Citizens' Role in Nation Branding: A case of Pakistan in terms of Women rights and girls' education

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Abstract

Brand image is as important for a nation or country as it is for products and companies. Social Media has enabled the citizens to play a significant role in branding of countries and promote their positive image. Pakistan is portrayed negatively in terms of women rights and girls' education in the world. This study aims at finding out the role played by social media users in order to portray a positive image of Pakistan through their tweets regarding women rights and girls' education. Through the content analysis of 449 tweets, the findings indicate that Pakistan was promoted as a country not giving rights to women and girls. The negative repute of the country needed the attention of Pakistani social media users in order to paint a praiseworthy image.

Keywords: Nation branding, social media, Pakistan's image, Women rights, citizen role

Introduction

Nation branding and Social Media

As the brand image of any company or product is necessary for its success and promotion, the good reputation of a country is essential for its progress and prosperity. According to magic bullet theory, the audience perceives the reality as it is shown by the traditional media. But the later theories have negated the 100% impact of media. The social media, which has made possible the free flow of information, has also limited traditional media like newspapers and televisions in shaping public opinions. The youth has become very much dependent on this medium for acquiring and sharing information. Social networking that was introduced in 1988, has altered the functioning of almost all fields of our life (Arandilla, 2012).

The SNS's sites have evolved into a mechanism for breaking, sharing, and contextualizing news where more than 500 million global users now post more than a billion messages, photos, and links each week (Holton et al., 2014). The motivations behind these

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posts are not confined to day to day frivolous conversation and chats rather they are used for various other purposes. The users have adapted the platform as a space to break and contextualize news and have aided in the evolution of useful tools that help them manage and share information which turns out to be a great tool in portrayal of a country or nation.

Owing to this power of social media, the positive and negative, both types of information about a country can reach, easily, to millions of people in a very short time. The smart phone technology has made this thing even easier. As, Holton et al. (2104) say that social networking sites like Twitter are being used and accessed through mobile phones and thus the ability to quickly seek and share that information is magnified. There are now 845+ million users on Facebook (Eldon, 2012), while Twitter has about 1 billion accounts and similar is the stats for other sites like Google+, YouTube, MySpace, LinkedIn and the ilk . Millions of people log in to these sites and share news and their views every day. This is because the social media enables audiences to reach to a vast and enormous knowledge almost at no cost, as compared to traditional media. This means that any negative news has the potential to reach to a very vast audience if spread through social media. Even the blogs have become comparatively more powerful than that of traditional media in setting news agendas (Meraz, 2009). According to Drezner and Farrell (2004), when popular bloggers focus on a neglected issue, they socially construct the agenda that makes the mainstream media focus on that issue too.

So, consequently, the country branding is also very much dependent on social media platforms. Primarily, Facebook and Twitter. The perception about any nation or country is built through actions of governments and the inhabitant communities as well as the events taking place in that country. But again, this perception owes a lot to how the traditional and social media portray the happenings. The hash-tagging and trending on Twitter have taken the place of headlines on a traditional newspaper. One must not forget the proverb "perception is reality" and that is why governments as well as citizens need to play their role in order to promote a good picture of their country. While government agencies work on their own desks, social media has provided every citizen its own desk to contribute his part in the progress of his country.

Pakistan and Women rights:

It is true that in Pakistan, women are living in a miserable condition where they are killed for honor, attacked with acids, facing domestic violence and harassment at workplace. This is what the traditional media keeps us telling all the time and the same picture is framed on social media, but, this is just one side of the picture. The Pakistani government is taking steps to improve the condition of women. The violent crimes against women are tried under Anti-Terrorism Act. Similarly, any culprit of honor killing is made to be punished in prison for seven years or even death penalty is imposed in extreme cases. The bills like Protection of Women Rights Bill, Prevention of anti-Women Practices Bill, Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act 2012, Protection Against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act 2010', and 'Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act 2011, passed during recent years save women from vaani, swara, karokari, forced marriages, marriage with Quran, violence against them and grants them the right to inheritance in property. It also makes them more safe at workplace and outside (Sheikh, 2011).

Apart from passing bills that provide them with protection, and rights there are various other programs that provide them economical support. Shelters such as DaarulAmaan, provide food, security and boarding place to many insecure and homeless women in Pakistan and all are run by the state. The Women Entrepreneurship Initiatives, is another program aimed at improving the state of women in the country and works for their economic development by providing them various facilities to run their own businesses (SMEDA, 2014). Many NGO's are also working in Pakistan to ensure maximum provision of facilities to the women of under developed areas. The women in Pakistan are also serving military, health, politics, law, economy and Parliament. Seventeen percent seats are reserved for women in the parliament (National Assembly). Several women are working as ministers in the cabinet too. Similarly, the struggles of Pakistani girls to go to schools and educate themselves despite of opposition from society as well as their own family members is worth praise. But, only the negative side of Pakistan is highlighted. This image of Pakistan, as third most dangerous country for Pakistan is not only visible in mainstream media, but also the social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter.

Pakistan and Girls education:

Pakistan is also one of the countries which are known for not providing even basic education to girls. But, the scenario changed much after attack on Malala Yousafzai. She was a student in Swat district of Northern Pakistan and was shot by Taliban. The main cause was her raising voice for girls education and rights. After that attack, she began to work even more on this issue. She also won a noble prize in 2014 on her struggle against the suppression of children and their right to education. She was eleven years old when she began writing for girls rights and has now become a leading advocate throughout the world (NoblePrize.org, 2014).

The United Kingdom's Prime Minister Gordon Brown, who is also the special envoy for global education, launched a petition in United Nations in her name demanding that al the children worldwide should be admitted in schools by the end of 2015. Thus the struggle of a Pakistani girl became the voice for the education of all the children outside schools. Similarly, at her address in the united nations in 2013, she spoke for the education of not only Pakistani children but the children of whole world(Rebecca et al. 2013).

She has been won many prizes from 2011 to the date that are continuously earning Pakistan a positive image. Some of these awards are International Children's Peace Prize (2011), National Youth Peace Prize (2011), Anne Frank Award for Moral Courage, January 2012, Sitara-e-Shujaat, Pakistan's third-highest civilian bravery award 2012, Mother Teresa Awards for Social Justice, November 2012 and many more.

The aim of this study is to find out what role are the social media users playing in creating a good image of Pakistan in terms of women rights and girl's education. As already mentioned, citizens can play a significant role in nation branding when they have the powerful tool like social media in their access. A real life example is that of Hasbara initiative taken by the government of Israel, in which university students were encouraged and paid to post positive things about Israel.

Literature review

Today, there is a great interest in marketing the characteristics of nations as brands in the international market and according to Lundholm (2012), new media can be a positive force in creating national identity. She asserts that 'nation branding' occurs when

citizens communicate with others about how they view their country. She further says that active participation of citizens in debates about national identity, through digital media, can challenge the prevailing negative stereotypes about a country.

The brand image of any country is made by the opinions the public keep about it (Anhot, 2005). The concept of measuring global perceptions of countries in dimensions like culture, tourism, governance, investment, people, exports, and immigration was developed by a branding expert Simon Anholt. According to him, it takes about 15 to 20 years to build the reputation of a country. But, according to Warren Buffet (2010, as cited in Tuttle 2010), it takes only five minutes to ruin that reputation.

Kimonye (2014) in her article explains how, the disasters and other events occurring in a country that can ruin its image, can be controlled effectively. She emphasizes on sharing the positive content about a country on social media as it makes it easy for the users to share that content and shape the public opinion. According to her, social media provides a virtual community center where people from around the world communicate directly with each other which can thus help in making a good image of their nations. Similarly she says, that as the governments are playing their own role, citizens can play a powerful role, and she advises the citizens to support the governments' efforts and spread positive message about their country through all communication platforms and social media is the most freely available platform for even the lay men.

This power of citizens to act as an country ambassadors on social media was effectively used by the Israeli government which recruited students to portray a positive image of Israel through Social Media. This initiative was named as Hasbara and Sheizaf (2011) reports it as an initiative to spread positive propaganda about Israel through social networking. In Hebrew the word Hasbara means "explanation". Israel needed it to justify their behavior with the Palestinians and their occupation of the Palestinian territory. It was aimed at international audience in western countries primarily. It included usual advocacy efforts, and general appeals made through media and was carried out by lobbying groups, government agencies, private citizens, nongovernmental organizations, journalists, students and bloggers.

The government encouraged the citizens to actively engage in the initiative and provided them with guidelines on how to defend their country abroad. Hasbara was probably the most widespread and ambitious propaganda effort run by any state in modern world. It was an effective initiative and in its continuation, the government planned to recruit students too to achieve its goals.

The students were paid for carrying out that PR campaign of Israel. As Ravid (2013) wrote about Israeli government's new step in continuing Hasbara activities by involving students as 'covert units' in their efforts to defend Israel on social media. The students were supposed to post on the channels like Facebook and Twitter on the behalf of their country. There was an estimated investment of NIS 3 million to organize, recruit and fund the activities of these university students.

Sherriff (2013) added in a report in Huffington Post UK that Israel's initiative to recruit students required them to keep their identity hidden. The students would receive scholarships on their task to engage international audience in their program to spread positive information about Israel. For five hours a week, they were supposed to get $2000. Israel not only used it to garner itself a positive image, but to defame its opponent, that is, Palestine too. Thus Israel was not only countering the negative views but also working at the same time to disrepute its enemy through social networking.

Research Questions

Q1. Are the tweets about Pakistan and women rights portraying Pakistan negatively?
Q2. Are tweets about Pakistan and girls' education portraying Pakistan negatively?

Research Design

The research methodology of quantitative content analysis was applied to collect data and analyze it. Content analysis is an efficient methodology to analyze the content of media, and widely used in mass media researches.

Sampling. Out of all the social networking sites, Twitter was selected for this study. As it is a popular network having about one billion accounts worldwide, including 1.9 million users in Pakistan (Dawn, 2011). On an average, 6000 tweets are made from

around the world in one second (Internet live stats, 2014). Further, any tweet that is once made on Twitter, gets recoded in the library of congress and can be retrieved through Library's archives in their original forms even when deleted (Allen, 2013).

Time Period: A sum of 449tweets were recorded from a stratified sample of three months of 2014 that is June, July and August; in the following order:

Month June   July   August
Days   1-10   11-20   21-30

First ten days were drawn from June, mid ten days were drawn from July and the last ten days were drawn from August. The search queries which were entered on Twitter's advanced search engine were #women rights, Pakistan and #girls education, Pakistan. The resultant tweets were recorded in three categories which were positive, negative and neutral. While each of these categories was divided into sub categories which are shown in table 1 and table 2.

Rationale for selecting time period. Many bills had been passed for women protection and awarding them basic and equal rights to men since 2014. The number of NGO working for them also increased. Further, the media being more free and grass rooted year by year, helped bringing the problems to the notice of authorities and managed to get the solved. Similarly, Malala Yousafzai, was nominated as one of the 100 influential people of the world, received a number of awards on her struggle for education of children especially girls, and her address at United Nations in 2013 all brought a positive thinking about Pakistani people that they are working very hard for getting the girls educated despite the threat posed by the terrorists. So, three months were chosen from 2014, that was after Malala's speech and winning of awards so that it could be seen that how Pakistan is being portrayed post Malala attacks and initiatives taken at government level to give rights to the women.

Findings and Discussion

The first research question aimed to find out if there was greater number of negative tweets about Pakistan and women rights as compared to the positive tweets.

Table1

Total tweets. Unique tweets, re-tweets and favorites for #women rights, Pakistan.

	Positive		Negative					Other	
	12		150					17	
	Equal Rights Granted	Initiatives taken by government	Harassment, sex trafficking and rape	Hard struggle for rights	Demand for equal rights	Demand for basic rights	Honor killing	Irrel-evant	Neutral
Total Tweets	3	9	24	19	26	36	45	17	0
Unique Tweets	3	2	4	9	12	7	14	3	0
Re-tweets	0	7	20	10	14	29	31	14	0
Favorites	2	10	13	12	12	22	15	7	0

Findings indicate that there were 179 tweets for women rights. Out of them only 12 (6.70%) tweets were in the positive category while 150 (83.79%) tweets were in the negative category and 17 (9.5%) were in the other category. The favorites and re-tweet numbers have a direct relation with the portrayal of Pakistan and the findings indicate that Pakistan was more negatively portrayed in comparison to the positiveness. As the favorites for the positive category were 12 (12.90%) whereas for the negative category they were 74 (79.57%). Similarly, the re-tweet to unique tweet ratio, which shows that how many times a single tweet was re-tweeted, is also high for the negative category as shown in table 3.

Women in Pakistan do live in a miserable condition and thats another area where Pakistan is defamed for. Pakistan stands on number three for being dangerous for women to live in (The new economy, 2014). One of the most endemic social problem in Pakistan is the domestic violence on women, the other is killing them for the sake of honor. Statistics show that thousands of girls and women are killed and injured every year. In most of the under developed areas, women are deprived of even basic necessities of life. But the government is taking steps to improve the condition of women in the country. The violent crimes against women were announced to be tried under Anti-Terrorism Act (Amnesty International, 2010).

In order to control honor killing the culprit was to be prisoned for at least seven years or even death penalty could be imposed in extreme cases. Many bill were passed like Prevention of anti-

Women Practices Bill, Protection of Women Rights Bill Protection Against Harassment of Women at Workplace Act 2010', Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act 2012, and 'Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act 2011. These bills are attempts to put an end to practices like karokari, vani, forced marriages, marriage with Quran, swara. They also grant women the right of inheritance in property which Islam has already given to them but the society, due to its negligence and illiteracy denies. They provide her protection at the workplace and outside (Sheikh, 2011). Food, security and boarding places are provided at DaarulAmaan to the insecure women in almost all cities of Pakistan and are run by the state.

Many other programs that provide them economical support have also been started. Women Entrepreneurship Initiative is aimed at improving the state of women by providing them with facilities that help them in running their businesses. Similarly, many private organizations are also working for the same cause.

The women are also given quotas in government assemblies and all other institutions. In national assembly, 17 percent seats are reserved for women. Several women are serving as ministers and a huge number is in the fields of education and health. Despite all these initiatives and struggles, Pakistan was portrayed negatively in terms of women rights in Pakistan and only 6.70% tweets were made in its favor. The tweets in the negative category were 83.80%. There is a lot to highlight about the condition of women and paint a better picture of Pakistan.

The second research question dealt with girls education and Pakistan. The findings are shown in the table below:

	Positive	Negative				Other				
	66	189				15				
	Initiatives taken by government	Applauding the struggles of girls	Support shown by citizens	Government initiatives demanded	Mentioning out of school girls	Mentioning lack of facilities	Mentioning threats on going to school	Irrelevant	Neutral
Total Tweets	10	46	10	14	111	6	58	1	14
Unique Tweets	2	25	2	2	15	2	9	1	8
Re-tweets	8	21	8	12	96	4	49	0	6

| | Favorites | 0 | 24 | 6 | 7 | 43 | 3 | 13 | 0 | 20 |

Table 2

Total tweets. Unique tweets, re-tweets and favorites for #girls education, Pakistan.

There were 270 tweets for girls' education. Out of them 66 (24.44%) tweets were in the positive category, 189(70%) tweets were in the negative category and 15 (5.56%) were in the other category. Similarly, the favorites for the positive category were 30 (25.86%), for the negative category they were 66 (56.89%) and for the other category they wee 20 (17.24%). Though in terms of girls' education Pakistan was less negatively portrayed as compared to women rights. The re-tweet to tweet ratio for girls education in Pakistan is shown in table 3.

The positive tweets on girls' education owed to Malala YousufZai, as the research was held past that incident. Malala gained Pakistan a very positive image but the citizens, during this period, were unable to cash positive opinion for Pakistan as only 24.44% tweets were made in comparison to 70% tweets in the negative category. Although her struggles managed to gain Pakistan a comparatively positive image but on the same time it showed the darker side of Pakistani society. Her struggles got much highlighted in the main stream media as well. But still there were very less tweets in favor of Pakistan in terms of Girls education.

Table 3

The re-tweet to tweet ratio

	Positive	Negative	Other
Women Rights	1.4	2.26	4.67
Girls' education	1.28	5.75	0.67

The re-tweet to tweet ratio for the positive tweets of women rights was 1.4 while for the negative tweets, it was 2.26 which means that negative tweets about women rights in Pakistan were more propagated as compared to the positive tweets about Pakistan. The re-tweet to tweet ratio for the positive tweets of girls' education was 1.28, for the negative tweets it was 5.75 and for the other category it was 0.67. It indicates that each negative tweet about Pakistan, on an average, was propagated about four times more than the positive tweet.

Conclusion

Perception is reality. This fact has highlighted the importance of propagation of positive information about a particular product, service or idea. Thus branding of a product not only increases its sale but also earns trustworthy relation between the manufacturer and the consumer. Similarly, nation branding is as important as branding of any product. The foreign ministry of a country is given the responsibility to build and maintain a positive image. But, the social media that has given freedom to every citizen to utter whatever he feels and convey his point of view to the whole world, has also enabled him to work for his country. He, sitting at home, can play a significant role in determining how th world identifies his country. This power of social media and citizens is employed by many states. Hasbara initiative is an example of this by the Israeli Ministry, as already discussed.

The users can use it to promote positive sides and defy the negative stereotypes about it. Any tweet, or post once made on the social media triggers other users to propagate it. This makes the positive posts about one's country even more important. Pakistan in terms of women rights and girls education needed to be promoted positively as many initiatives by government and private institutions had been taken for the women of the country and Malala also was earning Pakistan a positive image by highlighting the struggle of Pakistani people to get educated despite the threats from terrorists. But the findings of this study show that Pakistanis were not active in propagating a positive message about women rights and girls education in Pakistan. Pakistan was being portrayed negatively in both these fields on social media. Though some citizens were trying to portray a positive image but their efforts needed to be enhanced in quantity and quality to gain fruitful results. Also, if they were trained and government support was provided as it was seen in Hasbara initiative by the Israeli government, it could gain more positive outcomes.

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Local Media (Mis) Representation of the Nigerian Woman As a product of the society

Endong Floribert

Abstract

Hinging principally on secondary data and opinions, this paper attempts to show how forces external to the media (notably culture, religion, the law, education and the like) influence the media, output and consequently shape media representation of women in the Nigerian society. It argues that the misrepresentation of women in the Nigerian mass media is more a product of gender-relation among other dynamics in the Nigerian society. Media contents are most often fine-tuned according to societal beliefs and realities so as to appear realistic/believable, appealing to audiences' emotions and ultimately win audiences' consensus. The paper argues and concludes that a more promising approach to the eradication of women stereotyping and misrepresentations in the Nigerian media should therefore not only consider media's androcentric configurations and predispositions, but start from revolutionary social changes in favor of women emancipation in the other ideological state apparatuses (family, education, religion, law among others) which, to a great extent, seriously control the means of mass communication and determine their output.

Key Words *Women Emancipation, Media Representation, Femininity, Religious and Cultural Beliefs*

Introduction

In all societies, the media is considered potent force in shaping popular beliefs and perceptions. It has spectacular potential to influence social attitudes positively or negatively. The mass media constitute of one of the cardinal ideology and repressive state apparatuses (together with religious, educational institutions and the law). They enjoy immeasurable powers of socialization, mass mobilization and advocacy. One way in which they shape audience perception and attitude is through the institution of representation. According to O'Sulivan (1996:199), representation is the process of putting into concrete forms (that is different signifiers) an abstract ideological concept. Representation is therefore, construed to be "the social process of making sense within all available signifying systems: speech, writing, print, video, film, tape and so on". The representation of an ideology is most often organized and regulated across the different media of

mass communication and within different discourses. The representation of womanhood or femininity for instance may be represented in both official and authoritative discourses (legislation and educational practices for instance) and non-authoritative ones such as in media, advertising, literature, and others. The media are therefore, constructed as powerful agents of representation in the society.

However, representation is a product of multiform social processes of representing realities or ideological concepts. Through representation, the existing signs of a community are made to stand for their (specific) meanings. Given the fact that the process is associated to the ruling ideology and the fact that there is always a counter ideology, representations are hardly generally endorsed. They are highly dynamic, with respect to time and form. This instability of representations often gives rise to such phenomena as misrepresentations and re-representation (Endong 2012; Dominick 2011; Branston and Stafford 2006). O'Sulivan (1996) corroborates this view with respect to the construction of sex when he contends that, "what is represented as sexual differs from form to form, from time to time; and representations themselves also change. Hence, the concept of representation allows full force to the notion of re-representation; the reworking and bringing into view signifiers for the same signified". It is in line with this that we very often have conflicting, challenged or countered media representations of femininity and as a result, re-representation of womanhood or femininity in most societies, Nigeria being a suitable case study. This paper aims to show how the society – in this case the Nigerian society – affects media content. It precisely seeks to show how social forces – that are external to the Nigerian media – affect media (mis)representation of the Nigerian women.

Misrepresentation of Women

The misrepresentation of women in the media has attracted the attention of scholars. An extensive literature is available on the issue. The media world in Nigeria seems particularly to be one of the areas in which relatively little is achieved so far, as concerns women empowerment and gender-equality. The Nigerian media is guilty of misrepresentation of the woman folk. Most critics view

them as agents working for the consolidation of women stereotyping and her marginalization in the society. This is so as their contents utterly trivialize or relegate women to secondary and inferior positions in the society. Corroborating this point, Chika (2012:144) opines that,

> One of the altars where the image of the African woman is sacrificed is that of media, especially the fecund and prolific Nollywood. The media representation tends to depersonalize women and re-enforce traditional prejudices. More so, most of the media images do not reflect the changing attitudes but promote unfounded stereotypes (p.144).

By the negative portrayal of women (as passive, dependent and subservient for instance), the Nigerian mass media re-enforce the stereotyping of women in the society. Abu cited by Chika (2012:145-146) further exemplifies some of these stereotypes. She asserts that "the media sell a negative image of women where the old and wrinkled women becomes the image of a wizard, the gorgeous lady becomes the prostitute and the loving and caring wife becomes daft and unintelligent". These stereotypes may be viewed as arguable in many respects.

It is undoubtedly perceived that such portrayals of the women in the Nigerian media automatically shape audiences' perception of the women folk and intensifies stereotypes already held as media theoretically have "a powerful effect on people who subconsciously adopt and internalize attitudes, beliefs and values presented graphically or textually" (Ikuomola and Akanji 2001:32). In a study based on the portrayal of women in some Igbo movies, Okunna (2012) concludes, with reference to results of a focus group discussion with female discussants that these negative images are often time considered by audiences as unrealistic. Nevertheless, they affect audiences' perception about women negatively. Most critics who explore gender stereotyping in the media tend to concentrate more on media's influence on societal attitudes and hardly on the reverse – the influence of the society on media misrepresentation of women. Meanwhile, the mass media are generally a product of the society and their

content is, in many respects, a reflection of the society in which they are based (Idowu, 1999: 161).

Media (Mis) representation of Women as a Product of Society

It is often believed that the mass media have their own 'realities' which may differ from the reality in the society. Okunna (2012:32-33), like many other feminist scholars, has in numerous of her publications argued that the images of women portrayed in the Nigerian media are unrealistic and stereotyped. It is argued that psychological phenomenon is responsible for the acceptance/adoption by audiences of these images as a consensual view of the women world, despite their apparent unrealistic nature. Disciples of the cultivation theory associate such an adoption with the persistent exposure of audiences to the mass media messages. However, logic will guide toward thinking about some other reasons. One of these is that mass media messages most often reflect society. Mass media representation are conceived and fine-tuned in a relatively realistic manner and that may very much explain why it appeals to the emotion of the audience in a way as to win their endorsement of the ideologies embedded in the content. Highly fictional movies for instance entertain and use to make 'invented' claims which are unproven in real life. Audiences enjoy the contents of such films but hardly ever believe them as being true for the simple fact that they have a pre-knowledge of the purely fictional nature of the media.

The media – often negative – portrayal of women can, in this respect, be partly attributed to the symbiotic relationship existing between media reality and the society reality. It has often been argued that through their content and structure, the media are a reflection of the society in which they function. One of the deductible implications of this fact is that society directly or indirectly provides the "raw material" (notably technical knowhow (human resources and ideology) for the construction and fine-tuning of media text. They partake, complement or complete a socialization process often commenced by other ideological state apparatuses (religion, education, the law, religion among others). The liberal Pluralist theory for instance presents the media as cultural flora reproducing the collective debate of

society. Curran (2000:10) notes many more perspectives explicating the media-society symbiotic relationship thus:

> The main tradition in cultural studies and also, in such theoretically oriented media studies, sees the media primarily as cultural products. Their principal (and indeed often only) source of evidence is the content of media. Thus the media are viewed as an index of shared values in the 'cultural-indicator' approach […]; as a conduit of dominant ideologies, in the traditional Marxist perspective […] and as an extension of power structure, in the radical-structuralist tradition […]. There are also an anthropological tradition which sees the media as expressing the mythic forms, archetypes and symbolic system of society.

To these numerous perspectives, many more can be added. With reference to the Nigerian media, Idowu (1999:97) goes beyond the content analysis of media text to mention human resources (in the media) as a configuration that is likely to reflect society. He concedes that the Nigerian media have often been accused of publishing falsehood, sensational, speculative and fabricated stories. The Nigerian media could be guilty of such accusations, but the problem cannot be separated from that which is created by the country's socio-political set-up. It has often been argued that the Nigerian society is hypocritical and corrupt. Should this be true, however, the media, no matter how saintly they try to be would fall victim and then cannot but reflect the vices of the larger society. The media thus reflect the color of the society.

Given the fact that society provides raw material for media content, the negative portrayal of women in media text (though questionable) is but logical and may not absolutely be viewed as falsehood, or unrealistic. Though relatively true that such practices as selective attention by media gate-keepers and

naturalization tend to manipulate media text in a way as to downplay on the progressive, positive and considerable role of women in the Nigerian society. Though by so doing, the media indirectly advocate for the marginalization and relegation of women to inferior status in the society, it should be noted that the ingredients used in the construction of such a gender biased texts often have a degree of truth. It is this degree of truism which often, partly contributes to its plausible nature. In a study conducted on the portrayal of women in Nigerian video films, Okunna (2012) raises the paradox of the believability of purported unrealistic media text which is chauvinistic in nature. In her discussion, she however, corroborates that, though stereotypical in nature, the negative women portrayals often have a measure of realism. She writes that

> Nevertheless, as indicated, […] there must be Nigerian women who are as depraved and deplorable as the women in the films, thus [a logical tendency of] investing the films with a measure of realism. But the evil women like negative news in the mass media generally are over reported in these films (p.31).

It can therefore, be argued that the believability by audience of such a portrayal of women in media text is not exclusively thanks to heavy viewing (exposure) as the cultivation theory stimulates but is equally due to the relative degree of realism the media texts are invested with. Events depicted in media text often rhyme with audiences' experiences in real life. This triggers believability. As Watson (2003:70) succinctly puts it, "we respond [to media text] according to our differences- cultural, social, educational, professional; according to our age, gender, race and according to our tastes and values". In the same light, Blumer and Hauser (1996) insightfully argue with respect to motion pictures that

> It seems quite clear that the variety of influences which motion pictures may exercise arises from the wide

range of themes and patterns of conduct which are shown and the different backgrounds of experience of the observers. Because of their difference in experience, gained mainly from the groups in which they live, persons acquire attitudes which sensitize or immunize them to certain motion picture influence (p.12).

In line with the above mentioned assertion, we may suggest that audiences tend to believe women portrayals that are in accordance with their experience in real life. A viewer who for instance has witnessed a particular pattern of feminine conduct in real life –be it socially deviant or normal – will tend to believe it when shown or reported in the media. The situation is even more accentuated when he or she is under the double influence of his personal experience and other socializing forces as culture, education, religion among others. Therefore, the influence on audiences of negative media portrayals of women has part of its roots in the relative realism invested with the media text.

A number of researchers have prescribed the emergence of an alternative female-dominated media that would counter and correct this negative portrayal (Akiboye 2004;, Nwamuo, 2012; Chika 2012; Eya 2005). Okunna (2012:35) opines that "this might well be the best strategy, if not the only one at this state of our development in the Nigerian society to empower women through the media of communication – by getting them to tell their own story from their own perspective". It may however appear non-strategic to blame the media first for this stereotypical representation of women but more appropriate to turn primordially to society which, as earlier argued, is visibly at the root of the phenomenon. Far from rejecting the responsibility of the media in perpetrating the stereotyping of women and far from doubting the potentials of media to act as a catalyst of women emancipation and positive social changes in the Nigerian society, we advocate for an approach that primordially stresses on the revalorization of women and the amelioration of their status in influential social institutions which though external to the media institution, do control the media. Corroborating this view, Curran (2000:11) insightfully argues that there is a "tacit assumption that

control of the media lies outside the media, in forces and agencies external to it". This gives the impression that "the media are little more than panes of glass through which it is possible to discern the structure of society, its values and innermost tensions, in ways that are wholly unaffected by institutional mediation".

Taking journalism as a case study/example and drawing inspiration from Shlesinger's view of the media-society relationship, Currant (2000:11) adds that "the sociology of journalism is unduly media-centered, and should pay more attention to 'externalist' influence (that is to those outside media organizations)". Mass media representations exploit and hinge on sensitive and serious social realities to ensure the believability by the audience. This may explain why Ikuomola and Akanji (2001:229) highlight media person's usage or the capitalization on popular perceptions as measurement for shaping their content. They assert that "it has been noted that news is not a reporter's view of an event but social, consensual product modeled by a variety of consideration. Thus, it might be possible that the journalist internalize popular perceptions and social stereotypes into their consensual definitions of what is news". Based on this, it may be argued that so long as the image of the woman continue to be negative in the society and with the media being the reflection of society, their portrayal risks continually to fall victim of stereotyping the female folk.

An alternative media text that will be corrective of the chauvinistic one (produced by the male-dominated media) is well to be praised but how realistic and plausible will it be? It appears clear that the chauvinistic text enjoys a relatively considerable degree of acceptability in the Nigerian society. With this, the feminist text may hardly or never secure general consensus if external social institutions (the other ideological state apparatuses) are not made to push women affirmative action. As a form of counter hegemony, the feminist media text runs the risk of being questioned and challenged.

The idea of an alternative feminist media texts may seldom reinforce the conception of media as "contested spaces reflecting the struggle for ascendancy" and reflection of both normative competition and achieved agreement" (Curran 2000:10). In this

way, they hardly stand a chance of being guaranteed of the eradication of women stereotyping. Just like hegemonies, counter-hegemonies need the active support not only of the media, but of all the other ideological state apparatuses to be effective. Watson (2003:18) notes that counter-hegemonies operate best when all the state apparatuses (education, religion, the arts, and media) "are speaking in harmony with one another". This suggests that the advocates of the theory of women affirmative action should consider concentrating on overthrowing patriarchy or anti-feminist/feminine tendencies in other social institutions which to a great extent determine or control media output.

Conclusion and recommendation

This paper has attempted to show that most critics have analyzed the misrepresentation and trivialization of women in the mass media from the angle of the media configuration and predisposition and not from the standpoint of the society. It argued that the media constitute a product of the society in which they operate. Their content is a reflection of society in many respects. Forces external to the media (notably culture, religion, education and the like) influence the media, determine/control media output and consequently shape media representation of women. The paper also argued that the media misrepresentation of women is more a product of gender-relation among other dynamics in the Nigerian society. Media content is more often fine-tuned according to societal beliefs and realities so as to appear realistic, appealing to audiences' emotions and win their consensus. A more promising approach to the eradication of women stereotyping and misrepresentation in the media content should therefore not only consider media's androcentric configurations and predispositions, but start from revolutionary social changes in favor of women emancipation in the other ideological state apparatuses which to a great extent control the media and determine their output.

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Young voters for political participation through online campaigns

Ibtesam Mazahir

Abstract:

The aim of the present study is to elaborate the ideas and concepts that motivate young voters to participate in elections through on-line campaigns. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part of the paper analyzes how some of the best political campaigns are used for motivating people to vote. The second theoretical part explores the notion of political participation and sheds light on the factors that affect civic engagement, as well as the specific components that must be considered while focusing on young people. Finally, the last part deals with methods and approaches that can be used to integrate young social media users into the conceptual design process of on-line campaigns, as well as to determine young people's political participation behavior.

Key words: young voters, online, political participation

Introduction

Political participation of youth may serve as an eminent role in eradicating cohort tensions and illogicalities. The introduction of Convention on the Rights of the Child by United Nations in 1989 was a major step in spreading the idea of youngsters' and children's political participation. This idea was followed by many European countries while framing different legislations for enhancing youth participation; hence, they tried to enhance the participation level of youth in politics. However, due to limited research in this topic, it seems really difficult to obtain a documented overview of the recent developments in this area.

The lack of political participation among youth is ultimately resulting in an increase in youth disengagement from electoral matters. This concern has been raised by some organizations which are responsible to monitor elections in different countries. This paper examines how youth can be politically motivated via on-line campaigns to take part in electoral process with the help of recent examples and practices.

Best Practice Examples

Campaign: Edding's Digital Highlighter

Edding is an international company that manufactures writing and marking tools. It has been famous for felt pens and permanent markers for over fifty years. Although digital age has turned the communication channel into wired and paperless ones, it does not hinder Edding's business as the company acted contrariwise and created a new innovation to catch up with the technology. Therefore in 2011, Edding launched the "Digital Highlighter" campaign that allows users to highlight texts on-line, share them via social media sites and email or save them as PDF files regardless of which website is being used.

This campaign is one of the best selected practices of participatory campaign because of several reasons. It contains the original idea of a "digital web marker" that no other company has ever done. With this captive idea, it entices people to participate in the use of this digital web marker. Surprisingly, Edding makes participation very easy. Users only need to drag the symbol of digital marker to the toolbar and it is ready to use. The campaign is a good example of a product that can normally be used in the off-line world and adapts its application to on-line world. In this sense Edding exploits the strength of its brand very well.

The results of the campaign participation show that 81 percent of users added the highlighter to their toolbars. The flash banners generated 2.7 percent click rate and the number of visitors to Edding's web-page increased 12 percent during the campaign. Besides, this campaign has received a number of awards that guarantee its success, such as the Gold Medal Media for the Best Use of Digital Media in Golden Award of Montreux 2011, the Bronze Direct for the use of Direct Marketing in Cannes Lions International Festival of Creativity 2011 and many more.

Campaign: Kony 2012

Kony 2012 was a campaign run by Invisible Children, a non-profit organization founded by Bobby bailey, Jason Russell and Laren Poole with a target to bring awareness among people about the activities of Lord Resistance Army (LRA). The campaign was named after Joseph Kony, leader of LRA and no.1 wanted criminal by the International Criminal Court. The aim was to arrest Joseph

Kony, whose guerilla army was encircled around Central Africa, by the end of 2012. The campaign's tactic was to stop Kony by making him famous.

The campaign created films documenting violence and screened them to audiences all over the world. They used three categories of media for the promotion of the campaign; on-line media which comprised of Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and blogs, traditional media which included Newspaper, 12 documentary films, 363 campaign videos and 30 radio networks in USA and 6 in African nations, and through "Action Kits" which included T-Shirts, posters, door hangers, magazines, banners, fliers all translated into four different languages.

The campaign was further successful by the participation of 20 culture makers including George Clooney, Angelina Jolie, Oprah Winfrey and 12 policy makers which included former U.S. President George W. Bush and his Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. The public figures helped to bring more influence and awareness among the audience and this had an impact on donation rising. The donations are used to run schools and scholarship programs in Africa for the war-affected people. There is also a crisis tracker on their website which shows real time LRA activities over civilians.

The campaign used a number of successful activities such as the "Cover night" where the whole New York City was covered by posters and fliers of Kony 2012, followed by another activity known as MoveDC.

The success of the campaign can be traced out as the White House released a statement of support that was passed by the congress. Kony 2012 has been by far the most successful campaign of 2012, with a total of 123 million on-line video views and more than 3 million Facebook likes.

Theoretical part

Definition of political participation

Definitions of political participation range from traditional forms to newer ones, including Internet and social media utilization. The respective area of research in participatory communication generally aims for the same purpose. Teorell's (2006) three models of democracy exemplify how participatory communication has been

undertaken as a broad and in some cases, rather diverted field in political science.

Teorell in 2006, distinguished three normative models of democracy; the responsive, the participatory and the deliberative, and argued that the definition one gives to political participation is related to which model of democracy they adhere to. "System responsiveness to citizens' needs and preferences is the key normative issue" of the responsive model of democracy (Teorell, 2006: 789) and therefore, the concept of participation is restricted to the representation mechanism. Similarly, Tian (2011) indicates that "through political participation, citizens choose their representatives at different level of political institutions" (Tian, 2011: 381). The next model, the participatory model broadens opportunities for direct participation indecision making through small-scale spaces outside the traditional representative system. Finally, participation within the deliberative model exists in the context of political discussions, as "…discussions aimed at forming opinions may occur even if no collective decision is to breached" (Teorell, 2006: 791).

Himelboim, Lariscy, Tinkham and Sweetser (2012) start from a similar definition where political participation includes "…activities performed by citizens who attempt to influence the structure and selection of government policies" (Putnam, 1995, as quoted by Himelboim et al, 2012: 93) and moves on to examine what citizens perceive as political participation, as this determines their awareness of civic engagement. According to the authors, social media provide on-line platforms for sharing information and political opinions(Pew, 2009a, 2011, as quoted by Himelboim et al, 2012: 95) and in addition, individuals have an interest in participating in political discussions (s.a.a.). Therefore, activities like joining interest groups, on-line interacting with political institutions or on-line political discussions should be considered valid forms of political participation.

Factors that influence participation

Albrecht's approach (2006: 63-64) gives a further explanation on how on-line participation is taken into account and points out the importance of public distrust in politics. The theoretical model he suggests has four sets of factors in on-line deliberation; the first is determinants of political participation (economic background,

education, age, political interest etc.), the second is determinants of internet usage (for example; background, education, age, gender, and on-line skills), and the third is mediating factors (cultural practices of technology use, communication's embeddedness in political context, the usability of particular web services) and the fourth is properties of large-scale communication (news factors, factors that determine the chances of a news item appearing in various news media, economy of attention, etc.) The first three set of factors help to determine who participates, whereas the last set of factors determines what is communicated, but there are also interactional effects.

Aligned with Albrecht and from a vice versa point of view, media usage, especially online media, and the way people access online information on a daily basis is becoming a highlight (cf. Lister et al, 2003). This means online political participation is taking place within vast internet usage and among a wide range of audience. Thus, there are several factors, such as the audience age range, educational background, media usage etc to be taken into consideration. The next question is therefore, what kind of audience is participating politically, in different kinds of media?

This leads to exploring political efficacy, as defined by Campbell, Gurin, & Miller (1954): "the belief in one's own competency and the feeling that political and social change is possible" (Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954, as quoted by Hoffmann & Young, 2011: 161). As Wang (2007) observes:

> The conventional wisdom regarding political efficacy is that citizens participate in politics more when they believe they can influence government(internal political efficacy) and when they believe government is responsive to them(external political efficacy). People, however, do not participate in politics when they believe that their efforts will be useless (Morrell, 2003, 393).

In this scope, certain media use, such as satire and parody shows, might motivate individuals to politically participate and by watching them; viewers evaluate their own efficacy and enhance their feeling of self- competence.

Specific factors to be considered when focusing on young people

In remedy with Albrecht's explanation on the diversity of this field, young people are one essential factor, as it has been a general notice that they are a main target of political participation, thus messages are articulated to engage this specific audience.

Although some sources indicate that young people of today are not as active as previous generations used to be (Mindich 2005; Putnam 2000, as quoted by Calenda and Meijer, 2009: 879), studies also suggest that students who are very active on the internet are more likely to participate online and that those who participate offline are more likely to participate online too (Calenda and Meijer, 2009). Moreover, Quintelier and Vissers (2008) observed that certain activities such as blogging, discussing, following the news, and forwarding e-mails with political content are positively related to Belgian young people's political participation, as their interactive features helped them expanding social communication, relations, and civic skills.

Another dimension about young people's political participation is their extensive media use. Social media has been considered as one of the most accessed media for young people. Furthermore, social media contains information that has been infused from the mass media (cf. Anduiza, Gallego & Jorba, 2012) because it is accessible through several different media devices. The effect of social media's contribution for engaging young people into political participation is vice versa. The reason is that for young people, social media is considered as peer-based and elite-free (Pfaff, 2005), thus the 'share' button is the basic measurement of participation itself, despite any other discussions or forms of participation that exist in the platform. Another reason is the concept of 'participation' itself in this context. If participation is expected as proper understanding about politics, it creates a whole different paradigm upon the matter.

Political learning is an approach recommended to be used towards political participation, provided that one scrutinizes the significant amount of coefficients in the researches. For instance, the interesting research by Pfaff (2005) shows that the way Eastern Germans are raised politically influences their skepticism toward political bureaucrats and parties. For this reason, their interest in politics is significantly lower than the average young people in Germany.

Methods and approaches for user-centered-design

The aim of the paper is to find what is helpful for designing an online campaign that will motivate young voters to go to the elections. This section deals with methods and approaches that can be used to integrate users into the conceptual design process of the online campaign as well as finding information about young people's political participation behavior.

Approaches

Co-creation

One strategy that can be used is co-creation. This strategy will help in designing a successful online campaign, one that will motivate young voters to go to the elections, as it allows the target group to be directly involved in the creation of the campaign. And in this case, the target group is the youth.

As explained by Kambil, Friesen and Sundaram (1999), by following the co-creation strategy, customers can be involved at just about any stage of development of a product and they can become co-creators of value. A strong relationship is also built between producers and users as well as user loyalty. Even though much of the paper's discussion focuses on the electronic economy market, the same concepts and ideas can be transferred to the project of designing an online political campaign.

In the creation of the online political campaign, involving the youth with particular skills beneficial to the campaign will increase the value of the campaign. An example here could be, involving students from certain universities with graphic design skills, communication and marketing skills, event management skills, and students from politics majors who can contribute with political content etc.

User-design

A step further into designing a good online campaign is to understand the needs and preferences of the target group on the design of the online campaign and the suitable political content to match the young people's preferences. One way of achieving this is by applying the user design form, and according to Randall, Terwiesch and Uirich (2007), user design is a "particular form of product customization that allows the user to specify the properties

of a product" (p.268). The authors continue by stating the benefits of this customization form, and they include; closer match of products to user preferences, willingness to pay for goods and services, a chance for a manufacturer to cater to different needs of a market etc hence, an increase of different offers and all these can lead to a strong brand loyalty. The concept can be transferred to the building up of an online political campaign. The user becomes the target group of the campaign which in this case; it is the youth. However, first there is a need of establishing methods of knowing what the youth prefer before customizing an online campaign especially for them.

According to Randall et al. (2007), there are two approaches to user design, first is parameter-based approach where users directly specify the values of design parameters of the product and the second one is needs-based systems where users express their important needs, and an optimization algorithm recommends suitable design parameters that will likely meet the needs.

Needs-based approach is a more suitable system to apply in the making of an online campaign, as stated by Randall et al. (2007), for novices needs-based approach gives better results and in lesser time since the parameter-based approach requires the user to have knowledge of the product in question. The campaign aims to target young people, likely to be without much expertise in politics or skills in designing an online campaign. By following the needs approach, the campaign designers will be able to identify the political characteristics and design preferences of the target group.

Methods

Based on Cotti and Cornolti's research (2004), the following are methods found quite useful for getting information from youth about their political participation.

a.   Focus group
b.   Individual in depth Interviews.

Following the Cotti and Cornolti (2004) procedure, the recruitment of subjects can be through collaboration with different Youth Centers and reach young people through acquaintances and friends. To encourage young people participation, a reward of some sort needs to be offered to the young participants. All the interviews and

the focus group discussions should be taped and video recorded and then fully transcripted.

Through the focus groups, participants will have a chance to conceptualize ideas about "politics" and its concerns. An active discussion will be held as participants interact with each other confronting their points of view.

Through the individual interviews, in depth questioning can be carried out on a one-to-one level with the young participants. The interviewer should establish a peer relationship in order to get more information out of the interviewee.

Antonio M. (2008) suggests that the highest level of participation that can exist in a person is during their youth stage. However, how could this extent be fully utilized in order to motivate youngsters for greater political awareness and participation? This question provokes scholars to find more substantial and implementable methods for convincing youth for their greater political roles.

The report titled "Political Participation of Youth – A remedy against Marginalization and Social Exclusion" by the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research gives a comprehensive overview about the methods and techniques that could be used for enhancing the level of political participation in youngsters, as well as to bring them closer to the electoral process.

a. An overview/desk research about recent development of youth's share of political decision-making. Here, desk research refers to gathering/ analyzing of data already present in published form.
b. A thorough analysis of cross-national reports of surveys, questionnaires of existing projects from different countries.
c. Selective evaluation of youth participation projects. Besides questionnaires, interviews and surveys, the major focus should be on arranging youth workshops and other campaigns of youth activism.
d. Announcement and discussion of the findings.

The major findings of "Political Participation of Youth – A remedy against Marginalization and Social Exclusion" study, revealed that when political participation is already present, special support should be given to action-oriented participation of youth as it has

often been overlooked in the past, and also because it is most likely to be started and implemented by young people themselves. It is also worth mentioning that modern political participation of youth can supplement but never replace traditional youth politics. So, in order to enhance the level of political participation of youth, the above model/methods serve as the best example.

The "Political Participation of Youth – A remedy against Marginalization and Social Exclusion" report also proposes other initiatives that can be taken, such as promotion of the idea of youth political participation via publications, lectures, workshops etc. as well as the promotion of youth's political participation on regional, local and international level, awareness-raising among key-persons and institutions engaged in youth work and initiation of a discussion on legislative changes, to extend the possibilities and secure the quality of political participation of young people.

Therefore, we propose using strategies of co-relation and user-design followed by methods of focus groups, one to one in depth interviews, and gathering data through desk researches as the best approach to motivate the participation of youth in the online political campaign.

Conclusion

In conclusion, every campaign and research conducted for political participation has contextual and delicate factors, thus the differences in the researches should not create any confusion. That said, by following examples of the two most successful campaigns elaborated at the beginning of this paper, students will be able to choose practices that will fit in the development of an online political campaign. The different definitions of political participation presented in this paper will increase students' understanding of the concept and give them an insight on factors that influence political participation, specifically among young participants. To find information on young people's political participation behaviors and how to integrate them into the development of the campaign, this paper proposes approaches and methods that will produce satisfying results.

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Over Reliance of Pakistani English Press on Foreign News Wires; a quantitative content analysis of one week coverage of three English dailies of Pakistan

Lubna Shaheen[1]

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to find out the percentage of extensive presence of news content taken from foreign news wires in English dailies of Pakistan. The study has been conducted by analyzing international pages of three most widely read English dailies of Pakistan i.e. Dawn, The News and The Nation in terms of replication of the content from the international news wire services. It has been done through quantitative content analysis and in order to find out the extensive use of news content and percentage of similarity, a plagiarism software WCopyfind_2.7 was used. One week publications of three mostly read English newspapers, during the month of May, 2015 were taken as a sample. News stories published on the international pages were only selected. The results indicated that the stories published on international pages of three newspapers were almost similar to the original stories taken from news feed of international news wires, with very minimal contribution of original content by the most highly acclaimed newspaper organizations in the country. The consequences of this overwhelming dependence were the conveyance of only one sided interpretation of the incident, its causes and after effects.

Introduction

International flow of information is clearly one sided. Third world countries are largely dependent on international news wires for gathering news and information of the events happening all around the world. Brainy idea of interest in this inquiry is Sean McBride's report released in 1980 under the title "Many voices, one world". The report stated "negative course of control over information under the worldly concern, that hint to problem of one – way flow of information." This flow (data, substance , media programs, cultural products) is directed mostly from larger to smaller countries, from

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rich to those which are less advanced, from developed to developing countries…" (The MacBride Commission 1980, p.145)

The idea of using software WCopyfind_2.7 has been taken from Arya (2011) used in his research thesis. This paper tries to find out as to what extent Pakistani media relies on international news wires. Overreliance on foreign resources for gathering of news results in representation of only side of the picture eliminating the objectivity of news. Imbalanced flow of information has its own ramifications. News wires cover the events according to their own agendas and policies. What event should be covered and what should not be given any kind of importance; everything is decided by few news wires, such as Reuter, AP, and AFP.

Media stream studies guarantee a solid pattern of uneven and unequal stream of correspondences among nations (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1974), for instance, Boyd-Barrett, composed that " there is an overwhelming stream of traded media items from the US to, say, Asian nations, though there is just an almost no trickle of Asian media items to the US' (Boyd-Barrett, 1977: 117).

Literature Review

The media imperialism theory evolved in the 1960s & 1970s out of the dependency theory. It argues that the west, especially America, controls the information flow of world news. (Barrett ,1977).Schiller was concerned about the negative effects of media consumption. (Schiller, 1976).

Barrett (1977) conducted a study on international communication under the title of "Media Imperialism". He defined it as "the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected."

According to Hafez (2007), "The transnational networking of media is too weak to strengthen the global political level. Without a pioneering political changes of course, even in the age of globalization, most of the media system in the world risk are becoming trapped in a condition of repressive 'semi-slavery' under authoritarian rule".

Arya, (2011) discussed the reliance of Indian media on international news agencies. The study discovered a large extent to

which the foreign news was prominent in Indian English dailies like, the Times of India, Hindustan Times and the Hindu. The news included in them was taken from a very limited number of news sources like Reuters and A.P. Though the extent to which these newspaper dailies were dependent on the wire services varied from newspaper to newspaper (the Times of India and Hindustan Times were more dependent on them; while the Hindu's reliance was comparatively lesser).

Media is one of the most powerful tools in today's world. The studies on dependence on foreign news agencies concluded that the media especially the newspapers are highly dependent on foreign/global news agencies. Reuters, Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP) are the top three agencies of the world.

CEO Thomas Curley writes, in the Associated Press history book, *Breaking News*, "You may not know us well, or perhaps haven't even heard of us. We don't publish newspaper or run a TV or radio station; what we do is provide the news to those who are insatiable for information" (as cited in Johnston and Forde, 2010).

As effectively examined earlier, Reuters, Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP) are the major three offices of the world. They manage the news stream in their domestic markets, as well as all over the world. Nearly all the developing nations are reliant on them for supply of world news. The frameworks in these news offices are exceptionally productive in news assembling and additionally presentation of new. This has given them an edge to combine their business sector positions..

Political economy hypothesis gives stronger grounds to dependence of daily papers on news wires. The dissection of patterns in the recent years have demonstrated that news offices shed columnists; include less unique investigative reporting; and look to syndicated news, advertising firms, and news organizations for an expanding measure of news substance (Mcchesney, 2003; Davies, 2008; Project for Excellence in Journalism,2004–2008; Edwards & Newbury, 2007; Mackinnon, 2006; Reeds & Colbourne, 2000; Schiller, 1989). Political economy further recommends that this increasing reliance on news offices is a thoughtful choice of business news associations. In which little or no attention is paid to the effect that it may have on assorted news quality, Roy Greenslade (2009).(as cited in Johnston, J &Forde, S,2010).

The analysis of the Dependency Theory intends to comprehend the part of news organizations in the global appropriation of news substance. Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (2002) examined it from an office perspective, for example, Reuters were huge in certain British settlements amid the 1930's, in advancing British exchange engages. The hypothesis advocates that pioneer countries that were included in North American industrialist venture had become dependent on western news organizations. In light of this fact, these organizations provide basic connection between developing and the developed economies, and for comparing their worthy framework.(ibid)

Earlier studies have shown that universal news is generally composed by Western news organizations. A study by Davis (2008) arguments that the discoveries by Reuters, AP, AFP and Bloomberg were and still are the real news organizations utilized by major daily papers for content and pictures. The increasing trend of utilization of international news offices is straightforwardly joined with the money related circumstances of daily paper organizations. The supply of news from international news organizations releases them of their need to contact outside reporters. Despite the fact that it is simpler and less expensive for these daily papers to print outside news, it additionally implies that the force of the Western news offices has gotten to be stronger and persuasive. Furthermore, the news which was introduced appeared to be from the West and was mostly about the West with numerous parts of the world explicitly overlooked.

Theoretical framework

Dependency theory

Developing nations are considered to be dependent upon the West for international news gathering. In turn, this dependency for acquisition of news is said to have led to the adoption of Western news values and subsequent cultural imperialism in the South Asia and South East Asia. News dependency is said to be neocolonial in that information flows through "vertical" channels (from North to South) and within distinct spheres of communication hegemony (Meyer,1989).Pakistan being a developing nation lacks financial and economic resources to support its expenses needed for economic independence and exercise of free will.

We need to examine the perennial problems of Pakistan's economic dependence on the foreign aid. Pakistan is faced with the harsh reality i.e., if the civilian governments have to continue working, ongoing public sector policies and projects are to continue,

civil and armed forces are to be paid salaries and the weapons are to be maintained then foreign aid is an urgent necessity at present.

In the absence of strong economic foundations and lack of infrastructure for independent news gathering at the international level, dependence on foreign news sources remains the only option left. The situation can be further understood by the fact that Pakistan does not own a single international news agency. Hence, resulting in an over dependence on global news agencies for international news and thereby accepting their version of the news stories.

Methodology

Quantitative Content analysis has been used. In order to analyze the percentage of dependency detection software WCopyfind_2.7 was selected to perform the comparison between the publications' stories of the newspaper and the agencies' news. One week coverage of three widely read newspapers of Pakistan (The News, The Nation, Daily Dawn) was taken. Stories published on international, world and foreign pages of these newspapers were selected from their online resources and original news stories were gathered from the news feed of news wires. The sample size was one week that started from 09/05/15 to 15/05/15. Unit of analysis was news stories which were selected randomly. Total number of stories selected was 30, which were equally distributed among three newspapers.

Hypothesis
It is stated that Pakistani English press completely rely on international newswires and replicates the original reports of news wires.

Research question

• What is the percentage of replication of stories in Pakistani Newspapers?
• Which newspaper amongst the three has greater percentage of similarity?

Percentage of Similarity of news in daily Dawn 15/05/15-09/05/15

No	News	Date	News wire	Similarity	Total
1	Three Baltic nations seek permanent presence of NATO troops	15/05/15	Reuter	100%	100%

2	Copies of famous artworks replace ads on Tehran billboards	14/05/15	AP	75%	100%
3	Vatican recognizes state of Palestine in new treaty	14/05/15	AP	87%	100%
4	India learns to 'fail fast' as tech start-up culture takes root	13/05/15	Reuter	84%	100%
5	A look at nations involved in Saudi-led air strikes on Yemen	12/05/15	AP	89%	100%
6	Macedonian police raid town's Albanian quarter; 22 killed	11/05/15	Reuter	100%	100%
7	Rebels storm besieged regime loyalists in Syria	11/05/15	AFP	84%	100%
8	China negotiating with Djibouti for military base	10/05/15	Reuter	93%	100%
9	Turkish PM denies plan to intervene in Syria	10/05/15	AFP	78%	100%
10	Flights to besieged Afghan city cancelled as Taliban, army clash	9/05/15	AFP	90%	100%
				88.0%	100%

Percentage of Similarity of news in daily Dawn 15/05/15-09/05/15

Interpretation

The table and the graph represents near complete replication of news content which is 88% over all from the original stories taken from news feed of international news agencies. Table also indicates that Daily Dawn equally rely on three news agencies from gathering of news stories that are Reuter, AP &AFP.

Percentage of Similarity of news in The News   15/05/15-09/05/15

No	News	Date	News wire	Similarity	Total
1	US, Gulf States to deepen military ties: White House	15/05/15	AFP	100%	100%
2	Burundi president ousted, says army	14/05/15	AP	75%	100%
3	Hundreds of Russian soldiers killed in Ukraine	13/05/15	AFP	87%	100%
4	Germany gives huge amount of phone, text data to US	13/05/15	AFP	78%	100%
5	Cameron unveils new cabinet	12/05/15	AFP	94%	100%
6	Philippines, Japan to hold naval exercise	11/05/15	AP	86%	100%
7	Syrian troops battle to free trapped forces	10/05/15	AFP	91%	100%
8	China pursuing huge South China Sea land reclamation	10/05/15	AFP	78%	100%
9	Thailand calls for Malaysia, Myanmar help in halting trafficking	9/05/15	AFP	100%	100%
10	Turkey denies 'new deal' with S Arabia	9/05/15	AFP	89%	100%
				87.8%	100%

Percentage of Similarity of news in The News

Interpretation

The results of The News are also not very different. It represents 88% similarity of content in its news stories of international news pages. Which means that The News also replicates stories with the same ratio as of Dawn? But the main difference between the two newspapers is that Dawn relies on three news wires whereas The News only relies on two news wires. Not a single news story in The News had been taken from Reuter.

Percentage of Similarity of news in The Nation 15/05/15-09/05/15

NO	News	Date	News wire	similarity	Total
1	Indonesia urged to stop military 'virginity tests'	15/05/15	AFP	88%	100%
2	Aid flows in Yemen as ceasefire takes hold	14/05/15	AFP	100%	100%
3	France's Hollande meets Fidel Castro and urges end to Cuba embargo	13/05/15	AFP	86%	100%
4	Court acquits Jayalalithaa in graft case	12/05/15	Reuter	86%	100%
5	Kerry, Putin to meet in Sochi to discuss Iran, Syria, Ukraine	12/05/15	Reuter	75%	100%
6	Michelle Obama 'knocked back' by race perceptions	12/05/15	AFP	88%	100%
7	Castro at Vatican thanks pope for mediating thaw with US	11/05/15	AFP	93%	100%
8	Saudi-led coalition launches wave of air strikes on Yemen	10/05/15	AFP/REUTER	65%	100%
9	Russia stages huge military parade	10/05/15	REUTER	81%	100%
10	34 dead in IS assault on east Syria city	9/05/15	AFP	85%	100%
				84.7%	100%

Percentage of Similarity of news in The Nation 15/05/15-09/05/15

Interpretation

The similarity percentage is little bit low in the case of The Nation. Although it is 84% which is also near to complete replication but it is lower than Dawn & The News

Conclusion

The results proved the hypothesis that the selected three Pakistani English newspapers completely rely on foreign news wires for gathering of news contents published on their international pages and they replicate the news stories to a great extent. There is more or less no difference of copied content among the three newspapers. While using WCopyfind_2.7 which compares original and copied news stories side by side, the researcher found out that the material which is not copied from the original resources are just the minor details. The overreliance and replication of news stories creates a debate of imbalanced information flow, one sided news flow and to a large extent gives rise to the theory of media imperialism. Media imperialism has its ramifications simply from biased coverage to using news wires as propaganda tool. The top newspapers in Pakistan had their dependency to this high level due to various reasons like lack of financial resources, lack of competent manpower and owing to lack of access to the places of coverage. The press in Pakistan has constraints and limitations like vested interests and corruption as well as political motives and financial gains which hinder in the independence and free status of the press.

Other reason for depending on global media and news agencies like AFP, Reuter, AP, Los Angeles Times and Guardian news service, is that from the beginning, we as nation, lacked objectivity in our own activities. The same is the case for media, no clear vision and mission statements or standards operating procedures have been defined by any of the newspaper and the result is that they lack orientation and objectivity

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"Readings" of Britishness and community cohesion in BBC News Online during 2001 race riots

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Abstract

The race riots of 2001 in some British cities remarked a considerable lack of inter-ethnic harmony. The violence that plagued cities like Bradford, Oldham and Burnley was officially read as symptomatic of the fragility and absence of common core values. One central norm was the belief in a common national identity (Britishness). A number of local and national race-related reports were produced to champion the hegemonic official discourses that "the absence of community cohesion is basically the end product of the absence of a shared British national identity". Based on the British cultural critic Stuart Hall's Reception theory, this article postulates that an influential news agency like BBC News Online is expected to decode and then encode the official discourses of community cohesion and Britishness in tune with the mainstream version. However, my critical and interpretative analysis of some electronically produced articles of BBC yielded some interesting findings. BBC News Online, despite its "official-ness" did not read official hegemonic discourse in an absolute preferred way. There are important nuances in its readings. Such nuances reveal that audiences (in this study BBC News Online is treated as an audience to official discourses) are not passive consumers of hegemonies. They have their own choices and constraints which shape their decoding of and re-encoding of their world realities. The basic target of this article is to show the way BBC News Online reproduced, if any, the dominant discourses of social cohesion as a guarantee of Britishness and vice-versa.

Key words: *Britishness; community cohesion; BBC News Online; Reception Theory*

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Introduction

It uses the Reception Theory of Stuart Hall in order to decipher the multiplicity of readings in BBC News Online of official community cohesion discourses in contemporary Britain.

The criteria for selecting the targeted articles are mainly the recurrence and availability of terms like «cohesion", "Britishness" "national identity". There are more than 5000 articles dealing with the concept of Britishness in BBC Online archive. Up to 460 articles deal with the concept of community or social cohesion. However, when combining social cohesion and Britishness, we got no more than 440 articles. Yet only articles that tackle the concepts from ethnicity-related perspective are selected for study. Thus the number of article to be studied falls down to about 300. Content analysis methodology is employed. Conceptual and relational (thematic) analyses reveal how social cohesion and Britishness are inter-related and even inter-changeable.

Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model: (Reception Theory)

Cultural and Media Studies established the importance of culture in shaping the consciousness of social agents. Accordingly, I scrutinize in this section Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model of reading media texts by the audiences. Reading media texts has been a vital component of media semiotics. People can read and decipher the meanings of mass-mediated texts in a number of ways. Unlike, the American behaviorist approach to media, critical culturalist considerations of the media output were quite different. Thus, I propose to study the model followed by the British cultural critic and sociologist Stuart Hall while taking in consideration the way media texts are being read and decoded by the audience. Hall's approach is called Reception Theory. The theory focused on the ways the audience read mass-mediated messages. Hall is trying to prove that media cannot be an all-powerful agent to the extent that it anticipates and shapes the way its texts are read by the targeted audience. He postulated that in the communicative process there are three basic concepts: encoding (which is the job of media broadcasters), code (which is the message itself) and finally decoding (that is the activity of the message receiver: the audience).

Nevertheless, in spite of the attempts of dominant ideology to semiotically encode messages that cultivate certain values and thus promote its hegemony, the audience cannot be homogeneous in its decoding of the dominant codes. Such possible oppositional reading of the transmitted and diffused cultural signs brings out the question of normative acceptance of the dominant cultural representation by subordinate groups. The culturalist approach of Stuart Hall shows that media representations are received and interpreted heterogeneously. He states three possible readings: dominant readings, negotiated readings and oppositional readings. The nature of reading is governed by the social situations of readers. Those whose interests are served by the dominant ideology will produce the preferred reading; negotiated reading are for those who can convince the dominant ideology to take their interests into account, and those who read oppositionally are usually the excluded groups. Thus, Hall focuses on the possibilities of acceptance, negotiation and opposition on the part of media text readers. The reader has, to use Hall's term, a "margin of understanding" which allows him/her to interpret the received code in a different way (Hall, 1990).

The three readings suggested by Hall (preferred, negotiated and oppositional), are governed by certain cultural parameters of the reader (decoder). Hall expressed the tenets of his Reception Theory in his influential article "Encoding and Decoding in Television Discourse" (1980). Hall insisted that the audience is active and creative in decoding of media messages. The reader (audience) is thus a re-creator of his/her experience of reading. He/she is engaged into an active and informed decoding of media representation which unveils the declared and embedded dominant discourses and relations of power within the received message. Thus, the reader is empowered with Reception Theory. "If the reader is powerful in terms of removing the veil of representation i.e. informed interpretation, then the reality itself becomes more representative than the representation of reality produced by means of representation". (Saied, 2007, p. 11)

Unlike, behaviorist explanations which explain the process of communication as a "loop"; a direct linear line from sender to receiver (Klapper, 1960), Hall argued that the production and the consumption of mass-mediated messages are two different activities governed by different parameters such as the medium of

communication and the discursive context of encoding and decoding.

Having argued that nothing is natural in media output, Hall showed that messages are socially and discursively constituted before being transmitted to the audience. The multi-accentual nature of encoding process entails same or more heterogeneous nature in decoding. The belief, "no necessary class belongingness of ideological elements and possibilities of ideological struggle to articulate/disarticulate meaning" (Hall, 1990, p.80) was paramount in Hall's Reception Theory. Media messages are not exclusively confined and reduced to mere class or economic relations. The multi-referencing of media codes along with the somewhat free agility of the audience made it possible for diverse and multifaceted interpretative readings of "encoding" to emerge. Thus as Turner wrote, the media audience "cannot be seen as a single undifferentiated mass; it is composed of a mixture of social groups, all related in different ways to dominant ideological forms and meanings" (Turner, 2002, p. 73).

Thus, Hall does not believe in the existence of natural codes. The act of encoding itself, like that of decoding, is a linguistic and social construction. He believed that no "natural codes" existed; only "naturalized" (Hall, 1981). If a code appears natural, that is because of the work of hegemonic common sense. For instance, the visual language of TV creates a fiction of "reality"; the image of something is perceived as the thing itself. It is a case of "epistemic fallacy" in which reality is conflated with its representation (Bhasker, 2002). However, Hall thought that "the reality effect" of TV visual codes worked just like other mass-mediated codes. Visual codes are polysemic but they are not totally pluralistic. They are open but they set limits. The connotative content of those codes are diverse, yet they share the same myth of reference. Such mythic "third order of representation", to use Roland Barthes term, constitutes the explanatory framework of the norms of acceptable and preferred decoding. Hall wrote:

> Connotative codes are *not* equal among themselves. Any society's culture tends, with varying degrees of closure, to impose its classification of the social and cultural and political world. These constitute a *dominant cultural order*,

> though it is neither univocal nor
> uncontested. … The different areas of
> social life appear to be mapped out into
> discursive domains, hierarchically
> organized into *dominant* or *preferred*
> meanings. (1980, p. 134)

Consequently, the "*dominant cultural order*" sets the general criteria to the acceptable ways of both encoding and decoding. Nevertheless, it is vital to remember that dominant meanings are not absolute; they are not irresistible. They are only preferred by those decoders whose interests and world views are served and correspond to those meanings. Representational codes are used in a way to prioritize preferred meanings. Thus, encoding media messages is the process of limit setting. Decoding is thus supposed to be performed within confined frameworks of reference. Guided reading, cultivates the desirable and functional effects on the part of the decoder (to sue George Gerbner's jargon). And hence a "preferred" or "hegemonic reading" is generated and maintained. Hall suggested that:

> In speaking of *dominant meanings*, then,
> we are not talking about a one-sided
> process which governs how all events
> will be signified. It consists of the 'work'
> required to enforce, win plausibility for
> and command as legitimate a *decoding* of
> the event within the limit of dominant
> definitions in which it has been
> connotatively signified. (1980, p. 135)

The second type of reading is what he called "negotiated reading". This kind of reading is the most complex one. It is by and large the most realistic pattern of reading. Theoretically, it is possible to decode messages within the framework of hegemonic discourse, yet practically, almost all decoders even those who accept the dominant frameworks of reference negotiate the preferred reading and accommodate such hegemonic encodings to their socio-cultural positioning. Within negotiated reading, the audience generally agree with the dominant values and messages expressed within the preferred reading but they may disagree with certain aspects according to their socio-cultural background. This process of negotiation is indicative of first the polysemic nature of mass-mediated messages. Codes are not homogenous

and fixed entities. Second, audience is active and dynamic in their decoding process. The audience make up is diverse "interpretative communities" who work within certain structural parameters while retaining the power of their agency. In this thesis, it is suggested that media agencies like Muslim News Online tend to decode the hegemonic encodings of social cohesion and Britishness in a negotiational manner. They attempt to accommodate the dominant discourses to their own agenda while avoiding decoding oppositionally.

In the third reading-the oppositional reading- the audience members can "read between the lines" and in some instances "... reverse the intended direction of the   message" (McQuail, 2000, p. 57). Here the reading is rather counter-hegemonic. The decoder who decodes in oppositional way understands the message of preferred reading yet he/she is located in an oppositional position which propels him/her to oppose the hegemonic codes and decode within an alternative explanatory framework. Those who produce oppositional readings are usually those who are at odds with the dominant value system and are outside the center of power.

Hall referred to various phases in the Encoding/Decoding paradigm of communication as "moments". John Corner offers a number of definitions to those different moments (Chandler, 2001). He defined three distinctive moments: moment of encoding, moment of the text (code) and finally moment of decoding. The moment of encoding is "the institutional practices and organizational conditions and practices of production" (Corner, 1983, p. 266).

The moment of the text is "'the... symbolic construction, arrangement and perhaps performance... The form and content of what is published or broadcast' (Corner, p. 267); and finally the moment of decoding is "'the moment of reception [or] consumption... by... the reader/hearer/viewer' which is regarded by most theorists as 'closer to a form of "construction"' than to 'the passivity... suggested by the term "reception"'(Corner, p. 267). Importantly, those moments indicate the complex and the multifaceted nature of communication whether interpersonal and especially mass communication. Also, the different working mechanisms that contribute to the production and consumption of the mass-mediated codes are uncovered and their interrelated natures highlighted. Those moments stress the dynamism of the

politics of signification and show the fierceness of the struggle to signify at different levels and in different phases.

BBC News Online consideration of the concept of Britishness

The data to be analyzed and interpreted is retrieved from BBC online (http://news.bbc.co.uk/). The criteria followed in the selection of such mediated texts are mainly the availability and frequency of the term "Britishness"; other lexical derivatives are also taken into account such as the adjective 'British" or the expression "British identity". Chronological dimension of the selected articles is also considered. The bulk of articles belong mainly to those produced after 2001 race riots. However, some articles cover the prior period, especially the late 1990's, to churn out the immediate context of the 2001 race riots and to compare post-riots discourses with prior ones. More than thirty articles are selected from the first 100 articles within a data base that contains more than 3000 articles (20/03/2009). Precisely, there are about 220 articles in which the term "Britishness" was frankly stated according to the website's research engine. Thematically, the 30 selected articles focus basically on the ethnic dimension of the Britishness concept. Generally speaking, Britishness is a multifarious concept that allows a huge array of interpretations and readings. It has national, regional, global, cultural and ethnic dimensions. In this chapter, we focus on its ethnic and racial trajectories.

The aim of this article is to answer the question of how and to what extent BBC News Online contributed to the dissemination of mainstream reading of the state of British race relations. Also it tries to decipher the various semiotic and linguistic tools used to anchor a preferred reading of the situation. It is, however, assumed that BBC News Online web-based textual output is in many respects an echoing of the socio-cultural and ideological infrastructures that produced them.

The corpus is selected from the BBC News Online official website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/. The co-existence of the two major concepts in question within the same web page (article) is a powerful criterion for selection. Yet, the individual occurrence of the concepts "Britishness" and "Community Cohesion" is also taken into account. BBC News Online web site is a very sophisticated web site. Technically, it is an advanced web site that includes a large number of links and audio-visual output.

Graphically, a lot of photos and pictures exist in the site and serve different semiotic and political ends.

BBC News Online "dominant" reading

The BBC News Online questions the meaning of Britishness and tries to delineate its various dimensions and meanings. An article entitled "What is Britishness anyway?" (BBC News Online, 2002) was published in September, 10, 2002, one year after the race riots. It attempts to define the concept from different perspectives and present multifarious attitudes regarding the importance and credibility of the concept. The very title of the article is noticeable. It itself casts shadow of doubts over any potential or definite definition of the concept. The use of the adverb "anyway" is likely to reflect the attitude of the author. Apparently, the author seems to disbelieve the very existence of an absolute definition of Britishness. We are also tempted to argue that "anyway" suggests the futility of such definitional endeavor. But also, we can assume that there is a need for a definition that takes "any way" (perhaps any definition). The article orchestrates a multiplicity of voices and perspectives over Britishness. Graphically, the article includes a number of photos that refer visually to some understanding of the concept of Britishness. However, the first photo which is the map of Britain is followed by a comment underneath "Apart from the sea, what keeps the British together?" Such statement is of vital importance. It reworks the main title of the article ironically. It seems to be a rhetorical question whose answer is either known or unwanted. The unsaid is that nothing keeps Britain unified but it's being geographically wielded. Consequently, nature is a source of unity while culture is a source of fragmentation. This sort of discourse frames what comes next in the article into a certain pre-defined ideological context? There seems a refusal of the idea that Britishness is a unifying element in contemporary multi-cultural Britain. The article starts by setting the stage for subsequent definitions. The context is that the Home Secretary David Blunkett wanted to produce what came to be called "Britishness Test" for future immigrants. Yet the problem is that, the author goes, there is no consensus over what is Britishness.

The article "What is Britishness anyway?" offers different understandings of the concept. We could identify four definitions of Britishness. The first definition is an ethno-racial one. That is the one suggested by Blunkett himself when he links Britishness to issues of citizenship and immigration. Blunkett's concern is to test

the loyalties of would-be immigrants to British cultural and political values. The Britishness test is reminiscent of the "cricket test" of Lord Norman Tebbit which attempted to check loyalties of mainly South Asian immigrants to British national cricket team during its competition with either India or Pakistan.

The second definition is offered by Lord Norman Tebbit. He compared his "cricket test" with that of David Blunkett's Britishness or citizenship test. Tebbit commented that his test was just to measure the extent of immigrants' integration in British mainstream society. However, the "cricket test" was also interested in cultural assimilation of new comers. Within the context of the ideology of assimilationism, cultural mismatch of immigrants was deemed as a great problem to social cohesion. Thus there has to be a kind of a cultural value consensus in order to avoid cultural difference and social fragmentation. Lord Norman Tebbit thus sees Britishness as a question of adapting ethnic minorities to mainstream culture. Quoted in the article, he said that "The question is about foreigners and how foreigners are persuaded to adopt British customs and styles." It is basically a cultural definition of the concept of Britishness.

The third attempt is that of ex-British Prime Minister John Major. His definition is rather political. Britishness is thus a political identity that distinguishes Britain from other continental and global identities. Yet he emphasizes the cultural specificities of Britishness via representing a communitarian vision of British culture in which the British way of life of "dog lovers and pools fillers and - as George Orwell said 'old maids bicycling to Holy Communion through the morning mist'"(BBC News Online, 2002) will not vanish.

In the last part of the article, we tend to discover the definition favored by the author. Yet as audience, we are prepared to cope with the complexity of Britishness. We are told that Britishness can be generally defined, but when it comes to details, the mission turns out to be almost impossible. The author argues that "stating in any detail what *characters of Britishness are* is a challenging task." (BBC News Online, 2002)

Later, we discover the attitude of the author and arguably that of the BBC News Online itself. The final paragraph of the article suggests that Britishness can be best defined as a national identity. The frequent presence of the concept of "nation" and its

derivatives is the evidence that Britishness is more operational at a national and international level (the words "nation" and "state" and their derivatives are mentioned about 7 times). The reference to the history of unifying Britain and the acts of union highlights the national dimension of Britishness.

The same national character of Britishness can also be churned out in other Britishness-related article. The analysis of our corpus suggests that although BBC News Online gives room to different and competing versions and understandings of Britishness, it foregrounds somewhat national elements of the concept. Britishness as a question of values maintenance was also tackled in another BBC News Online article. The political editor Martha Kearney focuses on the discourses of the ex-Labour chancellor and Prime Minister Gordon Brown. Her article "Brown seeks 'British Values'" (BBC News Online, 2005) seems to trace the pro-Britishness tones in Brown's discourses. The editor seems to share Brown's views. The web page highlights graphically just the quotations of Gordon Brown which champion Britishness as a necessary formula for community cohesion and social harmony. Those selected quotations are written in bold. Also, they are located at the center of the web page. The first highlighted quotation suggests that "our understanding of Britishness will shape the UK's political and cultural agenda". Britishness is thus represented as a central concept in British culture. The use of the modal "will" suggests that the concept is a future oriented one. It is expected to control the future of the nation on many levels. It has become a question of destiny. It is "an idea of what your destiny as a nation is". The second bolded quotation draws inter-textually on the debates regarding the nature of British history. Stating that the "British don't have to apologise for their history" echoes the fierce reactions against the *Parekh Report* and its demands of revising British history so as to include ethnicity in its narratives.

However, the editor exposes other oppositional attitudes to those of Brown. We learn that "celebrities" like Lawrence Llewellyn Bowen and David Starkey and especially Bhiku Parekh criticize (and even refuse) Brown's discursive formations. Lawrence Llewellyn Bowen and David Starkey suggest that British values are context-governed and they are by no means exclusively British. Thus Britishness can be seen in relation to devolution; ethnicity, globalization. It is not just –as Brown

thought- a question of national identity and values. Brown seems to essentialise Britishness in set of fixed values whereas Bhiku Parekh and others highlight some of its dimensions. For instance, Parekh focuses on the relationship between Britishness and the history of British Empire. He shows that Britishness is a historicist concept and what Brown did was simply to present a "too rosy, one-sided view of empire" (BBC News Online, 2005).

The editor thus attempts to create equilibrium between two antithetical considerations of the concept of Britishness and its relationship to community cohesion. However, she tends to give priority to Brown's pro-Britishness discourses. Structurally, the article starts exposing Brown's attitudes. Then it treats their antitheses; to finish by reconsidering Brown's discourses in more affirmative tone. Gordon Brown's views are fore grounded compared to the anti-Britishness ones. The mood in the article is Britishness is a necessity but at worst it needs some rectifications and amendments. Quantitatively speaking, the term Britishness and derivatives are mentioned more than twelve times. Also, the space dedicated to Brown's views is radically larger than that devoted to oppositional views. This can evidently reveal the cultural and ideological orientations of the editor in particular and the BBC News Online in general. The attitudes of Brown and Blair (being the dominant official discourses) are prioritized and fore grounded. Other oppositional readings are back grounded and represented as nuances to the "normal" discourses. Meaningfully, the editor reminds the reader of the high academic credentials and qualifications of Gordon Brown. We, as audience, learn that Brown is a person "who has a PhD in history" (BBC News Online, 2005). This piece of information adds to Brown's discourses a high credibility. Thus, he is represented as a knowledgeable man with high academic traits which further discloses the hidden ideological formations of the article, its writer and its host news agency.

In another publication entitled "Brown speech promotes Britishness" (BBC News Online, 2006), BBC News Online further celebrates the concept of Britishness. Gordon Brown speech was delivered in 2006 when he was a chancellor while attending a meeting of the British left-wing Fabian Society. The thesis of the speech was Britishness had to be celebrated officially as the unifying national identity which would guarantee acceptable levels of social cohesion within an increasingly multicultural

society. Central to Brown's arguments is to make the "Union Flag" as an embodiment of British identity and social unity. Quoted in the article, Brown asserts that "We have to be clearer now about how diverse cultures which inevitably contain differences can find the essential common purpose also without which no society can flourish" (BBC News Online, 2006). Thus community cohesion is frequently represented as the ultimate outcome of a "united shared sense of purpose". Brown suggests that Britain should have a day to celebrate its national identity. Doing so, he projected his Labour Party as a patriotic one that attempts to play the card of Britishness to win support for its community cohesion agenda.

The article is basically an exposition of Brown's arguments. Though, we learn at the end of it that the idea of officially celebrating Britishness was not originally Brown's one, we get no counter-arguments. There is a process of naturalization of the idea that Britishness is the national identity and that it has to be celebrated so as to achieve satisfactory degrees of social harmony and cohesion. BBC News Online achieves discursively such supporting purposes through different tools. First, the article teems with Brown's attitudes. Remarkably, his arguments are embedded and fore grounded through direct and indirect speech quoting. For instance, Brown was directly quoted 12 times in a comparatively short article. Graphically, there is a photo of the Union Jack which further and visually embed the centrality of Britishness as British basic identity. Some selected quotations are highlighted in bold. All of them inter-textually repeat the same idea. Two different bolded quotations of two different speakers utter almost the same argument. Brown is quoted "We should assert that the Union flag by definition is a flag for tolerance and inclusion" (BBC News Online, 2006). Almost the same idea is quoted from Billy Brag. He said "The thing that binds us together is our civic identity which is Britishness" (BBC News Online, 2006). Implicitly, the two speakers complement each other's arguments. Thus, Britishness is a civic identity based upon values of tolerance and inclusion and such identity has to be embodied symbolically by the Union flag.

However, as stated above, the article attempts to create certain equilibrium. Shadow Chancellor George Osborne attacked Brown's speech and declared that it was no more than "pale imitation" of David Cameron's plans. Yet, we suggest that that was a sort of fake balance. What is criticized is not the idea or

argument but just who was the first to propose it. BBC News Online, thus, created a meaningful explanatory context in which both dominant and oppositional discourses are encoded and then decoded. Even those apparently oppositional discourses are fitted within a well and pre-established order.

BBC News Online "Oppositional" Reading

While the previous section attempted to trace the dominant or preferred readings of official discourses of national identity and social cohesion, this one will try to study some allegedly oppositional articles. The articles are identified as oppositional based mainly on the modality, theme and syntactic structure of their titles. Moreover, the frequency of anti-Britishness and community cohesion discursive formations within a selected article is a powerful proof to judge it as oppositional.

Expectedly, the BBC News Online was considerably a reproducer of dominant official cultural and political discourse. Nevertheless, the BBC News Online questions the vitality and credibility of Britishness as a unifying factor in multiethnic Britain. An article entitled "Britishness 'will not unite us'" (BBC News Online, 2008) seems to present an oppositional reading of Britishness to that of official race-related reports. Britishness is thus unable to secure community cohesion. Reportedly, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation stressed the fact that "Cohesion is about negotiating the right balance between difference and unity," (BBC News Online, 2008). If so, Britishness, being an amalgam of common shared values, fails to be the glue that unites different mosaic components of British society. The article states the findings of a study on race relations in Britain entitled "Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK". The most important finding was that "Trying to unite people around a fixed notion of Britishness will not achieve social cohesion" (BBC News Online, 2008). Contrarily, such imposed and fixed notion of Britishness would result into "subversive effect". Professor David Conway wrote: "The government thinks everyone has to become best friends, all lovey-dovey, but that's not realistic. By and large people of different ethnic groups do get along all right, but simply don't have much contact." (BBC News Online, 2008) Britishness is not a guarantee of good race relations and hence community cohesion. This type of discourse, though reported from the above-mentioned study, may uncover alternative readings of the relationship between Britishness and social cohesion. Such

discourse seems to deviate from the hegemonic official discourses allegedly disseminated and defended by race-related reports.

Britishness is an identity. It can have different dimensions but it remains subject to the mechanism of identity formation and maintenance. Yet identity is not essential or simple phenomenon. Mac Ghaill scrutinized the dynamism and subjectivity of identity positioning when he argued that:

> "Such subject positions can be seen as being constituted by a range of narratives that speak identities ... These narratives regulate normative subjective positions. As an individual can be located in a range of social relations at one time, the formation of ethnic identities through a range of discursive positions is a highly complex, ambivalent and unfinished process. In this way, 'black' and 'white' subjectivities are conceptualized as processes of becoming, characterized by fluidity, oppositions and alliances between particular narrative positions" (1999)

Identity is thus a problematic concept: a problematic narrative. It is multiple and cannot be categorized in fixed binary oppositions. Stuart Hall's idea of new ethnicities (Hall, 1992) eradicates the conventional black vs. white dualism to show that identity is dependent on a range of subject positions. Thus different discursive frameworks produce different subject positions which entail an endless spectrum of identities.

However, those new academic formulations of concepts of identity did not necessarily inform political discourses. Those discourses of race-related issues as well as their reflection and treatment in media tended to over-generalize and over-simplify the complex realities of identity formation and articulation. Ethnicity is thus understood as

> "... a relational process - in which categories of community and identity are in constant formation at the intersection of the actual or imagined cultural (understood as ways of life)

> heritages and the political/economic/cultural (understood as representations) relations through and upon which racisms emerge and operate. It is around this intersection that boundaries demarcating 'ethnic groups' (within and between 'minority' and 'majority' are formed)."(Hall, 1992)

Equally, Britishness-orientated identity politics were also highly criticized (and even attacked) by some BBC News Online journalists. "Lost in translation" (BBC News Online, 2007c) is an electronic article written by Trudi Davies in response to Citizenship test. The article criticizes the government's policy of Citizenship test as a requirement for settlement in UK. "Lost in translation" is an attack on linguistic politics of post-2001 New Labour governments. Trudi Davies announces his criticism of official discourses from the very beginning. The title of the article focuses on loss rather than gain. What is expected by the readership is to know the loss of New Labour linguistic politics rather than gains (if any). The article starts by stating some of the questions of the notorious Citizenship test as an example to conclude that the knowledge and familiarity with English is paramount in such project. The journalist writes that "A basic knowledge of history, law and culture is required but above all, you have to speak English" (BBC News Online, 2007c) The use of the adverbial "above all" has an emphatic function. It reveals the author's attitude. Davies juxtaposes some different requirements for citizenship. Thus no citizenship is granted to immigrants and asylum seekers unless they get a "basic" grasp of British history, legal and cultural system. However, linguistic mastery of English is pivotal. This can be easily understood when we focus on the language used. The modifier "basic" and adverbial "above all" create a dichotomous relationship between various citizenship requirements in which English language speaking has the upper hand. Furthermore, the author creates links between citizenship test and central issues of national identity and social harmony: ""Integration", "Community Cohesion" and "Britishness" are back on the political agenda". Conclusively, citizenship test is just another official attempt to integrate British ethnic populations via educating them the meanings of being British in order to maintain social and community cohesion. Later he goes on criticizing official educational politics. He believes that the measures

introduced by Bill Rammell Minister for Adult Education and Lifelong Learning to make English learning courses more effective are a failure. Ironically, he inquires "What measures did he propose in his race Equality Impact Assessment? Fees!" (BBC News Online, 2007c) Noticeably, the tone of the question has a rhetorical function. The author seems to disbelieve in such educational and cultural politics. The punctuation marks (?) and (!) reveal such ironic mood. Davies adds: "In his initial plans even asylum seekers would have to cough up, the very people most in need of help you might think".   The language used further discloses his oppositional reading of official race-related discourse. For instance, the use of the phrasal verb "cough up" rather than the verb "pay" is indicative of his criticism.

Within the same line of thought, another article entitled "Britishness lessons 'fuel racism'" (BBC News Online, 2007a) accuses official politics of Britishness of promoting special forms of racism. Gary Eason, the editor, reported heavily the anti-Britishness attitudes and declarations of the president of the National Union of Teachers Baljeet Chale. Chale argued that claiming that universal values like those of "tolerance" and "freedom of speech" are exclusively British enhanced a "shadow of racism" behind the meanings of Britishness. She questioned "Well, in what way, I would like to know, are these values that are not held by the peoples of other countries?" (BBC News Online, 2007a) Baljeet Chale was quoted directly and indirectly more than nine times. The journalist tends to report some oppositional views and comments. For instance, we know that a government spokesman considered her arguments as no more than "nonsense". However, statistically, the article teems with Chale's arguments and comments. Also, the lead of the article highlights Baljeet Chale's main argument that "ministers fuel racism by ordering schools to teach "British values"". In addition, other quotations are written in bold which tends to foreground her arguments while back grounding oppositional ones. Gary Eason continues the exposition of Ghale's anti-official educational policies. He reports her attacks on New Labour educational discourses which would entrench forms of racism. Ghale argues that "To demand that people conform to an imposed view of Britishness only fuels that racism" (BBC News Online, 2007a). Then she relates Britishness to community cohesion by declaring that "teenagers' learning about shared British history is one of the essential blocks of community cohesion".

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The over-quoting of Baljeet Chale comments along with downplaying oppositional ones tempted me to conclude that the journalist and the BBC News Online in general seem to sympathize with her readings of official discourses. Equally important, we can better churn out the voice of the journalist (and accordingly that of the agency) from two statements. They are as follows:

1) "It was another example of government making policy without talking to those it would most affect".
2) "Its leadership and management were inadequate and change was required." (BBC News Online, 2007a).

These two statements best express the attitude of the journalist. The first was uttered in the middle of the article in response to Baljeet Chale refusal of what she called "imposed" versions of Britishness. These versions seem to harm the identities of ethnic minorities and they impose uniformity and conformity. The use of the word "another example" suggests that the government had a record of political failures one of them is "Britishness lessons".

The second statement criticizes the government's policies. It considers them as inadequate and ineffective. Thus, they need to change or maybe the government itself has to change. The statement made was the continuation of Chale' accusations. She accused New Labour educational policies of being a failure. Commenting on such policies, she said: "If the current government was marked with an Ofsted grading it would be given a notice to improve" (BBC News Online, 2007a). The same quotation is mentioned twice in the article. Subsequently, those two statements are a direct manifestation of the author's voice. They reflect the oppositional readings of official discourses by BBC News Online and its journalists.

However, as Stuart Hall suggested in his Reception Theory, there can be no purely dominant or oppositional reading. All readings are greatly negotiational. In an article entitled "Can pupils learn 'Britishness'?" (BBC News Online, 2007b) BBC News Online seems to strike the middle and make the two ends meet. The article represents a negotiational reading of the concept of Britishness and that of community cohesion. A number of different attitudes from different perspectives are presented. The article is multi-vocal and exposes a diversity of values and views.

The article itself is an informative one that poses questions more than offers answers. Noticeably, the title of the article is a question that is followed by two other questions. Also, all questions are highlighted via being written in bold.

"**Is there such a thing as "Britishness" and is it something that can be taught to children in school?**" (BBC News Online, 2007b) (Bold is in the original text).

Thus, the article is rather an exposition of various points of views regarding the definition and feasibility of the concept of Britishness and its links to that of community cohesion. A plethora of pro and anti-views are introduced which allowed the author to attain a considerable equilibrium. Also it seems that no voice is granted an upper hand over the others. For instance, we know the proponent views of Jim Knight, the Minister of State for Schools and Learning and Conservative MP David Willetts who believe that it is possible to create Britishness-based curriculum that could help ethnic students grasp the meanings and dimensions of British national identity and thus achieve higher levels of social cohesion. Equally, the opponent attitudes are given ample room. Consequently, The Equality and Human Rights Commission chairman Trevor Phillips as well as the British historian Dr David Starkey could express their suspicion of and disbelief in Britishness as a unifying concept.

BBC News Online seems to be aware of the complex and dynamic nature of Britishness that is why it chooses to broach the issue from different perspectives and gives room to almost all voices. Though BBC News Online tends to be pro-Britishness, it cannot just parrot the official discourse. My analysis of the corpus in question shows that BBC News Online tries to create a balance between opposite views while implicitly (and arguably) favors the official discursive formations on/off British national identity.

Conclusion

The major objective of this article was to scrutinize and study the ways community cohesion and notably Britishness was processed in a principal news agency like BBC News Online. Following the theoretical model of the British cultural critic Stuart Hall, it is argued that the hegemonic discourses of community cohesion and Britishness were decoded in different ways by BBC News Online which reflected a considerable extent of diversity and plurality. Such multiplicity of reading stems from the constraints and limits within which mass-mediated texts were produced. It also meets the multifarious interests and natures of targeted audiences. BBC News Online does not devote its mass-mediated output to a limited audience. Being an online medium, BBC News Online deals with not only a national audience but also with global ones which require more flexibility and heterogeneity in its output.

My critical and interpretative analysis of the corpus yielded a number of key findings. Though BBC News Online was expected to decode the official discourses of Britishness and community cohesion and then re-encode them according to its respective ideological and cultural contexts, it contained diverse readings. Thus BBC News Online did not encode preferred way of reading. Its readings were largely negotiational. However, such diversity of readings is performed within well-established hegemonic frameworks. Such frameworks are governed by the taken-for-granted ideological and socio-cultural assumptions of BBC News Online. For instance, BBC News Online tends to prefer the official story of national identity that can be deduced from the modality used and the frequency of positive modifiers attributed to discourses of Britishness and community cohesion. Thus, it seems that mass media cannot go beyond the ideological and cultural infrastructure through which they operate. Relatively, they can change it and be changed by it, yet, they can never escape it.

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Book Review:

Denis McQuail. McQuail's Mass Communication Theory. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2010, (6th Ed.). ISBN 978-81-321-0579-4

Reviewed by Muhammad Yousaf[1] & Jianan Che[2]

The book entitled "McQuail's Mass Communication Theory" is an apt account of media, society and culture. The book provides theoretical debates that are supported by empirical research evidence. McQuail provides an introduction of the evolution of media and society to date. The book presents a number of theoretical debates and research paradigms that further explore media content in a very explicit manner. Comprising of 20 chapters, the book has been categorized into eight parts i.e. preliminaries, theories, structures, organizations, content, audience, effects and the epilogue. The book expounds the function of theories which play in understanding the media and its role within the society and on people which consume the media content.

The first part which consists of two chapters introduces the book and the rise of mass media to the readers. The first chapter, 'Introduction to the Book' examines the purpose of mass communication or mass media, describes the structure of the book treatment of a variety of issues in mass communication. This chapter closes with a debate of the different kinds of theories and their relevance in mass media, and a brief analysis of the different traditions related to the research of communication science and mass communication.

The second chapter 'The Rise of Mass Media' enlightens readers to the origin of mass media as the concept is as old as human civilization itself. The modern history of mass media dates back to printed books-which revolutionized the dissemination of information. Then came the turn of newspapers-which were

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published regularly and were more secular and public orientated. The early newspapers were associated with party politics. Then several struggles i.e., ending of direct censorship, and technological advancement gave rise to late-nineteen-century bourgeois newspapers which were influential and audience-centred. However, magazines also have played a great role for promoting diversity in print media.

The end of the 18th century introduces film as a technological innovation. The decline of the nascent European film industry and monopolization of the American film industry after the First World War was another defining feature in the history of film. Radio and television, although, different in content, both evolved from existing technologies. In contemporary times, television plays a critical role in politics, besides, entertainment. Owing to the diversity of content, reach, and cold medium television not only has remained a credible medium but has also enjoyed dominance over radio. Internet has revolutionized the information super-high way and is challenging the monopoly of traditional media as it relates to information dissemination. According to McQuail, the question of freedom versus control of media is both political and cultural.

The Part two of the book encapsulates five chapters, from three to seven and is the largest chapter of the book. This part opens with chapter three, 'Concepts and Models for Mass Communication'. The 19th century can be termed as the adolescence period for mass media and people witnessed the mobilization of mass media in most of Europe and the United Sates resulting from the First World War. The use of media by Nazi Germany and the USSR further strengthened the perception that mass media held a key role in shaping the opinion and behaviours of the people.

Late nineteen and early twentieth century social scientists were very suspicious of undermining traditional values, secularizing and urbanizing role of the mass media. Therefore, mass media's social integration and educating role was questioned in the mass society context. The term mass communication is the discovery of the late 1930s and explains the

reach of mass media to diverse and heterogeneous mass audience. The powerful effect of media models and modern techniques (surveys, experiments and statistical tools) to explore such effects gave rise to a dominant paradigm for theory and research. It only took the United States a decade after the Second World War to hegemonize the research methods.

The development of information theory by Shannon and Weaver (1149), further endorsed the dominant paradigm. The critique of the Frankfurt School and other critical theorists on the dominant paradigm introduced the critical paradigm, which became the alternative paradigm for mass media research. It rejected single reality and value neutrality assumptions of the dominant paradigm and advocated for an interpretive and constructionist perspective of reality. Moreover, among the four models within the media communication debate, the transmission and attention models are media industry centred while the ritual and decoding models are audience centred and explain audience resistance to domain media content.

Chapter four, 'Theory of Media and Society', scrutinizes the debate of primacy of media and society. Mass media constructs social reality which is selective in nature and shapes our notion of social reality, and establish our cohesion with other members of the society accordingly. The social integration role of media is inconclusive; some social theorists claim that it causes fragmentation, while others argue that it contributes to integration. However, the interesting question, then, is who controls media power and in whose interests and whose version of social reality is actually presented? The economic interest biases media content and twists social construction of reality for the actors who finance media.

Chapter five, 'Mass Communication and Culture' sets out to explore the more cultural dimensions of theories introduced in the previous section and interdependence between mass communication and culture, hybridization of culture, diversity and identity, ideology and effects of technology on culture. The author investigates critique of mass culture from the Frankfurt School scholars' point of view who criticized mass media for

creating uniformity, escapism, production of false needs and reduction of individuals to mere customers. Conversely, the Birmingham School, departs from the Frankfurt School in a sense, that it emphasizes the audience's ability of decoding ideology encoded in media texts. It explains that media text is polysemy. In the concluding part of this culture, Hall's contribution to Feminism and the role media plays in marginalizing women in the public sphere are examined. The gendering of media content, according to the author, must be studied at media content production level since most framing is done by men at content selection and production level.

Chapter six, 'New Media-New Theory', explores the arrival of new media, its acceptance, on one hand, and sense of fear, on the other hand. The most basic feature of new media is digitization and convergence. Besides, availability of new media to all spheres of life, there are apprehensions that it may fall in the hands of those who enjoy privileged excess to content production and regulation. Also, the new trends in new media, offers social theorists an opportunity to review current theories with regard to media effects. The virtual community phenomenon is another new dimension of using media content, or resisting it in the form of feedback. The internet is an ideal form of public sphere, which provides citizens platform for conversation, debates, express their political view and exchange such views with fellow beings and even with politicians. The internet free flow of information has its own potential threats.

Chapter seven, 'Normative Theory of Media and Society', surveys rights and the responsibility of the media to society in the normative context. The debate revolves around four theories of press and lies ahead. The media being the fourth estate holds enormous power, therefore, normative theories, expound on media and society relationship. Authoritarian media claims that authority to regulate media content lies in the hands of kings and queens. Whereas, soviet theory, which exists no more with the end of cold war, contests that power lies in the hands of the ruling party to decide media content. On the other hand, the argument of libertarian theory is that media must be free to publish what it

wants, even if the opinion presented is wrong. But, the social responsibility theory argues that media should be responsible to society regarding its content and its effects on the society. The debates of normative takes shift and end with introduction of four models of media which are empirical in nature and pose the question of why is the media as it is?

Part 3 of the book consists of three chapters from chapter 8 to 10. The chapter 8, 'Media Structures and Performance: Principles and Accountability' briefly scrutinizes media freedom and performance in the context of media structures, diversity, equality, objectivity, and limits of objectivity. Likewise, in pluralistic societies, the media has to cater to complex norms, values and cultural equality, without becoming the agent of a dominant class. Then, the author, explains the meaning of media accountability as it relates to the liability and answerability mode context. This discussion follows four frames of media accountability: law and regulation, financial/market, public responsibility and professional responsibility.

Chapter nine, 'Media Economics and Governance', introduces media as a business rather than a social institution and offers four different perspectives to understand and explain this business. Hence, when media has more dependence on advertising as a source of revenue, its content becomes less independent from the influence of advertisers. Many theorists argue that media content always reflects the interests of those who finance it. The media concentration is another issue that raises many questions about the quality of media content. A rule of the thumb is that eight firms in the world control almost 70% media content production, distribution and audience. This leaves very little room for diversity and pluralism. This debate is summed up with the argument that social and political system determines the type of media system working in a particular society.

Chapter ten, 'Global Mass Communication', elucidates that technology, economics and expansion of telecommunications have been the driving force beyond globalization. In this globalized world, the flow of information is from center to periphery. The new form of cultural imperialism has emerged in

this many-faceted world; audience demand the content which is produced in advanced countries, and their local media provides that content to them, becoming an agent for promoting imperial culture. Under UNESCO, an attempt was made to introduce new world information and communication order (NWICO), and an international inquiry commission headed by McBride, et al. (1980) gave recommendations which were ignored by free-flow of information defenders. The end of this chapter hints towards multiculturalism because media content of different countries is now available in advance countries too.

The part fourth comprises of two chapters. The eleventh chapter 'The Media Organization: Pressures and Demands' presents a full picture of media organizations from external and internal observation perspectives. The author illustrates influence brought by each main factor relating to the media organizations regarding news production and its distribution in media organization. Additionally, different professional cultures that make important effect on media-organizational activities are discussed with detailed cases. Furthermore, research methods, main issues and levels of analysis on media organizations are scrutinized and simplified for the understanding of the audience.

Chapter twelve 'The Production Media Culture' pays more attention on balance between internal media workforce and the organizations out of the world. Production convergence as the result of the situation is further explained as 'selecting' and 'processing'. The influence of network connectivity on media structure and content production is also explored at length at the end. The debate concludes on the role played by media model to simplify the media functioning for the understanding of audience.

Part five contains two chapters. The thirteenth chapter as it presents, 'Media Content : Issues, Concepts and Methods of Analysis', scans different approaches of studying media content and methods to media content research from a different perspective. The author mainly concludes three aspects of content analysis: the content as information; content as hidden meaning and 'traditional' quantitative content analysis. The measurement of objectivity debate and question of bias have also been critically

explored. The distinction between message content analysis and structural analysis is explained in-depth at the end of this chapter.

Chapter fourteen, 'Media Genres and Texts' deals with examples of typical media content. The genre is often used for helping media users make their media choices. Therefore, the author describes the concept and research purpose of media genres. The influence of internet on media genre formation is especially put to extensive debate. Accordingly, as the most historical genre, news enjoys a privileged status in public. The discussion on news genres sheds light on the definition, structure, forms of news report, and narrative along with new technological impact. Finally, the cultural text analysis as a new discourse form comes under examination as a diversity of text meanings of different context.

The part six contains two chapters. Chapter fifteen 'Audience Theory and Research Traditions' opens with audience–centered perspective to discuss comprehensive discussions on audience concept, types, theories and research purposes. Therefore, the author explores a framework of analysis audience theory. Similarly, the debate of relations between communicator and audience such as media reach studies and the exploration and analysis of audience activity closes the chapter.

Sixteenth chapter 'Audience Formation and Experience' focuses more on audience diversity and their use of media content. Several media use theories and cases are used to elaborate how subjective and objective conditions stimulate people within the audience to consume specific media content to gratify their motives. The media experience of audience in a social and cultural context along with the changing media forms have been investigated extensively in the closing section of this chapter.

Part seven opens with the introduction of media effects and a debate regarding the disagreement on the degree of effects and measuring them. The media effects has a long history ranging from all powerful media effects, limited effects, combination of powerful and limited effects era, and negotiated media influence which is an audience-centered approach. Then, level of media effects and their kinds are analyzed in the context of media effects

paradigm. Furthermore, difference and impact of planned and unplanned media effects is investigated. The effects debates end with credibility of channel, content quality, and source-receiver relationship in the framework of media effects, besides, campaigns analysis and their effect.

Chapter eighteen, 'Social-Cultural Effects' sheds light on the short-term and long-term media effects both from individual and a collective angle. The violence-saturated content of television and its effect on behaviour have been explored from cultivation analysis framework. The inequality of social distribution from knowledge, social learning theory in the context of children and youth to intended and unintended effects of entertainment content guides the further debate of media effects.

Chapter 'News, Public Opinion and Political Communication' surveys the different media content and various forms of political communication. Furthermore, the author examines the various elements of news learning, framing, difference between media frames and audience frames, media content effects on political, opinions, behaviours and attitudes of the audience. The agenda setting theory familiarizes readers with the relationship between media agenda and public agenda. The priming effect explains how media sets criteria for the evaluation of issues and political leaders in the domain of political communication. The last part of the chapter explores a spiral of silence due to fear of isolation among the individuals along with the elaboration-likelihood model which deals with persuasion. The impact of media on political institutions and democracies, propaganda war in the contemporary era and Internet news impact on the political culture conclude this chapter.

The part 8, Epilogue-'The Future of Mass Communication' summarizes the origins of mass communication during the 1920s and 1930s in an era of industrial development and intense political change. The organization and evolution of mass communication gave rise to communication science. The end of mass communication surveys agreements and disagreements among theorists in the field and reshaping and revision of media research in the context of technological innovations and renewal of

powerful media effects approach. Furthermore, mass communication has not only survived but has also witnessed new trends and innovation in research methods. This book is an authoritative and seminal text on mass communication theory, society and media. It familiarizes students with key theoretical and research paradigms in a reader-friendly manner. However, the book is ethnocentric in nature. The author has cited examples and illustrations mostly from North America and Europe, excluding the other parts of the world; this is one of the major limitations of McQuail's work.

About the Author: Denis McQuail is an Emeritus Professor at The Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR), University of Amsterdam. He is considered to be the most influential theorist in the field of mass communication. He started his career as a lecturer in the Sociology department at the University of Leeds. He is the author of several well-read and leading books in the field of mass communication. The ASCoR has announced Denis McQuail Award in his respect which is awarded to the best article contributing to the development of mass communication theory 2006.