine, Maya, is the neutral character in the film, which is essentially a conflict between the Christian and Muslim, the American and the Asian, symbolized by the very American Sam, who turns out to be the Asian Samir Aziz post 9/11. The Christian-Muslim antagonism and conflicts go back a long time, and Islam is held largely guilty of the degradation of the Christian

West, thanks to the rise of Islam and occupation of newer territories by Islam, resulting in a 'loss' for Christianity (Omar Abdullah Bagabas, 1996).

When the going is great, pre 9/11, the college hero is Sam, of Indian origin with a father who is a professor in Indian culture. As a new student, he competes with a senior and wins, the challenge being the first to raise the American flag atop the college building.

Omar Aijaz, whose Muslim identity is unmistakable from the start, is from India, goes to New York as a student, two years before the 9/11 bombings. Maya, Sam and Omar, each as different from the other in character as chalk and cheese, soon strike a close friendship.

When the 9/11 terror bombing is shown live on TV, it is Maya and Sam who shed tears. It is at this point that Omar breaks away from the group, bitterly disappointed to find that Maya, whom he loves, is in love with Sam. He does not hear of them nor do they of him, for the next seven years. As he reminisces later, "That one day changed our lives forever."

The third Muslim protagonist is the FBI South East Asia Agent with a more typically Hindu name: Roshan- and you think he is a Hindu until he discloses to Omar that he is a Muslim.

The movie opens with the seizing of weapons in a taxi in New York. The owner, Omar Aijaz is detained by the FBI, which has deliberately planted the weapons. He is accused of being a terrorist by Roshan, the FBI Agent. Omar asks in sincere bewilderment and shock, "Terrorism? What does that mean?". He is forced to tell his story of life in America when he first came there as a student nine years earlier, and the details of his friendship with Maya and Sam.

Omar is detained for a purpose- the FBI Agent, Roshan, wants evidence that Samir is the head of a terrorist sleeper cell in New York. His 'men' are identified as terrorists- all Muslims-from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. He is asked to do an undercover job for the FBI, in return for his freedom. Omar again denies in shocked disbelief: "I am not a terrorist and neither can Sam be one".

Omar finally relents: not because he is cowed down, but because he wants to prove the innocence of his friend and himself.

Roshan teaches him how to handle a gun when he realizes that Omar has never held one. To his statement, "You must have fired many guns", Omar snaps in irritation, "Yes, during Diwali". (In India, toy guns with strips of tiny balls of gunpowder are shot by children during Diwali, a festival characterized by lighting of lamps and bursting crackers to celebrate the victory of 'good over evil'.) A Hindu festival enjoyed by a Muslim boy in India.

Omar enters the lives of Sam, Maya (who are now husband and wife) and their young son. When Omar does find out that Samir is indeed the head of a sleeper group- one which is identified as indulging in suspicious activities pointing towards terrorism, but not yet got into action as a terrorist group- he is devastated.

The fun-loving, charismatic all American Sam, is now Sameer Aziz, whose horrifying experience as an illegal detainee on suspicion of having terrorist links, turns him into a bitter Muslim, who wants nothing but to take revenge. Stories of degrading treatment of suspected Muslims during their illegal detention is seen through the eyes of the protagonist Sam, and his employee Zilgal, who Maya is trying to help as a human rights worker. Zilgal finally kills himself, unable to "live and face the insult everyday".

When Omar tries to get Roshan's sympathy for Sameer, the FBI agent counters, "Nothing justifies terrorism" to which Omar shoots back, "It is you (FBI) who make terrorists"

Roshan who sees the larger picture, fights Islamic terrorism for the larger good of the Muslim community in the world, to "transform the hostility into a sense of goodwill for Muslims": He refuses to accept that Islam preaches violence. "If you favour Islam then you favour peace" he insists.

Omar soon learns that Maya is also aware of this dark side of Samir. Maya is the perfect alibi to Sam, being a Hindu, and working at the Human Rights Office. Maya agrees to talk to the FBI on condition that they don't target Sam, who has not committed any known terrorist act so far.

Samir is however, caught planting bombs on the FBI building (no less) and killed. Maya is also mistakenly shot at and killed in the shoot-out.

Omar adopts their son who is seen as a happy child, accepted by the community and the hero of his baseball team. And this, says Roshan, justifies the death of men like Sameer Aziz.

New York as a Yashraj movie, portrays love and peace, and is largely sympathetic towards the ordinary Muslim. Ironically, it is the Hindu who loves and accepts Sam turned Sameer. The three main male protagonists are Muslims- and two of them are men of 'peace'. It is interesting that neither Omar nor Roshan undergo the humiliating torture and treatment soon after 9/11, as Sam does. This is seen as justifying Sam's later attempts at terrorist acts. The movie however, hastens to add, through Roshan, that "nothing justifies terrorism".

Kattarwala in her analysis, states that Indian films do not go deep into the 'mystical connotations' of Islam, but rather lets the Muslim character carry his beliefs of Islam on his shoulder. Therefore it is not so much a portrayal of Islam as a religion, but the portrayal of Islam as it is perceived to be, by the protagonist. In *New York*, Islam as a religion is not dealt with, except when Roshan declares that preventing Muslims from becoming terrorists was imperative for the world to respect and accept Islam as a peaceful religion. He is able to foresee the future of the Muslim and his religion -the stereotyping of Muslims as terrorists and Islam as a religion that preaches violence. Samir never speaks of Islam or of himself as a Muslim, even when he is planning terror attacks in America. It is more a personal revenge, especially since he plants bombs on the FBI building.

The movie has steered clear of several familiar stereotypes- the namaaz, the kurta pyjama, the cap, and so on. Muslim women are conspicuous by their absence. Sam and Omar are shown as thoroughly modern young men, and Maya as a Hindu girl, does not face any opposition to her marriage to a Muslim, who is also detainee released for want of evidence. As the wife of a Muslim, she does not face domination by her husband and is an independent woman.

Samir, as head of a sleeper group, keeps that part of his life strictly away from his family. He is the loving husband and father and tells Omar that there is no place for a gun in his house.

The movie is extremely sympathetic of the ordinary Muslim. There is no 'good Muslim' and 'bad Muslim'; it is only the victimized Muslim. If anything is stereotyped, then it is the FBI. It

acts rashly, and is a law unto its own. However, the agent Roshan is shown as a sane voice with the right perspective of his religion, Islam, and is anxious to prove to the world that, "If you (the Muslim) favour Islam, you favour peace."

Anwar

Written and directed by Amal Neerad, *Anwar* is an attempt to clear the misconceptions and hostility towards Islam, and the ordinary Muslim. This movie, like *New York*, focuses on the ordinary Muslim as the victim of Islamic terrorism- literally. *Anwar* is a criticism of terrorism which according to the film, is un-Islamic and tries to send this message to terrorists and those who support terrorism. The film refers to the bombings in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu in the early 2000s.

An interesting dimension to the vengeance theme, the victim here is a Muslim whose family is killed in the terrorist bombing of a textile shop not in Kerala, but in the bordering Tamil Nadu city, Coimbatore. Being a Muslim helps Anwar, the protagonist, get into the terrorist gang and gain the trust of the leader, a businessman, fondly called Babu (Babu Sait). He works in tandem with the police, and manages to finally kill all the masterminds of the Coimbatore blasts.

On the surface, the movie is the story of revenge of an ordinary Muslim, victimized by the men of his own religion, who did not have the right perception of what Islam in the name of Allah, propagated and wished them to follow.

Anwar is bold in its reference to Muslims and Islam. All suspects who are rounded up and detained after the blasts are Muslims. A Muslim girl, Ayesha, is also arrested, on charges of having signed the outpass of a large consignment of the chemical used in the bombs. She is a chemical engineer and also happens to be Anwar's fiancée. Babu Sait, who is a much respected man of the community, is also finally arrested.

In their conversation, when the police chief, Stalin Manimaran (a name that could suggest that he is a Christian, a Hindu or both) asks Babu Sait if he knows the reason why he is arrested, the latter replies, " Because I am a Muslim". To which the Chief responds, "Have I arrested all the Muslims in the city?" and Babu Sait retorts, "You are feeling sorry about (not being able to do) that."

The Police are criticized for treating any Muslim as a suspect. One of Babu Sait's gang observes angrily, "They are arresting people who wear caps and have moustaches", "...like all Muslims are terrorists", as Babu Sait comments to Anwar when they have a conversation in the prison where they are detained. Anwar, who is desperate to find where his fiancée is jailed, is roughed up by the policeman at a station, "Listen to your name...How did you get the courage to come and shout here?"

The Muslim, in short, is typecast as a terrorist or a 'prospective' terrorist by society. This 'Islamophobia' is not peculiar to India. A 2004 report by the UK Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia titled *Islamophobia: Issues, Challenges and Action*, states that among other things, a constant negative portrayal of Muslims in the media has almost isolated the community in Britain, and calls it 'a dangerous trend' (Dr Shahram Akbarzadeh and Dr Bianca Smith, 2005)

Though the Namaaz, the white cap and the all-pervasive Biriyani are shown to reinforce Muslim identities, it is all typical Malayalee. There is no sign of the Mosque – the Mosque seems to be too big a symbol to handle - but Allah's greatness or what Allah wants from a 'true' Muslim is represented throughout the movie. The film focuses on this concept of the 'true Muslim' or 'believer' and highlights the differences in the perceptions of the ordinary Muslim and the Islamic terrorist about who a true believer or true Muslim is.

Babu Sait refers to Muslims as 'My people' and when he inducts Anwar into terrorism, he uses Allah's name, "If you are a true believer and your belief is in danger, then you should be ready to fight...Allah will want you to protect, not do hawaala (for which he is allegedly caught and detained in prison)". When Anwar proves himself worthy of his trust, Babu Sait introduces him to another terrorist mastermind, Basheer, as the "New hero". The irony is that Islamic terrorism has given birth to a new hero, but not for them – he is their nemesis and the hero for the ordinary Muslim. The terms 'Jihad' and 'Jihadis' are also used: "Each blast will create a Jihad for us...The more number of Muslims arrested, the more Jihadis we will recruit".

Interestingly, without commenting on it, the movie also brings out the lack of a 'cause' in the terrorists. The motive seems to be to create waves of fear and insecurity in the society, but the

fact that the ordinary Muslim is also a part of that society is ignored by the terrorist.

Before Anwar takes his revenge on the ten foreign terrorists who are responsible for the Coimbatore blasts, he does his namaaz and hails his God, "Allah O Akbar" (Allah the Great) and kills them. He also destroys the ship laden with weapons, meant for a terrorist attack on Mumbai.

He then confronts Babu Sait, who tells him, "No believer will forgive you". To which Anwar says, "It is your belief that is wrong. When people come to know the truth about you, Muslims will not forgive you".

Vishwaroopam, produced and directed by the versatile Tamil actor producer Kamal Hassan created controversy immediately after its release. Several groups went up in arms against the portrayal of Islam in the film. Ultimately, the movie was withdrawn and re-released after certain scenes in the movie were edited.

Vishwaroopam is probably the first Tamil film to have a Muslim character as a hero (Atul Tiwari, 2013). Set in the US and Afghanistan, it is the story of an Indian Secret Agent, out to bust a terrorist operation in the US. The title *Vishwaroopam* refers to the universal forms of the Hindu God Vishnu, who is born on earth in several *avatars*, to vanquish evil. It is no surprise then, that Osama bin Laden is referred to as 'the Asura' (traditional foes of the Gods, in Hindu mythology). The protagonist similarly takes on different avatars during his mission. The audience first see him as Viswanathan (another name for God Vishnu, meaning Lord of the Universe), a kathak dancer, who has a 'marriage of convenience' with a nuclear scientist. They hardly have a marriage going, and it is only when Viswanathan and his wife are caught by the terrorists working for the Afghan terror mastermind Omar Bhai, does she realize that Viswanath is actually a Muslim. While she is stunned to find that her husband is a Muslim (which is his actual Avatar) she is more fascinated by his sheer physical prowess. She sees her boss with the terrorists and comments, "What, is he also a Muslim?" Vishwanath invokes the Hindu Gods and Allah before he attacks the terrorists with his hands tied.

The movie then goes into a flashback, narrated by Omar Bhai, a terrorist mastermind. The scene now moves to Afghanistan - the protagonist is actually an undercover agent in Afghanistan,

training the Al Queida. Life in Afghanistan with the Al Queida is full of stereotypes. Boys who dress up like girls and dance to please a crowd are punished severely. Children play with toy guns on the streets. Shops openly sell bullets and guns.

The Al Queida sends boys on suicide missions. One such incident is covered by the English press and the shops on the streets of Afghanistan proudly hang the newspaper. Vishwanath is witness to the brutal killing of a prisoner, and it is being recorded for the world to see. One of the prominent men in the group is wrongly accused of being a 'traitor' and is hanged at the village square. The men call out to Allah: 'Allah O Akbar' as he is hanged. There are periodic NATO air strikes - women and children are the victims. The Al Queida men keep shifting base within Afghanistan.

Omar, who speaks excellent English and is technically savvy, is a typical fundamentalist Muslim and is symbolic of the Al Queida. As the protagonist is taken to his house, his wife is being checked by a lady doctor. He orders her, "...Cover your feet, cover your face and get out of my village". He is against his young son learning English, and punishes one of the older boys for teaching his son English. The young son, who wants to be a doctor, is mature beyond his age, whereas, the boy who is chosen to be a suicide bomber is dreamy and finds pleasure in a childlike pastime like swinging. Omar Bhai does not want his son to be a doctor - he has trained him to identify guns blindfolded. The mother is against this, and the son and mother are shown playing doctor-patient games in the father's absence.

Muslim women have absolutely no voice, boys are shown to be trained to be future terrorists and Muslim girls are conspicuous by their absence.

Back in New York, the black boy who plants the bomb does his namaaz before he leaves the house. How the bomb is diffused in the nick of time forms the rest of the story.

The 'hero' being a Muslim does not really help the 'image' of Islam, this despite the Hindu avatar being the weaker one and his Muslim avatar the authoritative one. The protagonist is seen through the eyes of his wife - as a package of pleasant if impossible surprises to her, she who had earlier seen him in his dancer avatar and had given up on him. To Omar Bhai and to the Al Queida, he is a 'traitor'.

The movie does not really tell anything different from the mainstream news media coverage of the Al Qaeda and the Taliban – the protests were more against the portrayal of Islam as a violent religion. The following scenes/audio were edited out before the second screenings of the movie (Karthick S, 2013):

- All 'objectionable' background recitations of the Quran were muted.
- In the scene where the American is hacked to death, the background with a picture of a verse from the Quran is blurred.
- The prayer scene and the background prayers are beeped out in the final sequence before the protagonist diffuses the bombs.
- All references to Tamil Jihadis were edited out.
- The mention of Mullah Omar having stayed in Madurai and Coimbatore was removed.
- A scene in which one of the senior Afghan leaders says that it is the duty of the Muslims to eliminate non-Muslims was censored.

Conclusion

All the three movies that were analysed were made post the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The representation of the Muslim community in these movies was to a great extent close to reality. The aftermath of the terror attacks saw several thousand Muslims in the U.S detained based on suspicion and were subjected to cruel treatment during their detainment (*New York*, 2009).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) following September 11, 2001, reported a 1,700 percent increase in hate crimes against Muslim Americans between 2000 to 2001 (Anderson).

In the film *New York*, the director has tried to bring forth the anguish, suspicion and finger pointing faced by the Muslim community in the aftermath of the attacks. The plight of innocent ordinary Muslims who if not for the misfortune of being a Muslim would have led a normal life like any other is well depicted. The movie has attempted to break free from the usual stereotyping of Muslims. The two main Muslim characters shown are suave and confident, with a positive outlook in life before the terror attacks.

The film *Anwar* was also a successful attempt in portraying the plight of the Muslim community in the aftermath of a terror attack. The ordinary Muslim is victimized in two ways: One by Islamic terrorism (Sam in *New York* and Anwar in *Anwar*), and two, by the society at large, where every terror attack is associated with this minority community and every other Muslim becomes a target of suspicion.

Both *New York* and *Anwar* focus on these consequences of Islamic terrorism on the ordinary Muslim. *Anwar* is bolder in its commentary on what Islam propagates and what being a 'true believer' means. Both the movies are largely sympathetic to the plight of the ordinary Muslim.

The film *Vishwaroopam* though, triggered worldwide protests from Muslim organizations for the portrayal of Islam. The film had all the stereotypic elements associated with the community. The terrorists were shown to be Muslims sporting beards, skull caps and performing the namaaz. The movie, however, is more an action packed thriller, with the villain and the hero being shown as Muslims.

Predominantly, so far, the representation of this minority community in Indian cinema has remained within the dominant discourse, even in its stereotyping. Since the medium of cinema is a powerful one with immense reach, it is important to exercise caution while using the medium to convey sensitive issues.

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Framing India: Pre-post globalization

Ruchi Tewari¹ & Taral Pathak

Abstract

This study attempts to explore how due to globalization framing of India in New York Times became relevant and of significance during the period of 1985-2010. An analysis of all the news articles about India was done to find out the change in the space given to India over the three phases of globalization. Later, a content analysis of as many as 450 news reports was done to find out the nature and focus of the news items pre and post globalization period. The findings indicate an exponential rise in the number of news items about India in the post-globalization phase. The nature of news reports changed from neutral to positive and more coverage was given to 'Politics and Business' section when earlier it dealt mostly with 'Arts and Culture' section. The news reporting in the post-globalization phase was more visually aided with photographs. The findings support the notion that when a nation becomes economically strong there is not only an internal positive sentiment generated but external communication agencies also facilitate in strengthening its position by representing it as a nation of consequence.

Research limitations: The study is limited to the representation made by one newspaper about a single country and therefore the findings are limited in their scope.

Originality/value: Observations and comments about India's changing position in the western world have been made but no empirically validated studies have been found. The current study fulfils that gap.

Keywords: India; New York Times; Shift in communication quality and quantity; Globalization

Introduction

Development process of a nation is a complex process with interplay of several factors within and outside the developing

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nation. It has been noted that nations often grow in groups and clusters and one such geographical block which is witnessing economic development is Asia as a continent. As quoted in the AMIC Annual Conference brochure 2013, 'A recent study by the Asian Development Bank noted that, "Asia is in the midst of a truly historic transformation. It holds the promise of making some 3 billion additional Asians, hitherto commonly associated with poverty and deprivation, affluent by today's standards." With this the world view of Asia is clearly expressed. The factors which fuel the Asian growth can be divided into broad categories - classic and new factors. The classic factors are technical progress, capital accumulation and labour force growth while the new factors are the growing middle class; climate change and the communications revolution (Asian Development Bank; 2011). Most Asian nations enjoy a privilege and a competitive advantage on these factors for various historical, political or cultural reasons. India is, one of the several Asian nations, which is leading the growth engine of the Asian continent (Kuijs, 2012) and is along with the Public Republic of China the fast growing developing economy, a conclusion which has been drawn out and concluded from the development process shown by these two countries over the last two decades (Commission on Growth and Development, 2008). It becomes important to understand the factors which play a critical role in the process of development and the impact which economic development has on the importance and relevance paid by the other nations of the world. What makes interesting study is the attention which the developed nations pay to the developing economies like India. The present paper intends to explore the attention paid by the United States (US) media agency to India over a period of 25 years which has seen the transition of the Indian economy from a closed developing third world nation to a liberalized economy with economic and legal policies which encourage and promote foreign investment.

2. Literature review

2.1. What is development?

Development is often used synonymous to economic prosperity and has been a topic of research and debate in the field of economics. Researchers have worked and written extensively about the factors which lead to economic development of a state and Smith (1776) listed out three key factors – low taxes, peace and fair administration of justice, which led to the

development of the wealth of a nation but this overtly simplistic path to development has failed in the case of several economies like Bulgaria, Romania which have not got the desired results in spite of the presence of the basic factors of economic development as laid down by Smith (1776). Coyne and Leeson (2004), argued that 'development process involves working within the given political and economic order to adopt policies which bring about economic growth' while others have laid emphasis on more sophisticated factors like media which play a subtle but an extremely firm role in the process of economic development of a nation (Sen, 1984, 1999; Djankov, et al; 2002). Most writers have asserted a positive relationship between an assertive and free media and the development outcomes of the 'development aspiring' nation. Stiglitz (2002), focussed on the enhanced degree of governmental transparency and accountability in nations where media is strong which leads to positive economic development while and better public policies (Spitzer, 1993). Similarly the private business agencies also operate better with stringent corporate governance norms and execution (Dyck & Zingales, 2002) and reduced principal agent problem (Besley & Burgess, 2001; Besley, et al, 2002). But attention has not been paid to the shifting stance and altered impact which foreign media holds development process of a 'development aspiring' nation. This paper focuses on the former part of the issue and attempts to bring out the altered stance which US media has held about a developing nation like India over a period of 25 years.

2.2 Economic Development of India: Pre-post 1991

India became an independent nation in 1947 when the political will was expressed that India must achieve its economic growth through the adoption of socialist economic policies to ensure that the development process is for the masses and reaches the common man at large. The welfare of the citizens of the country would be the states prerogative. This led to setting up various industries and an establishment of a scientific ethos in the nation (Parameswaran, 2008). As Khilnani (2004) puts it that post-independence, India under its Prime minster Nehru, ushered in an era of 'self-determination and self-sufficiency' and invested in nurturing a spirit of scientific inquiry. Investments into establishment of institutions of higher education for a technically qualified workforce were also made. So, the process of economic

development was central to Indian policy makers, in the pre-globalization times as well. As Nayak, et.al (2010) present facts to indicate that 1978 onwards the policies in India were clearly towards liberalization but they were not focussed towards any specific nation while 1991 was a watershed when policies of the government of India seemed more favourable towards the American companies.

The notion of economic growth witnessed by India, post 1991, is highly debated (Nayar, 2006) where several authors like Dollar and Kraay (2004) assert the positive benefits of economic prosperity and general human welfare attached to globalization and liberal economic policies while at the same time (Chomsky, 2002; Singh, 2005) criticize globalization and establish it as an evil systemic process which leads to economic instability and disparity and dependence on external forces. Patnaik (2003), puts up a case against globalization with specific reference to India and says that, 'many of the tendencies associated with the liberalized third world economy, namely, accentuation of economic inequalities, the preservation of and even a marginal increase in rural poverty, worsening of the food supply situation, the transformation of the economy into a demand constrained system, a tendency towards industrial stagnation, and vulnerability to speculative capital flight are already evident.' Therefore, it can be considered that Indian policies have been liberal towards integration of other countries into economy both before and after 1991 though liberalization was aggressively practiced after 1991 which has had both positives and negatives impact on the Indian economy as a whole. Development has been restricted to urban areas and limited to a few specific sectors and industries bringing in benefits to a limited companies largely hailing from the United States of America.

2.3. (a) *Media and development*

In the present globalised times the development process of a nation is highly dependent upon the investments made by the foreign companies in a nation and closed doors policies of government of India has often been considered as a factor which deterred India's growth till 1991 Johri (1983) and Kumar (2003). The foreign investment is dependent upon the 'image' which the multinational companies hold about the nation where they may want to invest funds and boost the process of economic development. Mass media plays a very important role in creating

perceptions about people other countries (McNelly and Izcaray, 1986) because most people get their information about people and systems outside their immediate environment through various channels of mass media (Lippmann, 1922 cited in Cho & Lacy (2000). Therefore mass media plays a vital role creating images about individuals, communities and nations.

2.3. (b) *Images*

Lippmann (1922) defined social and political images as, 'pictures of our heads' which Nimmo (1978) explained as a culmination of varied facets which an individual projects and others imbibe and attach meanings through their personal cultural attributes like beliefs and values. There are various factors which contribute to the formation of this image which can be categorized into internal and external factors. Internal factors are 'tendencies composed by thoughts, feelings and inclinations' (Saleem, 2009) while external factors political, historical events, geographical location and media. Boulding (1969) elaborates on the various factors which impact a national image formation by saying the national image is at its core a '*historical image*-that is an image which extends through time, backward into a supposedly recorded or perhaps mythological past and forward into an imagined future. The more conscious a people is of its history, the stronger the national image is likely to be. Wars and hostilities among nations also formulate national images as do geographical space, past friendliness and alliances, and strengths and weaknesses of the nations in terms of military, economic and politic capacity'. The role of mass media is also very important (Tanstall, 1970) and Galtung & Ruge, (1965) labelled media as the "first rate competitors for the number one position as international image former". So, a composite understanding of the country image has been defined as "a representation of a country's positive or negative standing in media, in terms of historical, political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious context" (Hanan, 2006) or as Saleem (2009) explains the way Noshina (2000) used journalistic jargons and defined national image vis-à-vis 'political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious relations in the changing domestic, regional and international scenario and its effects on the thoughts, behaviors, feelings, and inclinations of the owners of the media organization'. These images are a result of and in turn impact the framing of nations and institutions where media presents or reinforces specific image through depiction of selective events or incidents.

2.3 (c) *Framing*

Framing is a term used in the field of social psychology applied for studying the role of media in ascribing issues of public interest (Goffman, 1974, Gitlin, 1980 and Entman, 1991) and has been defined as a selection of 'some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item describe', where selective aspects of reality is brought to light and highlighted while the other portions are omitted (Entman, 1993). In matters of reporting about foreign affairs and different cultures existing in far off lands, framing plays a critical role because the media most often reinforces a prevalent stereotype leading to skewed and most often incorrect opinion making (Mann, 1999) which, as Reese (2001) puts it, is employed as "an exercise of power".

Conclusively, media frames and images determine and impact the (i) colour (categories ranging from softer issues like 'Art and Music' to harder topics like 'Politics and War' and (ii) stance (positive, negative and neutral) that readers hold for an event, issue or institution. They reflect the ideological positioning of the media agency which most often is supported by the political masters of the native nation.

The current study attempts to map the shift in the images about India created by The New York Times (NYT), the most prominent print medium of the United States of America (USA) based on which the following hypothesis are generated

Methodology

Data sample: Source and size

NYT, being the most popular newspaper emanating out of the United States was chosen as the data source. A search for the total news reported about India in NYT was made. News was filtered from the 'all' category indicating all the media channels - Articles, Blogs, Multimedia and Video of NYT were covered in the search. NYT identifies 13 categories for news articles and all these were included in the search ensuring an exhaustive and all inclusive data. First 25 'most relevant' news reported in NYT every year over a span of six years in three phases between 1985-1990; 1995-2000 and 2005 – 2010 were used as a sample for the study. The sample used for analysis comprised of 450 news reports about India. The total

number of news items published about India in each of the three phases of study was used an indicator to gauge the importance attached to India by the developed world and a comparison of the total number of news items in each phase was made.

Data analysis

Content analysis was used as a tool for analysis and categorization of the news articles. It is the most commonly used technique in the field of communication research and has been described by Krippendorff (1980) as a, "research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". Each article was read and based upon the content of the article it was slotted into one of the 13 categories (Appendix 1) which were the various 'images' in which NYT classifies its news articles. These 13 categories included the entire range from 'Art and Music' to 'Business and Personal Finance'. All categories which comprised of less than 5% of the total news were dropped from analysis and the finally the 13 categories were reduced to 7 categories (Appendix 1). The categorization helped to identify the focus of the frame of the media of the developed world for a developing nation like India and the images created over a period of time.

The news articles were also separated into one of the three types – positive, negative or neutral and noted if the news feature was reported with a photograph as that does indicate deeper and more focussed attention.

Based on the qualitative analysis of data the following hypotheses were generated.

Hypothesis 1:

H_{0(i)}: There is no significant difference in the categories of news carried by NYT about India over a period of time (1985- 2010).

H_{1(i)}: There is a significant difference in the categories of news carried by NYT about India over a period of time (1985- 2010).

Hypothesis 2:

H_{0(ii)}: There is no significant difference in the positive, negative and neutral news carried by NYT about India over a period of time (1985- 2010).

H_{1(ii)}: There is a significant difference in the positive, negative and neutral news carried by NYT about India over a period of time (1985- 2010).

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were used to gather and analyse data. Chi-square was used to statistically test the hypothesis, validate the comparison and bring out the difference between the categories and type of news coverage made by NYT about India from pre-globalization era (1985- 1990) through young globalized India (1995- 2000) to settled globalization in India (2005 – 2010).

Results and analysis

Over a period of time and across the three phases the total amount of news covered by NYT about India has been phenomenally. There has been 1504.54 % rise in the news about India in NYT.

Table 1: Total news articles about India

| Phase | Total No. of News Article | % Rise over the earlier year |
|----------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 (1985- 1990) | 12340 | Base Year |
| 2 (1995- 2000) | 11570 | |
| 3(2005 – 2010) | 1,98,000 | |

Downloaded articles were slotted into different categories as specified by NYT and the focus in framing and creating images about India was noticed through the shift in categories which received attention and drew the highest number of entries in a specific phase. This was also validated statistically and the chi-square results as reported below show a significant difference in the categories which had the majority of news articles over the three phases.

Table 2: % coverage across categories and phases

| Phase | Arts | Business & Personal Finance | Community news & ordinary people | Crime, courts & Legal | Disasters & Accidents | Health, Home Food fashion Travel | Politics, Govt. & War |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 62.90 | 4.88 | 28.89 | 55.17 | 40.00 | 36.36 | 31.01 |
| 2 | 27.42 | 30.49 | 35.56 | 17.24 | 46.67 | 39.39 | 37.98 |
| 3 | 9.68 | 64.63 | 35.56 | 27.59 | 13.33 | 24.24 | 31.01 |

There were 13 categories in the initial data search which were reduced to 7 due to inadequate coverage in the remaining 6 categories. The above data clearly reflects that 'Arts' as a category received the highest attention in the first phase while 'Disasters and Accidents' captured majority attention the second phase. In the third phase, by when, globalization was well established and Indian economy had liberalized trade policies, 'Business and Personal Finance' saw the highest news articles.

Table 3: Type of news – positive, negative and neutral across phases

| Phase | Total Length of the Articles | Positive | Negative | Neutral |
|-------|------------------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| 1 | 100807 | 25 | 59 | 66 |
| 2 | 111484 | 52 | 38 | 60 |
| 3 | 181143 | 87 | 23 | 40 |

There has been a drastic rise in the positive news communicated about India across the phases and a distinct fall in the neutral news about India in phase three as against phase one and two. The rise in positive news has been from 15% to over 52% while the negative news has cut fallen to half in phase three as against phase one.

It is importantly to statistically validate the results and therefore the hypothesis was tested and the results below reflect that it can be statistically validated that there is a significant difference in the categories and types of news printed by NYT about India over a period of time.

Hypothesis test results

Table 4: Hypothesis 1 (categories of news across phases)

| Phases | Categories | P value | df | Analysis |
|----------|---|---------------------|----|--|
| 1; 2 & 3 | 8 Final categories – Arts, Business & Personal Finance, Community news & ordinary people; Crime, courts & Legal; Disasters & Accidents; Health, Home Food fashion Travel; Politics, Government & War | significant at .000 | 12 | Null hypothesis rejected because p value less than .05 |

The results of the hypothesis testing statistically validate that there is a significant difference in the categories of news coverage between phase 1, 2, and 3 of the study. Examples of excerpts of articles from the three phases mentioned below explicitly between out the difference in the focus of the categories across the phases.

Excerpt from December 30, 1987 article (phase 1)

The Princeton Charcuterie Cafe, a five-month-old restaurant, is in that most American of locations, a shopping mall in Princeton, N.J. And Bob Spiegel, the 26-year-old chef, invents American dishes like black and orange striped ravioli filled with pumpkin for Halloween. But an alert diner can also detect a bit of India in his creations, perhaps a hint of coriander and lemon verbena in chutney, a gastronomic souvenir of a trip he made to India.

Excerpt from November 1st, 1999 article (phase 2)

More than two days after a cyclone of monstrous power churned across the Bay of Bengal into India's east coast, as many as a million and a half people are homeless, hundreds of villages in one of the country's poorest states have been washed away and tens of thousands of survivors are camping along roadways without adequate food or water. The death toll is unknown, but officials are guessing it is in the thousands.

Excerpt from 2009 newspaper describing India

'... the way for a reinvention of the country: from a stultified, socialist economy to a more dynamic, capitalist one; from a foreign policy defined by suspicion of America to one defined by shared interests and even mutual affection; and from public attitudes that frowned on individualism, consumerism and ambition to a nation that today exalts those same qualities.'

Table 4: Hypothesis 2 (Type of news – positive, negative and neutral across phases)

| Phases | Type of News | P value | df | Analysis |
|----------|--------------------------------|---------------------|----|--|
| 1; 2 & 3 | Positive, Negative and Neutral | Significant at .000 | 4 | Null hypothesis rejected because p value less than .05 |

The results of the hypothesis testing statistically validate that there is a significant difference in the type of news, falling into positive;

negative or neutral category, published about India between phase 1, 2, and 3 of the study. A closer look at the articles published over these phases reveal that Examples of excerpts of articles from the three phases mentioned below reflects the shift from the negative news to positive over a period of time.

Excerpt from, February 15, 1986, carried news titled *Heroin Addiction Big New Problem in India* detailing the news as, "You can get smack in any place, on any road, on any corridor, even a hospital corridor". Another example from June 28, 1987, announced *India's Drought Is Worst in Decades* describing the news as, "After weeks of false hopes that the summer monsoon rains would come, India faces the prospect of devastation to the national economy, the uprooting of hundreds of thousands of people and the need for a huge relief effort to distribute drinking water and prevent starvation". An article published on May 3, 1989 had news about *A Billion Bottles a Year Defy India Liquor Ban* describing Indian scenario as, "To accommodate a powerful anti-alcohol lobby, the Indian Government wrote a section into the Constitution declaring its intention to enforce prohibition. But today, state governments across the country are violating this edict with impunity, officials here say, because the liquor industry is a major source of revenue. The national Government says it is virtually helpless in the face of such open defiance".

Whereas news in phase three was dominated by news like *India Expands Role as Drug Producer*, Published: July 6, 2010 detailing conditions in India as, "Below an ancient hilltop temple to Kali, the Hindu goddess associated with destruction and change, Sun Pharmaceutical Industries churns out generic versions of cancer drugs and epilepsy medications bound for the United States". On April 10, 2010, news about *Turnaround of India State Could Serve as a Model* reflected progress in India by writing "Bihar announced earlier this year that it had notched an 11 percent average growth rate for the last five years, making it the second fastest-growing economy in the country, the news was greeted as a sign that even India's most intractable corners of backwardness and misery were being transformed." Positive communication across all spheres is noticed in phase three. On December 3, 2009, NYT carried news saying, *India Announces Plan to Slow Emissions*, with convincing arguments, "With international talks on climate change starting next week in Copenhagen, India staked out its early position on Thursday by announcing that it would slow the growth of the nation's greenhouse gas emissions by 2020, while also leaving open the possibility of taking bolder steps if an "equitable" deal can be reached during the negotiations."

Both positive and negative events happened during both the phases – first and third but during the third phase India's economic and capital structure was better aligned to United States and its economy and therefore the framing of images by NYT is also evident.

Discussion

Indian economy has seen an ideological shift in its stance towards growth and development from being a state-driven economy where the development was a responsibility of the government (state) and a clear disdain for consumerism was rampant though the pre-globalization policies supported a liberal growth and development of trade (Nayak, et al. 2010). It is consequential to note that since the pre-globalization liberal policies were not focussed upon a specific nation the media coverage made by newspapers of the nation did not frame India in a very trade and commerce friendly light. This era continued till 1991 and therefore the phase 1 of the research (1985-1990) clearly was during the times when economic socialism was integral to India. In this phase since the Indian economic ideology did not match or stood contrary to the American approach to development which advocated capitalism and an open economy, the western media covered issues about 'crimes', 'disaster's or soft aspects like 'culture', 'art', 'travel', 'food' etc.

Once the government entailed upon itself the task of charting policies and which helped in bringing economic progress and prosperity to the nation, post 1991, which supported the American companies the images drawn about India by NYT were more about business, finance and government policies. Therefore, with a change in the economic ideology there is a clear shift in the focus of the American media which began to frame India as an economic power and covered double the number of stories about India than the earlier phase.

The images about India as a land stricken with poverty and crime were rampant in phase 1 where Bhopal Leak, Sikh Violence, droughts in Bihar were stories which dominated the coverage about India. The other aspects which were covered were stage performance by Indian classical artists in New York and exhibition of Indian textiles and garments in America. Post-globalization, NYT talked about the growing financial and technological might of nation. It discussed the clout which Indian

businessmen and professionals hold in the global scene especially in the US. Such shifting frames have helped to create an image about India as a land which suffered depravity to a flourishing and prosperous nation.

It's important to note that the total coverage which the NYT carries about India has increased 16 times since India looked positively at globalization in 1991.

Scope of further research

The findings of the study can be used a starting point to conduct further research and interview readers and publishers to measure the impact of framing through newspaper articles on the minds of the readers. It can be investigated whether an average American perception about India has undergone change and the role that newspapers have played in creating the perception.

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Appendix 1

| Appendix 1 (Categories for initial data collection) | Appendix 2 (Categories for final analysis) |
|--|---|
| Arts | Arts |
| Business & Personal Finance | Business & Personal Finance |
| Community news & ordinary people | Community news & ordinary people |
| Crime, courts & Legal | Crime, courts & Legal |
| Disasters & Accidents | Disasters & Accidents |
| Education | Health, Home Food fashion Travel |
| Health, Home Food fashion Travel | Politics, Government & War |
| Parent Relationships & Religion | |
| Politics, Government & War | |
| Music | |
| Science, Technology & environment | |
| Sports | |
| TV & Movie | |
| Editorial/ Op-Ed | |

Voter education by the Nigerian broadcast media: A normative appraisal of three radio stations in Port Harcourt Metropolis

Godwin B. Okon¹

Abstract

Nigeria's democracy has been marked by a paradigm shift where ultimate power no longer resides on the electorates but on the elect. The reasons are the widespread voter apathy and disenchantment, which is argued, can be resolved through intensive democracy education. This study aims to explore whether Nigerian broadcast media, especially Radio, has played its role in educating the masses on a wide range of issues. The study entails content analysis of cognate programs of three broadcast stations in Port Harcourt from January 2014 to March 2014. As inferred from the findings, the stations did not devote significant portion of their informative and educative programs to democracy education geared towards enlightening the populace on the benefits of active participation in the democratic and electioneering processes as characterized by voter registration, voter mobilization and the exercise of franchise. Findings also show that the content of broadcast stations did not create a platform for discourse analysis as powered by issues driven politics. In the face of this worrisome trend, it is therefore recommended that there should be an increased capacity for broadcast stations in Nigeria to devote more airtime to democracy education geared towards strengthening each citizen's participation in the deliberations that govern the socio-political affairs of the society.

Keywords: Appraisal; Broadcast; Democracy; Education; Normative

Overview

Good governance and democracy are complimentary concepts in the lexicon of political economics. As a matter of fact, the latter precipitates the former. While good governance is all about accountability and sensitivity, democracy is all about representative

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participation. Viewed from a continuum, the common denominator across these concepts becomes the “people”. Invariably, democracy and good governance represent participation by the people and sensitivity to the people - their yearnings and aspirations. Culture on the other hand is an omnibus term that refers to the way of life of a people. By extrapolation, therefore, the way we select our leaders and the way they govern us are offshoots of our mental constructs that metamorphose into our political culture.

A culture of political empathy is a win - win culture that allows for political and intellectual freedom. That culture engenders courage, commonsense, self-control and fair mindedness. By inference therefore these qualities are important to any political culture that wishes to survive for according to Abraham Lincoln, “with public sentiments, nothing can fail. Without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiments goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions” .

The 2015 election will redefine the political skyline of Nigeria. Fears are rife and expectations abound. The US intelligence report of a possible balkanization of the Nigerian State is a resounding echo in the ears of many Nigerians. Media reports are also replete with seizures of caches of arms and ammunitions at the Nigerian ports of entry. The general fears and worries are that these arms and ammunition were not imported with the aim of using them on animals but human beings. There is no doubt a dire need to ascertain if the present political terrain in Nigeria can usher in good governance in 2015. If the synthesis is in the negative, then there may be need to make calculable projections on how to enthrone a pathway that will ensure an egalitarian Nigerian State by 2015.

In every election, citizens must not only decide on the party or candidate they wish to vote for or support, they must also decide whether they will vote at all. Across board, electorates learn about the choices they face in national elections not from personal contact with-politicians nor from interpersonal conversations but from the mass media.

Mass media news coverage has been found to be the main source of voter information. In this regard, there is need for the media to inform and inform adequately. Objectivity is key. Subjectivity is out.

Media reports in order to educate and enlighten the electorate in the context of successful elections must encompass the 5Ws & H. Media reports should not just stop at generalizations such as “the election was successful”. If you say elections were successful, then show the how and why of the report.

The term voter education is generally used to describe the dissemination of information, materials and programmes designed to inform electorates about the specifics and mechanics of the voting process for a particular election. Voter education in this regard, involves providing information on who is eligible to vote, where and how to register, how the electorate can check the voters list to ensure they have been duly included, what type of elections are being held, where and how to vote, who the candidates are and how to file complaints. (www.un.org/womenwatch/osag/wps/publication/chapter5.htm)

As 2015 draws near, will the Nigerian mass media, the custodians of the Nigerian political culture, be hoodwinked this time around? Will they fall for some last minute surprises? Will there be a media conspiracy to create a political star out of an unrepentant criminal? The mass media should all rise to the occasion by strengthening their gate-keeping role with a view to giving the people what they need to know. There is a great need to engender a sound political culture through voter education. The normative role of the mass media accords them the comparative advantage of inculcating the right attitude in the minds of the electorates. The thrust of this study is therefore premised within the foregoing context.

The setting

Port Harcourt is the capital of Rivers State, Nigeria. It lies along the Bonny River and is located in the Niger Delta. According to the 2006 census, it is estimated to have a population of about 1,382,592. It occupies an area of about 1392 miles (360km²). The city enjoys the presence of multi-national oil companies and because of this; its residents appear urbane and cosmopolitan.

The problem

Democracy is nascent in the Nigerian political climate. It is not strange that politicians get away with outright lies, deliberate misrepresentations and assertions as well as ridiculous and unachievable proposals. In each instance, the public and democracy

have been poorly served. It is as though the mass media, a subset of the political system, do not have a memory of their own often plunging the people from one political campaign to the other while ignoring the history and antecedents of its political architects. A few scenarios may illuminate this discourse;

- i. The thrust of governance today is not centred on the will of the people but on personal greed and the self-aggrandizement of political actors.
- ii. Governance in its present state has deepened poverty and widened inequality
- iii. The political class as typified by the elites is highly compromised and as such cannot be referred to as the voice of the people.
- iv. Elections and campaigns are marked by widespread violence.
- v. There is widespread apathy in the polity.
- vi. The citizens are grossly disenchanting and seem to have lost faith in the project- Nigeria.
- vii. There is a complete absence of a framework that sanctions political deviants (in my candid opinion, political violence and electoral malpractice should be treated as heinous crimes equated only to armed robbery and its likes
- viii. Victory at the polls is engendered through political *godfatherism* rather than ideology

The culture of good governance and democracy can only thrive on the basis of awareness and knowledge. Ignorance can never oil the wheels of democracy. Perhaps, it is in recognition of the foregoing that the 2012 International Democracy Day theme was tagged "**Democracy Education**". This however does not come as a surprise going by the fact that the UN Secretary - General in his remark observed that "there is need for us to work towards bringing democracy education to all and in particular, to those societies in transition that need it most".

The imputation however is that for democracy to thrive, all citizens in all nations need to fully understand their rights and responsibilities. Questions such as 'why should I vote'? 'How can I influence leaders'? 'What can I reasonably expect from my elected officials'? 'What are my constitutional rights'? Need to be addressed through a free press. In other words, it is only with educated citizens that a sustainable culture of democracy can emerge.

According to J.F. Kennedy, 'the ignorance of one voter in a democracy impairs the security of all'. Also according to Fernando

Cardoso, 'democracy is not just a question of having a vote; it consists of strengthening each citizen's possibility and capacity to participate in the deliberations involved in life in society'.

By inference therefore if democracy is to be effective, the people have to be highly informed and alert. They must continuously keep track of the activities of those whom they have entrusted the reins of government. There must also be a voice against injustice and corruption - that voice is the voice of journalism, the press and the media. How the mass media in Nigeria, especially radio, has fared in this regard forms the primary concern of this study.

Study objectives

With the cardinal functions of the mass media dovetailed within the purview of informing, educating and entertaining the audience, it becomes exigent to find out how well they have fared in that regard, especially in the light of creating awareness on electoral statutes. To this end, therefore, the objectives include among others, the dire need to:

1. Streamline the programmes of the radio stations studied with a view to finding out if they have special programmes on voter education and how much of their airtime is allotted to those programmes.
2. Synthesize the content of these programmes with a view to finding out if they adequately address issues of sound electoral process.

Research questions

1. What programmes have the radio stations studied put in place to address voter education especially now that the 2015 election is at our door step?
2. To what extent do these programmes address adequately the issues of sound electoral process?

The literature

According to the Stanford Institute for Humanistic Studies, democracy consists of four basic elements:

- A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections;
- The active participation of the people as citizens in politics and civic life;

- Protection of the human rights of all citizens;
- A rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

It is however worthy to note here that government is based on the consent of the governed - the people who are sovereign on the one hand and wield the highest form of political authority on the other hand.

Etymologically, democracy is a compound word in Greek - **demokratia**. The breakdown however shows demo to refer to people while **kratos** refers to rule. By inference therefore it means rule by people otherwise known as popular government.

Democracy can be direct or representative. Direct democracy involves the citizens themselves making important decisions on all policies while representative democracy involves decisions being made by a few representatives chosen by the citizens. Democracy ensures that peoples' voices are heard and their wishes fulfilled. It creates a platform for the enthronement of fairness, equity and justice. It refers generally to a method of group decision making characterized by a kind of equality among participants at an essential stage of collective decision making.

One interesting thing to note about democratically governed nations is that they are more likely to secure the peace, deter aggression, expand open markets, promote socio-economic development and uphold human rights. According to John Stuart Mills (1861), democracy has an advantage because it forces decision makers to take into account the interests, rights and opinion of most people in society. Since democracy brings a lot of people into the process of decision making, it can take the advantage of many sources of information and critical assessments of laws and policies. Democratic decision making tends to be more informed, than other forms, about the interests of citizens and the causal mechanisms necessary to advance those interests. Democracy no doubt tends to make people stand up for themselves more than other forms of rule.

Democracy, according to the UN platform on global issues, provides an environment for the protection and effective realization of human rights as embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. More descriptively, democracy is a universally recognized ideal which is based on common values shared by peoples throughout the world community irrespective of cultural,

political, social and economic differences. It is therefore a basic right of citizenship to be exercised under conditions of freedom, equality, transparency and responsibility with due respect for the plurality of views and in the interest of the polity.

Democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the alternatives of public policy in such a way that the public can participate in the decision making process (Scharschneider, 1960). The classical Oxford Dictionary refers to it as government of the people and by extension, a form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole and is exercised either directly by them or indirectly by officers elected by them.

Nwekeaku (2007) opines that despite the seemingly divergent views on democracy, there are some basic principles that are common to them - supremacy of the law, equality of all citizens before the law, general will of the people, equitable distribution of resources in the society and equal opportunity for all citizens. Okunna (2007) observes that "these characteristics help to minimize corruption, ensure that the views of minorities, marginalized and the most vulnerable are taken into consideration in decision making.

Voter education is a prerequisite for sustaining democracy. In the light of this presupposition, Sewant (2000) notes that the requisites of democracy include; a well-informed citizenry, participation of the citizens in the day to day governance of the society and accountability to the citizens by those who exercise power on their behalf. According to Sewant (2000) streamlined by Esu (2014), "none of the functions which the citizens have to perform in a democracy can be performed by them in the absence of full and truthful information" (p.9).

Bryant and Thompson (2002) have streamlined cognate functions the mass media are expected to play in modern democracies. As espoused by Galadima and Goshet (2013: 15) these functions include:

- i. Surveillance of contemporary events that are likely to affect citizens positively or negatively.
- ii. Identification of major socio-political issues in the polity
- iii. Provision of advocacy platforms for the articulation of various causes and interests
- iv. Transmission of diverse contents, factions and dimensions of political discourse.

- v. Scrutiny of government officials, institutions and agencies.
- vi. Giving incentives and information to empower citizens to become actively informed participants, rather than mere spectators.
- vii. Provision of robust resistance to extraneous forces attempting to subvert media autonomy and
- viii. Respectful consideration of the audience as potentially interested, concerned and sense making citizens.

Ibemesi and Duru (2013) have also noted that the media “influence the emergence of political ideology by the fact of their being the platform on which political discourse happens” (p.176). They further note that the foregoing powers of the media expose their potential as facilitators of political ideology through conscious and systematic presentations.

Oso (2012) notes that the “role of the mass media in making politics and society visible in providing information, analysis, fora for debate;etc is beyond dispute” (p. 272). Dahlgren (2001) as cited by Oso (2012) notes in corroboration that the mass media have been instrumental in globalizing the normative features of democracy.

The mass media are indeed endowed with capacities to wield an enormous influence on the people through widespread voter enlightenment and awareness. In this regard, Umechukwu (2004), as cited by Ochonogor and Omego (2012), observes that the role of the mass media in the electoral process can be subsumed under enlightenment. In his expose, he notes that:

Political mobilization means the role played by the mass media in creating awareness, interpretation of issues, personalities, programmes and educating the people purposely to ginger, encourage and motivate them to exercise their political rights and take informed political decision. Such decisions will basically include participating in elections (p. 18)

Voter apathy can actually be eroded through voter education. If people do not participate in the electoral process, then democracy loses its essence. The media through content can enthrone a culture of sound democracy that will sure engender egalitarianism. In corroboration, Ochonogor and Omego (2012) note that;

Following voters’ apathy that has pervaded the entire nations, there is the urgent need for government at all

levels to embark on a vigorous citizen's orientation programme using the mass media and interpersonal communication media to enlighten the public on their civic responsibility. The people should know why they have to participate in the electoral process and what benefits would accrue to them for their involvement (p. 337)

In the same vein, Anim (2008) stressed that the "first fundamental role of the mass media for an open society is to gather, process and disseminate the news and information by which people in the society can be guided to be able to make meaningful contribution towards their own governance" (p. 133).

In a study – Mangolia voter education survey - it was found that most Mongolians were aware of the upcoming presidential elections (52%) with some 84% intending to participate in them. With regard to distinguishing between political parties in parliament, over half of the respondents saw no difference between the political parties. The study further found that Mongolians are not very much interested in politics with only 40% stating that they are interested. Twenty seven percent (27%) of respondents never or almost never discuss politics.

Since the results of the survey provide important insights into civic education, it was recommended that a framework should be put in place to mitigate voter alienation, highlight distinctions between political parties, clarify roles of elected officials and deepen democratic appreciation. The mass media were however typified as the most appropriate means of disseminating information on the aforementioned issues. This no doubt holds justification for this study. (www.asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/mangoliavotereducationsurveying.pdf)

In making projectoral assessments, Jega, as cited by Aminu (2014), opines that:

... as we move towards 2015 general elections, there is need for additional collaboration and co-operation in a number of areas, most especially in voter education. I believe we can do whatever we can to ensure a remarkably more enlightened voter education by 2015 and create a platform that will enable a majority of the people participate in the electoral process by doing the right thing that will ensure their votes are not wasted (para. 3).

The foregoing naturally falls within the domain of the mainstream media like radio, TV, newspapers etc. By inference therefore since the veritability of radio as a robust platform for voter education can no longer be in doubt, how the three radio stations under study have deployed content in that regard becomes the primary concern of this study.

Study design

The study by its very nature necessitated content analysis. Content analysis has been defined by Ohaja (2009) as “the examination of the manifest content of communication to discover the patterns existing therein” (p. 14). As further observed by Ohaja (2009), a researcher through content analysis can examine broadcast material and other spoken or sung messages previously recorded. The justification for this design, as adopted in this study, is therefore preconceived in the foregoing.

Three radio stations were purposively selected based on media skyline posture, target group/audience and reach. To this end, *Radio Rivers II FM*, *Rhythm 93.7FM* and *Wazobia FM* were selected based on the fact that their media posture accords them a sense of social responsibility while their target group/audience encompasses the elite and semi elite. In terms of reach, their broadcast signals stretch across the length and breadth of the geographical entity referred to as Port Harcourt metropolis.

The period of study was January – March, 2014. In other words, the broadcast content of these stations was analyzed for a three month period with a view to quantifying content on voter education. The population of the study stood at 90 days. Sample size was drawn using Taro Yamane’s formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n = sample size
 N = population
 = 90
 $\frac{1 + N(0.05)^2}{1 + N(0.05)^2}$
 = 73

Actual days studied were determined using a composite method as outlined by Riffe, Aust and Lacy (1991).

The procedure for analysis consisted of an operationalization of the subject matter. In this regard, the subject matter was defined as “any broadcast in the form of news, commentaries, phone – ins

(discussion) and public service announcements (PSAs), that unequivocally educates audience members on who is eligible to vote, where and how to register, how the electorates can check the voters list to ensure they have been duly included, what type of elections are being held, where, when and how to vote as well as who the candidates are”.

Any broadcast that fell within the purview of this definition was analyzed. Analysis for broadcast was done using chronological seconds which also is the conventional unit for measuring broadcast duration. Interestingly, this formed the basis for quantitative analysis. The comprehensiveness of these programmes in terms of holistic voter education was measured using the Constant Comparative Technique (CCT) developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and modified by Guber (1985).

To ensure reliability and researcher non-bias, a professional coder was employed to assist in the coding. A total of 52 items were categorized. Based on the categorization, the coders agreed on 46 and disagreed on 6. Differences in coding were correlated using Holsti (1968) formula:

$$r = \frac{2(C1.2)}{C1+C2}$$

Where C1.2 = Number of category assignments agreed on

C1+2 = Total number of category assignments made by both coders

$$\begin{aligned} r &= \text{Correlation} \\ &= (46) \\ &= 52 + 52 \\ &= 2 \times 46 \\ &= 92 \\ &= \frac{92}{104} \\ &= 0.88 \end{aligned}$$

The validity and reliability of the instrument was by inference found to be very high as shown in the computation above.

Data presentation

A thematic appreciation of the programme schedules of the radio stations studied was made using the Constant Comparative Technique (CCT) with a view to contextualizing them within the framework of their potentials for voter education. The highlights are shown on tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table 1a: Programme schedule of *Radio Rivers II 99.1 FM* and potentials for voter education (week days)

| Time/belt | Programme | Nature | Potentials for voter education | Reasons |
|------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| 05.20 – 05.59am | Morning majesty | Opening formalities | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timing does not allow for meditative listening |
| 06.00-06.30am | The world at dawn | Commentary | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 06.35-06.58 | Sports extra | News commentaries | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 07:00 – 07:15 | Network news | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Allows for meditative listening |
| 07:15 – 10:00 | Issues in the news | Talk news/phone-ins | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allows for meditative listening |
| 10:00 – 12:00pm | The mega industry | Talk news | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 12:00 – 12:20pm | The word at noon | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 12:30 – 12:35pm | Mid-day service | Religious | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 12:36 – 15: 00pm | Best of the oldies | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 15:00 – 15:14 | News in special English | News talk | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 15:59 – 16:15 | Network news | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 16:15 – 17:59 | Highlife time | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 18:00 – 18:30 | The world at six o'clock | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 18:30 – 19:00 | News translation | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 19:00 – 20:30 | DCLF (sponsored programme) | Religious | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 20:35 – 22:00 | Soul spectrum | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 22:20 – 23:15 | Country classics | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programem genre |

Legend

N = No

Y = Yes

Table 1b: Programme schedule of *Radio Rivers II 99.1 FM* and potentials for voter education (Saturday)

| Time/belt | Programme | Nature | Potentials for voter education | Reasons |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| 05:30 – 06 :00am | Morning majesty | Opening | N | • Timing |
| 06.00-06.30am | The world at dawn | Commentary | Y | • Information • Education |
| 06.30 – 07:00am | Fitness with LAG | Auxiliary | N | • Programme genre |
| 07:00 – 07:15am | Network news | News talk/talk news | Y | • Prime time • Allows for meditative listening |
| 07:15 – 08:00am | Traffic matters | Auxiliary | N | • Programme genre |
| 08:00 – 10.00am | News update | Talk news/news talk | Y | • Information • Education |
| 10:00 – 11:00am | Business express | Commercials | Y | • PSA |
| 11:00 – 12midday | Youth experience | Auxiliary | N | • Programme genre |
| 12:00 – 12: 20pm | The world at noon | News talk/talk news | Y | • Allow for meditative listening |
| 12:20 – 13:59pm | Pop around Africa | Music | N | • Programme genre |
| 14:00 – 14:05pm | News update | News talk/ talk news | Y | • Information |
| 14:00 – 16:00pm | Kids and teens | General kiddies | N | • Programme genre |
| 16:00 – 16:15pm | Network news | News talk/talk news | Y | • Information |
| 16:15 – 17:15pm | Event and issues around the state | News talk/talk news | Y | • Information • Education |
| 17:15 – 18:00pm | Open heavens | Religious | N | • Programme genre |
| 18:00 – 18:30 | The world at six | News talk/ commercials | Y | • Information • Education • Genre |
| 18:30 – 20:00pm | Programme parade | Auxiliary | N | • Programme genre |
| 22:00 – 01:59am | Music magic | Music | N | • Programme genre |

Legend

N = No

Y = Yes

Table 1c: Programme schedule of Radio Rivers II 99.1 FM and potentials for voter education (Sunday)

| Time/belt | Programme | Nature | Potentials for voter education | Reasons |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 05:20 – 05 :59 | Morning majesty | Opening | N | • Timing |
| 06.00-06.30 | The world at dawn | News talk/talk news | N | • Timing |
| 06.30 – 07:00 | Gospel melody | Music | N | • Programme genre |
| 07:00 – 07:15 | Network news | News talk/talk news | Y | • Information • Education |
| 07:15 – 09:00 | Hossannah worship | Gospel/religion | N | • Programme genre |
| 09:00 – 12.00 | Praise international | Music | N | • Programme genre |
| 12:00 – 12:30 | Looking back | News talk/talk news | Y | • Information • Education |
| 12:30 – 14:00 | Programme parade | Music | N | • Programme genre |
| 14:00 – 15: 00 | Music of the masters | Music | N | • Programme genre |
| 15:00 – 15:59pm | Spotlight | News talk/talk news | Y | • Information • Education |
| 16:00 – 16:15pm | Network news | News talk/talk news | Y | • Information • Education |
| 16:15 – 18:00pm | Shout out on 99.1 | Auxiliary | N | • Programme genre |
| 18:00 – 18:30pm | The world at six | News talk/talk news | Y | • Information • Education |
| 18:30 – 20:00pm | News omnibus | Drama | Y | • Programme genre |
| 20:00 – 21:00pm | Deeper life hour | Religious | N | • Programme genre |
| 21:00 – 21:30 | Songs of faith | Music | N | • Programme genre |
| 21:30 – 22:00pm | Bed time serenade | Music | N | • Programme genre |

Legend

N = No

Y = Yes

Table 2a: Programme schedule of *Rhythm 93.7 FM* and potentials for voter education (Weekdays)

| Time/belt | Programme | Nature | Potentials for voter education | Reasons |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| 5.00 – 7.00am | Morning drive | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non- prime time • Timing does not allow for meditative listening |
| 7.00 – 7.15am | World news | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 7.15 – 8.00am | Sports | News/Commentaries | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 8.00 – 8.05am | News update | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 8.05 – 10.00am | Morning drive | Music/ adlibs | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 10.00 – 10.15qm | News update | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 10.15 – 11.30am | Rhythm and soul | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 11.30 – 11.35am | Headline news | News talk | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duration |
| 11.35 – 12.00pm | Rhythm and soul | Music adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 12.00 – 12.15pm | World news | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 12.15 – 14.00pm | Lunch box oldies | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 14.00 – 14.05pm | News update | News talk | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duration |
| 14.05 – 16.00pm | Afternoon drive | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 16.00 – 16.15pm | News update | Talk news/news talk | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 16.15 – 18.00pm | Life lessons with Charles B | Phone-in/talks | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 18.00 – 18.15pm | World news | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 18.15 – 19.00pm | Life lessons with Charles B | Phone-in/talks | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 19.00 – 19.30pm | Top seven @ seven | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 19.30 – 22.00pm | Business traveler | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 22.00 – 5.00am | Rhythm of the night | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |

Legend

N = No

Y = Yes

Table 2b: Programme schedule of *Rhythm 93.7 FM* and potentials for voter education (Saturday)

| Time/belt | Programme | Nature | Potentials for voter education | Reasons |
|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 5.00 – 7.00am | Morning jump | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-prime time • Timing does not allow for meditative listening |
| 7.00 – 7.30am | World news | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 7.30 – 8.00am | Sports | News/Commentaries | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 8.00 – 8.15am | News update | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prime time • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 8.15 – 9.30am | View point | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 9.30 – 12.00 | Saturday morning jump | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 12.00 – 12.15am | World news | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Lends itself to meditative listening |
| 12.15 – 14.00am | Weekend vibes | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 14.00 – 16.00pm | Shout out show | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-prime • Does not allow for meditative listening |
| 16.00 – 16.15pm | News update | News talk/talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 16.15 – 18.00pm | Weekend vibes | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 18.15 – 19.00pm | Interlude | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 19.00 – 22.00pm | Weekend vibes | Music/adlibs | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 22.00 – midnight | RAP culture | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| Midnight – 0.500am | Old school mix | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |

Legend

N = No

Y = Yes

Table 2c: Programme schedule of *Rhythm 93.7 FM* and potentials for voter education (Sunday)

| Time/belt | Programme | Nature | Potentials for voter education | Reasons |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 5.00 – 7.00am | Gospel vibes | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-prime time • Timing does not allow for meditative listening |
| 7.00 – 7.15am | News | News talk/ talk news | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timing does not allow for meditative listening |
| 7.15 – 10.00am | Gospel vibes | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 10.00 – 10.15am | News update | News talk/ talk news | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-prime time |
| 10.15 – 12.00pm | Sunday mix | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Timing does not allow for meditative listening |
| 12.00 – 12.15pm | World news | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allows for meditative listening |
| 12.15 – 14.00pm | Niaja top 20 jams | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not allow for meditative listening |
| 14.00 – 14.15pm | News update | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 14.15 – 16.00pm | Sunday at the rhythm | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 16.15 – 18.00pm | Afro beats | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 18.00 – 18.15pm | World news | News talk/ talk news | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information • Education |
| 18.15 – 20.00pm | Highlife | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 20.00 – 22.00pm | Sunday evening breeze | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |
| 22.00 – 5.00pm | Rhythm of the night | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |

Legend

N = No

Y = Yes

Table 3: Programme schedule of *Wazobia 94.1FM* and potentials for voter education (Mon-Sun)

| Time/belt | Programme | Nature | Potentials for voter education | Reasons |
|-----------------|----------------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| 5.00 – 10.00am | Wake up show | News talk Talk news Music Specialty | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides a platform for information and education |
| 10.00 – 14.00am | Oga-madam show | Auxiliary | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not allow for meditative listening |
| 24.00-18:00pm | Cooled zone | News talk Talk news Music Specialty | Y | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allows for meditative listening |
| 18.00 – 23.00pm | Go slow yarn | Auxiliary | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not allow for meditative listening |
| 23.00 – 5.00am | Nite patrol | Music | N | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme genre |

Legend

N = No

Y = Yes

Table 4: Daily broadcast time allotted to programmes that hold potentials for voter education by stations (Monday- Friday)

| Station | General broadcast time | Running time for potential VE programmes | % |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|-----|
| <i>Radio Rivers II(99.1FM)</i> | 17 ½ hrs (5.30am – midnight) | 8 hrs | 44% |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7FM)</i> | 24 hrs (6am – 61m) | 7 hrs | 29% |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1 FM)</i> | 24 hrs (6am – 6am) | 3 HRS | 13% |

The table above shows that the programmes that hold potentials for voter education enjoyed a relatively significant airtime. Those programmes encompass news, commentaries, docu-drama and public service announcements (PSAs).

Table 5a: Broadcast time allotted to programmes that hold potentials for voter education by stations (Saturday)

| Station | General broadcast time | Running time for potential VE programmes | % |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|-----|
| <i>Radio Rivers II(99.1FM)</i> | 17 ½ hrs (5.30am – midnight) | 8 hrs | 40% |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7FM)</i> | 24 hrs (6am – 61m) | 73hrs | 13% |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1 FM)</i> | 24 hrs (6am – 6am) | 3 hrs | 13% |

Table 5b: Broadcast time allotted to programmes that hold potentials for voter education by stations (Sunday)

| Station | General broadcast time | Running time for potential VE programmes | % |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--|-------|
| <i>Radio Rivers II(99.1FM)</i> | 17 ½ hrs (5.30am – midnight) | 8 hrs | 44% |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7FM)</i> | 24 hrs (6am – 61m) | 0.07 hrs | 0.29% |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1 FM)</i> | 24 hrs (6am – 6am) | 3 hrs | 13% |

The air time allotted to programmes that hold potentials for voter education on weekends by stations was found to be significantly shrift compared to weekdays. Nevertheless, the actual air time devoted to programmes that significantly touch on voter education became the focus of table 6.

Table 6a: Allocation of time (minutes) to voter education issues by stations (weekdays)

| Name of station | Running time | Genre | | | | Total |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|------|---------|-------|-------|
| | | News/ commentaries | PSAs | Jingles | Drama | |
| <i>Radio Rivers II (99.1 FM)</i> | 480 | 7 (1.4%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7FM)</i> | 420 | 3 (0.7%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1FM)</i> | 180 | 1 (0.5%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Figures in parentheses represent percentage calculation

Table 6b: Allocation of time (minutes) to voter education issues by stations (Saturdays)

| Name of station | Running time | Genre | | | | Total |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|------|---------|-------|-------|
| | | News/ commentaries | PSAs | Jingles | Drama | |
| <i>Radio Rivers II (99.1 FM)</i> | 480 | 4 (0.83%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7FM)</i> | 180 | 15 (8.3%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1FM)</i> | 180 | 1 (0.5%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Table 6c: Allocation of time (minutes) to voter education issues by stations (Sundays)

| Name of station | Running time | Genre | | | | Total |
|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|------|---------|-------|-------|
| | | News/ commentaries | PSAs | Jingles | Drama | |
| <i>Radio Rivers II (99.1 FM)</i> | 480 | 4 (0.83%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7FM)</i> | 180 | 2 (1.1%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1FM)</i> | 180 | 0 (0%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Tables 6a, b, and c show that the stations hardly focused on issues that border on voter education. However, the little time devoted to the subject matter was further subjected to meta-analysis to find out how comprehensively voter education was addressed. Table 7 highlights the details.

Table 7: Depth of programmes on voter education

| Station | Message (Benefits of ...) | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------|
| | One vote | Registering | Shunning violence | The nature of 2015 election | Registered political parties | Others |
| <i>Radio Rivers II (99.1 FM)</i> | No | No | No | No | No | Yes |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7FM)</i> | No | No | No | No | No | Yes |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1FM)</i> | No | No | No | No | No | Yes |

Table 7 shows that the messages which bordered on voter education as aired by the stations studied lacked depth. They were merely ephemeral and touched on sundry issues.

Table 8: Aggregation Index

| Station | Running Time | | | News/ Commentaries | | | PSAs | | | Jingles | | | Drama | | | Total |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|-------|
| | WKD | SAT | SUN | WKD | SAT | SUN | WKD | SAT | SUN | WKD | SAT | SUN | WKD | SAT | SUN | |
| | <i>Radio Rivers II (99.1 FM)</i> | 480 | 480 | 480 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| <i>Rhythm (93.7 FM)</i> | 420 | 180 | 180 | 3 | 15 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 800 |
| <i>Wazobia (94.1 FM)</i> | 180 | 180 | 180 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 542 |
| Total | 1080 | 840 | 840 | 11 | 20 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2797 |

A summation of the data reveals that the stations studied air programs that potentially lend themselves to voter education. Basically, the data showed a preponderance of news and commentaries over other programme genres. Descriptively, *Radio Rivers II* has a running time of 8 hours for programmes that have potentials for voter education thus representing about 40% of its broadcast time. *Rhythm 93.7 FM* presented a somewhat different scenario. Figuratively presented, *Rhythm 93.7 FM* has 7 hours of its air time allotted to programmes that hold potentials for voter education thus representing 29% of its broadcast time while *Wazobia* has 3 hours of its air time, within the context of the discourse, thus representing 13%.

Actual air time allotted to voter education was found to be significantly shrift as shown on tables 6a, b, and c. Out of a running time of 480 minutes, for programmes that lend themselves to voter education, *Radio Rivers II* allotted 7 minutes which represents about one percent while that of *Rhythm 93.7FM* was 3 minutes out of 420

minutes. In summation, this was found to be less than one percent (0.7%). For *Wazobia*, it was one minute out of 180 minutes representing an insignificant percentage (0.5%).

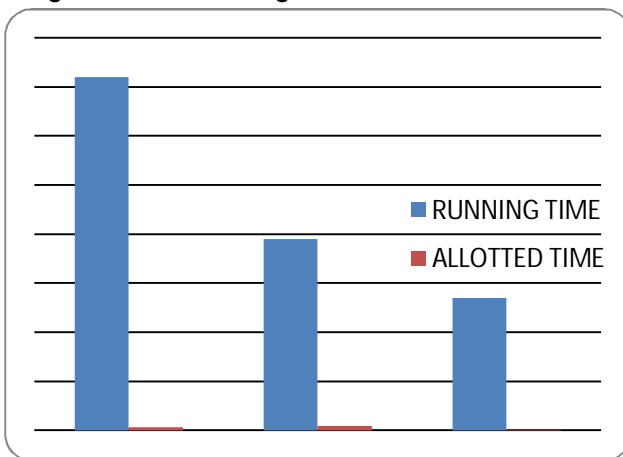
This becomes worrisome as 2015 general elections draw close. It was also found that the programmes that lend themselves to voter education range from news/commentaries to public service announcements and jingles. It was however found that the stations studied hardly utilized these programmes to enlighten the listeners on the mechanics and dynamics of elections.

One may however wonder if it is really the business of these stations (especially *Rhythm* and *Wazobia*) to devote their airtime to voter education being that they are commercial broadcast stations. Interestingly, it may not be totally out of place for them to significantly devote air time to the subject matter knowing that it falls within the purview of social responsibility.

Ironically, studies have also shown that the economy of any nation is structurally tied to the polity. By imputation, therefore, a sound electoral system accords legitimacy and stability to government which no doubt metamorphoses into good governance.

In the light of the foregoing, not devoting significant airtime to voter education by the stations studied eloquently amount to a great disservice to the society by the stations studied. Figure 1 aptly represents this gross imbalance.

Fig.1 – Chart showing air time allotted to voter



Data was further subjected to a qualitative test using the Constant Comparative Technique (CCT). Parameters were drawn along the line of messages/news items that highlighted the benefits of:

Category I: Exercising franchise (voting)

Category II: Registering

Category III: Shunning electoral violence

Category IV: The mode of 2015 election

Category V: The political parties and their ideologies

Category VI: General matters

The analysis revealed that the stations had zero content on all the categories except category VI. Category VI however highlights sundry matters concerning electoral processes. Rhetorically, if the radio stations studied never touched on core voter education as encapsulated in categories I-V, one therefore begins to wonder what may befall the ignorant populace who seem to make up the bulk of the masses.

There is however a drive to reverse the skewed paradigm that makes the electorates voiceless. That drive can only be anchored on enlightenment concerning the electoral process. The statutes also provide for statutory punishments for electoral offenders. Have these laws been adequately publicized by the mass media with a view to sensitizing cognate institutions as well as the citizenry? Without the mass media, no significant progress can be recorded in this regard.

Findings from this study have shown that the radio stations have not in any way complemented the march for political egalitarianism through voter education. More unfortunately so, it was found that the news and commentary programmes of these stations sometimes allow for phone – ins. One would however have expected that key people could be invited as guests to the programmes so that some illumination could be given to seeming grey areas in the electoral process in the course of the questions and answers.

Deductively, the stations studied showed an abysmal performance when viewed within the continuum of agenda setting notion bearing in mind the fact that their content, in the light of voter education has not been robust enough to focus attention on issues quite capable of enthroning egalitarianism in the polity.

Recommendations

1. Management of broadcast stations, especially radio stations, should as a matter of necessity galvanize efforts towards re-directing news, commentaries as well as other sundry programmes to issues of voter education particularly now that the nation is on the verge of 2015 general elections.
2. In devoting content to voter education, broadcast stations, especially radio, should adequately highlight the benefits of shunning electoral violence, registering and ensuring that credible candidates win election through the exercise of franchise. This no doubt will reduce the incidence of voter apathy.
3. Broadcast stations especially radio, should increase capacities on deploying public service announcements (PSAs) to address issues that fall within the purview of electoral offences with a view to curbing and stemming them.
4. The potentials of phone-in programmes, especially news and commentaries, should be greatly tapped by resourcefully sourcing for highly knowledgeable news sources to facilitate question and answer sessions that allow people to air their views on election matters with a view to seeking clarifications.
5. Broadcast stations through outreaches (news and current affairs programmes) should synergize their normative function through collaborations with cognate institutions in the Nigerian socio-political milieu. This no doubt will engender holistic mass mobilization.

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Book Review:

Lakoff, Robin T. *Language and woman's place*. New York:
HarperCollins, 1975. ISBN 0060903899

Reviewed by Aqsa Iqbal

The marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak, and the ways in which women are spoken of. In appropriate women's speech, strong expression of feeling is avoided, expression of uncertainty is favored, and means of expression in regard to subject-matter deemed 'trivial' to the 'real' world are elaborated. Speech about women implies an object, whose sexual nature requires euphemism, and whose social roles are derivative and dependent in relation to men. The personal identity of women thus is linguistically submerged; the language works against treatment of women, as serious persons with individual views.

A patriarchal society suppresses woman in every possible way. Women are told how to behave, how to dress, how to walk and even the choice of their vocabulary is governed by the rules decided by society. Society labels women as 'good' and 'bad' categorizing their behavior as "lady-like" (highly acceptable by a patriarchal society) and "manly" (highly undesirable by society). Right from the beginning girls are trained to behave and act like perfect ladies whereas this concept sounds very foreign when talking about a little boy. A list of don'ts is quite longer for a girl i.e, good girls don't shout, they don't get over excited, they don't scream, don't use swear words and they can't be assertive in their opinion. From Robin's point of view woman's language lacks certainty and they are always asking for reinforcement in simple statements from their listeners. Society wants man to be heard and to be taken more seriously than women. For this reason man's choice of words sounds more reassuring and confident than women. Robin further argues that the use of forceful lexicon by men is not incidental and society denies the acceptance of woman as individual that's why women language is uninvolved and out of power.

Robin Lakoff in her book 'Language and Women's Place' courageously ventures in the realm of gender and language and sees how women are linguistically bound with their choice of

words. Robin argues that women's cognitive abilities are judged as per their linguistic behavior and are thus denied access to authority. Woman's language, as termed by Robin Lakoff, is characterized by super polite terms, extensive use of intensifiers, question tags and lack of assertive imperative sentences. She believes that all these elements tend to make woman's language less dominant rather giving it a submissive tone; thus making women very uncertain and doubtful about their opinion. Women register has proved a double edged sword for women, if they accept the register and adopt themselves to it; they lack certainty and are unable to think clearly and always find themselves at risk of being taken not seriously. On the other hand, if they use more assertive impressions they are considered rebel, 'un-lady-like' and 'manly'.

Making point clearer that WL actually lacks the authority Robin states that women choose neutral language in professional and academic context when they want to sound more realistic and authoritative. So for women making a choice between neutral and woman's language is not an easy task. They can use WL (woman's language) and sound uncertain and less competent or can use a neutral language and be labeled as unfeminine and man like.

"Language and Woman's Place" consists of 3 sections namely: the language used by women, syntactical patterns followed by women speech and languages used for women. Robin further argues that woman language sounds more apologetic than a neutral language. Basing her argument on these points Lakoff in subsequent chapters discusses the way women language differs from neutral or men language.

Choice of the words made by a speaker actually conveys his strength that is completely lacking in a women language. Robin records the two reactions to the same situation:

- i) Oh dear you have put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.
- ii) Shit, you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again.

1st sentence can easily be classified as a representative of WL because of its apologetic tone and second sentence is from a neutral language where displeasure is shown forcefully. A requirement of WL is to be polite even when it is not needed that's why women's choice of word is being mocked at.

Robin wisecracks the use of adjectives that she believes occur more frequently in WL than in neutral language. Men very consciously avoid using these terms in their language since they believe that it could cause a serious harm to their reputation. Following are the carefully selected words by Robin.

| <u><i>Women language</i></u> | <u><i>Neutral Language</i></u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Adorable | Great |
| Charming | Terrific |
| Sweet | Cool |
| Lovely | Neat |
| Divine | |

Robin calls attention to another feature of women speech that is extensive use of intensifiers i.e. the use of 'so' instead of 'really', 'very' and 'utterly'. She cites example from women language.

- A
- i) I feel so unhappy.
 - ii) I feel very unhappy.
- B
- i) That movie made me so sick.
 - ii) That movie made me really sick.

In next part Robin Lakoff answers the question about the syntactical patterns found in the speech of women. She points out the extensive use of question tags by woman. Use of question is very much different to the use of question tag. A question tag shows that speaker has the knowledge but is not very confident of his knowledge and needs a reassurance from the listener. Question tags are all about asking and looking for a confirmation from the addressee, and do not show any kind of commitments on the part of speaker as they leave a doubt. Women, since they don't want to be assertive and want to avoid conflict with addressee if they hold a different opinion, make use of question tags.

- i) Can I qualify for a driving license?
- ii) I can qualify for a driving license, can't I?

Robin identifies the intonation pattern in the speech of women. She believes that intonation shows her hesitation, and in return this hesitation shown in her language declares her inability to take the serious responsibility, like rising intonations on a declarative sentence. Robin further demonstrates the idea of specific stress patterns used by women in their language as

women tend to use emphatic stress more in their language than man.

In next part of her book Robin analysis the language used for women. According to her words used for men and women lack parallelism. She argues that coy terms are used for women and her search doesn't go unanswered. She finds the words 'lady' and 'women' not a good substitute but rather having different connotations. Another such example is of the word 'women sculpture' while there is no term as 'male sculpture'; implying that if sculpture is used in isolation it is understood that it is a man since it is not very usual for a woman to be a sculpture; same is true for other professions like lady doctor where there is no word like male doctor in use. We do have the word like first lady to use for the wife of the president but we don't have its relational antonym may be thinking that a woman can never be a president.

Society is not ready to think of a woman as an independent being. She is defined with her relation to a male; she is somebody's daughter, a wife or a girlfriend. This domination is shown even in the titles used for women. The titles used for the women are Miss, Mrs. or Ms. indicating her marital status but there is no such thing for man. They are married, single or divorced; they always maintain their title 'Mr.'. Robin further investigates the choice of words used for women follow a quite different syntactical pattern than words used for men. Master and mistress both words are converse antonyms so should be following same syntactic pattern but they do not.

i) Liza is a mistress.....

This is an incomplete sentence it needs the masculine possessive noun to convey the complete the meaning while master demands something as its object. Bachelor is a neutral word often a compliment but spinster is an excessively prudish term implying the hopelessness. After the exchange of vows final declaration comes as 'I now pronounce you as man and wife.'" So marriage has changed the status of woman she is a wife now but it didn't affect the status of man. Since man doesn't have any need to be known by the woman in his life.

Consider following sentences:

- i) He is a professional.
- ii) She is a professional.

In the first sentence a man can be anything a lawyer a doctor a banker or from any other profession but Robin argues that second sentence would convey to the most of readers most of the readers or hearers that she is a prostitute. Robin Lakoff thinks that man is defined in a serious world by what he does while woman is defined by her relationship to man. Women are known as someone's wife or girlfriends never otherwise. Robin Lakoff ends the book with some suggestion on how to make the women language more neutral and should be freed from the effect of sexuality.

Lakoff unarguably presents her argument in a best possible way. The main argument that questions Lakoff's all ideas is why does she consider man's speech a standard? What does make her feel that man's speech is better than woman's? Lakoff uses man's language as a yard stick to measure woman's language. Women's choice of words can make women's language different but certainly not inferior. Will the use of male language by women make them strong and more competent? Secondly, the use of question tags are not only limited to women, men do use them, and use them with virtual impunity. Dubios and Crouch in one of their survey proved that men use more question tags than women. Same is true for her observation about the use of intensifier it clearly can be just a marker of WL, not necessarily making it inferior.

The differences in speech patterns of woman and man are attained by speakers in their childhood so these differences are representative of culture and different roles that culture assigns to different genders and not determined by power and status. Lakoff considers women speech deficient and lacking power and authority; her work could have attained more acceptance by subculture theorists if there were a comparison between men and women's speech to show the differences and virtues of each.

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