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BOOK REVIEW

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■ *Reviewed by Fiza Shahbaz*

Coverage of incidents of violence against minorities in English press of Pakistan: A study of lynching of Christian couple

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Abstract:

This study analyzes the coverage of an incident of lynching of Christian couple alleged of blasphemy in November 2014, in English press of Pakistan. Three leading English dailies were taken as a sample and their coverage pertaining to the said event was analyzed for a period of one week after the incident. Newspapers collectively published 60 news stories and six editorials during first week of the incident. Content Analysis of these stories reveal that only nine were descriptive news stories, 29 stories condemned the incident and called for action, 18 were stories of protests and four stories dealt with how violence against minorities in Pakistan has become a common phenomenon.

Key Words: *minority, media, blasphemy*

Introduction

According to the CIA World Fact book, religious minorities make five percent of Pakistan's population including Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, Bahais and Parsis. Plight of these minorities in Pakistan can be gauged from the extent of violence they are subjected to. In 2007, Minority Rights Group International ranked Pakistan seventh in the list of ten most dangerous countries for minorities, whereas the country topped the list of countries with a major increase in threats to minorities (Mahmood, 2009). U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom in its annual report of 2014 listed

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Pakistan among the eight countries of particular concern with a high rate of violence against minorities (Annual Report of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2014).

Though Constitution of Pakistan provides adequate provisions for the rights and freedom of religious minorities, actual ground realities negate constitutional guarantees. Pakistan has long been notorious for the plight of minorities and increasing threat looms around minority communities here. Country's controversial blasphemy law have often been a matter of debate at certain national and international forums are notorious for their exploitation leading to human rights abuse (Knox Thames, 2014). Besides facing legal and cultural discrimination, religious minorities in Pakistan often endure incidents of massive violence, bloodshed, desecration of religious and personal assets, forced conversions etcetera (Shams, 2013).

Christians constitute Pakistan's second largest religious minority with Punjab hosting more than 3 million Christians. Most cases of violence against minorities in general and against Christians in particular have been reported from Punjab (Mahmood, 2009). In 2009, Christian homes were set ablaze in Gojra whereby eight Christians were burnt alive on the allegation of blasphemy. In 2010, a Christian laborer Asia Bibi was sentenced to death for blasphemy, followed by the assassination of Salman Taseer, then Governor of Punjab who advocated her case and condemned blasphemy law. In 2011, federal minister for minorities, ShahbazBhatti was murdered (Faruqi, 2011). In 2013, 125 Christian houses were burnt in the Christian locality of BadamiBaagh. Later that year, a suicide attack on All Saints Church in Peshawar killed 119 Christians (Factsheets: Countries: United

States Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2014). End of 2014 witnessed one of the most chilling episodes of mob violence against minorities when a Christian couple was lynched and burnt in the brick kiln where they worked. The incident invited a lot of criticism from political and religious groups and numerous human rights organizations from home and abroad, claimed considerable time and space of news media throughout the world.

This study explores the patterns of coverage given by elite Pakistani press to the incident of violence against this minority couple. This study maps how media constructs people's perception towards such incidents and explores different slants and angles given by different media organizations while covering this particular incident. Study can be of value to media students as well as to human rights organizations and organizations working for the rights of minorities.

Literature Review

Literature review is divided into two categories, studies that deal in portrayal of minorities in media and studies that deal in violence or discrimination against minorities in Pakistan.

The overall coverage of press towards minorities is more positive than negative (Ambreen, 2014). Similarly, in a one year research of English dailies, it was found out that coverage of Ahmadis was relatively negative in media whereas, coverage of other minorities was mostly positive. Research further highlighted that Christians are the most represented minority in English press (Shahzad Ali, 2010). Likewise, Montes (2012), in his research, found that media frames the religion negatively and the trend is more obvious in case of religious

minorities. Religious minorities are represented only when there is a negative event including some crisis or violence. Findings of Faruqi, points out that Christians in Pakistan are being subjected to discrimination, violence and persecution. Report also highlights the development of blasphemy laws and their exploitation in recent years, besides giving a preview of major incidents of violence against minorities (Faruqi, 2011).

Thames and Cassidy argue that blasphemy laws in many countries contradict the international standards of human rights, since they are easily abused or manipulated through false accusations. Research reveals that Pakistan has maximum number of victims convicted under blasphemy laws and despite their rampant abuse and lack of procedural safeguards, Federal Sharia Court of Pakistan stick to death penalty for blasphemy (Thames, 2014).

Likewise, Shams (2013), says that minorities in Pakistan are discriminated culturally and legally whereas blasphemy laws are used to settle personal scores and vendettas. Furthermore, these laws are against the true spirit of Islam and legal reforms are needed to bring them in conformity with Islamic injunctions. Annual report of United States Commission on International Religious Freedom 2014 states that chronic sectarian violence against Shiites, Christians, Ahmadis and Hindus is rampant in Pakistan and successive regimes fail to provide adequate protection to minorities and punish the perpetrators. Blasphemy laws are used to curb religious freedom and foster a climate of impunity (Annual Report of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2014).

Minorities are also institutionally marginalized and

constitutionally excluded in Pakistan. Current laws and regulations regarding minorities are reversal of Jinnah's ideals. Report by Malik recommends that a pluralistic culture based on equal citizenship and unfettered human rights can bring in many improvements for the country and its inhabitants (Malik, 2002).

Report of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Violence towards religious communities in Pakistan" presents a factsheet of incidents of violence against all minorities that took place within the span of a year from June 2013 to July 2014. According to the report, there were 22 attacks on Christians alone, causing 128 casualties within the mentioned period. Overall, there were 122 attacks on different minorities with 430 casualties. (Factsheets: Countries: United States Commission on International Religious Freedom , 2014).

Khan in 2014 explores the legal impediments towards interfaith harmony in Pakistan and states that Pakistan is the only country that has constitutional definition of a Muslim for the purpose of law, which is the very basis of sectarianism in the country, for different sects compete for their hegemony over law. Secondly, blasphemy laws in Pakistan have long been used by authorities to harass religious minorities and vulnerable Muslims for settling personal scores and vendettas (Khan, 2014).

A report by Standing Committee on Law, Justice and Human Right, Youth Parliament of Pakistan explores the factors that lead to violence against minorities in Pakistan. Report states that 1980s' policy of Islamization followed by rise in Taliban insurgency and patronage of extremist factions by certain political and religious

forces contributed a great deal towards promoting religious extremism, intolerance and violence against minorities in Pakistan (Standing Committee on Law, 2014).

In this context it is of significance to study how issues related to minorities are covered in mainstream English press of Pakistan. And see if minorities and their issues are adequately represented in English Pakistani press. It is of particular relevance to study different angles of news coverage of incidents of violence against minorities and trace commonalities and differences in the coverage patterns of different newspapers. In this study, the researcher observes the patterns of news coverage in terms of their frequency and nature and tries to discover how this coverage tries to mold public perception in a particular direction.

Research Questions

RQ1. How English Pakistani press covered the incident of lynching of Christian couple by mob?

RQ2. What was the frequency of news that appeared in English dailies within a week of the incident?

RQ3. Was there any difference in the coverage in the three dailies?

Methodology:

The researcher conducted content analyses of the news items relevant to the incident. The researcher selected three English newspapers, Dawn, The News and Daily Times in the month of November, 2014. In this research, unit of analysis is news story. The researcher selected those news that appeared within a period of one week after the incident.

Categories

After the pilot study, the researcher extracted following four categories of content. These categories are descriptive news, condemning/call for action news, protest news, and generalized news

Descriptive news:

For the purpose of this study, those news stories count as descriptive news in which the headline and/or the lead tends to describe the event as it happened and subsequent developments as reported by the news papers' own sources.

Condemning the incident and call for action news:

This category comprises news stories in which the headline and/or the lead features oral, written or recorded statements of individuals, groups and organizations that condemned the incident and call for certain actions to be taken.

Protest news:

Protest news stories are those in which the headline and/or the lead report of protests by individuals and groups from both minority and majority community in form of rallies, sit-ins, strikes, processions, boycotts etc.

Generalized news:

Generalized news items are those that account for violence against minorities in general in Pakistan and include references of past incidents of violence in the country as covered by the news papers' own sources. News stories featuring such references under statements issued by individuals and groups are not included in this category.

Findings

The researcher coded the data in accordance with operational definitions stated earlier. The results are presented as follows.

Table 1: Collective coverage as per coded categories

Categories	Newspaper		
	Dawn	The News	Daily Times
	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
Descriptive News	2 (9.5%)	3 (17.6%)	4 (18.2%)
Condemning/Call for Action News	10(47.6%)	7 (41.2%)	12(54.5%)
Protest News	9 (42.8%)	5 (29.4%)	4 (18.2%)
Generalized News	0	2 (11.8%)	2 (9.1%)
Total	21 (35%)	17 (28.3%)	22 (36.6%)

N=60

Findings in Table 1 show that collectively 60 news stories were published in the three newspapers over a week about the incident of which daily Dawn published 21 news stories, The News published 17 news stories and Daily Times published 22 news stories. Coverage in percentage of Dawn accounts for 35 percent that of The News account for 28.3 percent and that of Daily Times accounts for 36.6 percent. Table shows that Daily Times published maximum number of stories

about the incident whereas The News published minimum number of stories.

The findings show that three newspapers collectively published 9 descriptive news stories, 29 condemning/call for action stories, 18 protest stories and 4 generalized news stories. Ratio of descriptive news is 15 percent, condemning/call for action news account for 48.3 percent, protest news comprise 30 percent and generalized news account for just 6.67 percent of the entire news coverage. This table also shows that maximum news stories belong to the category of condemning/call for action news.

Table 1 shows that daily Dawn published 2 descriptive stories which account for 9.5 percent of total coverage given to the incident by Dawn. Condemning/Call for action category comprises 10 news stories which accounts for 47.6 percent of Dawn's total coverage. 9 news stories were published in the protest category which makes it 42.8 % of Dawn's coverage. Daily Dawn did not publish any generalized news story. This table also shows that maximum percentage of Dawn's coverage is belongs to condemning/call for action category.

The News published 3 descriptive news stories which accounts for 17.6 percent of its total coverage of the event. 7 news stories belonged to the category of condemning/call for action news which makes it 41.2 percent. Protest news category carries 5 news stories and makes 29.4 percent of the total coverage whereas 2 news stories were published in generalized news category which accounts for 11.8 percent of the newspaper's total coverage of the incident. This table also shows that maximum coverage was given to condemning/call

for action news by The News. Daily Times published 4 descriptive stories which account for 18.2 percent of its total coverage. 12 news stories were published in condemning/call for action news category which makes it 54.4 percent of the newspaper's total coverage. Protest news category consists of 4 news stories accounting for 18.2 percent, whereas 2 news stories were published in generalized news category accounting for 9.1 percent. Table shows that maximum news stories published in Daily Times fall under condemning/call for action category.

The findings show that there is a coherence of trend among all the newspapers in their coverage. Net percentage of condemning/call for action news is greatest whereas individual newspapers have maximum coverage of the same category. Daily Times has maximum overall coverage but minimum coverage of protest news. Daily Times has maximum percentage of descriptive news and condemning call for action news, Dawn has maximum percentage of protest news, and The News has maximum percentage of generalized news. Dawn, unlike The News and Daily Times contributed no news to the category of generalized news.

Analysis and discussion

Above data reveals that though all the newspapers gave adequate coverage in terms of frequency to the violent murder of Christian couple, news story that tend to describe the event as it happened and subsequent developments were seldom. It is obvious from the results that only 15 percent of the news stories were descriptive. It indicates that very few developments took place

regarding legal proceedings of the case by the concerned authorities. Since ratio of descriptive stories is consistently low in all the three newspapers, there are little chances of missed opportunities or underrepresented facts about the event. Condemning/call for action stories were published in greatest ratio by all the three newspapers. It indicates that numerous political and religious forces and human rights organizations representing minority under discussion as well as other minorities and majority condemned the incident at large and demanded a number of actions and reforms for the concerned authorities in order to curb this menace and provide adequate protection and religious freedom to the minorities. It also implies that media chose to highlight stories of this category purposefully to give the impression that society at large stands with minorities and condemn the acts of violence against them. Protest category grabs the second largest share of coverage which clearly implies that media chose to highlight how different factions of society are protesting against the lynching incident in particular and religious extremism and intolerance in general. Finally, the generalized category received minimum coverage. The News and Daily Times published two stories each in this category. These stories were aimed at reviewing the patterns of violence against minorities at general and recalling past events of such violence that took place in Pakistan. These stories reflect a more sympathetic inclination towards minorities for they meant to generalize one incident to the entire community and remind the readers that minorities have long been marginalized and subjected to violence in our country. Dawn published no such generalized news story after this incident.

Conclusion:

This study aimed at analyzing the press coverage of incidents of violence against minorities. The researcher took an event of violence against Christian minority as a case of study to analyze the coverage of three leading English newspapers, namely Dawn, The News and Daily Times for a period of one week after the incident. The research shows that the three newspapers provided adequate coverage to the event in terms of both quality and quantity. The three English dailies mostly condemned the action and called for action to prevent such an incident in future. Though there was considerable coherence in the coverage patterns of the three newspapers taken for study, Daily Times provided maximum coverage in comparison. Furthermore, The News and Daily Times were more similar in their patterns of coverage as compared to Dawn.

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A Study on impact of 'ChotaBheem' on children's social behavior

C. Jansher

Abstract

Today children view hundreds of animation characters with different assigned behaviors in cartoon programs. Children's television programs today are not only source of entertainment but also source of learning for our children. This study analyzes the content of popular Indian cartoon - ChotaBheem. The main focus is to examine the impact of ChotaBheem on children's social behavior through content analysis and participatory observation method. It also analyzes the impact of animated characters on the product liking & preferences of children and on perceptions of parents. Study concludes that cartoon series ChotaBheem influences the children's social behavior and product preferences.

Keywords: *Academic research, Content Analysis, Social behavior, ChotaBheemetc*

Introduction

Cartoons are considered one of the best ways of entertainment and amusement for children. Children spend most of their leisure time watching cartoons. The virtual cartoon characters try to make the children happy in multiple ways such as telling different stories, attractive wardrobe, action, language etc. Television brings their dream world to the magic screen.

Establishing a bond with children by telling stories is a practice that spans over centuries. Even today, when we hear the words "Once upon a time", we can recall the same words said by our grandparents or parents to us. Through narration moral stories, we could cultivate positive values in children. Today, television also has

taken an active role in teaching many things to children such as how to or how not to deal with others, solve personal problems, make friends and make simple decisions skills etc., In the present scenario, watching television is not only an entertainment; rather it reflects the socio-cultural phenomenon of the society.

'ChotaBheem' is a cartoon aired on POGO channel. ChotaBheem is a popular cartoon character nowadays among the Indian kids. ChotaBheem is a phenomenon for the children of today. Some look at him as a role model. 'Bheem, Bheem, Bheem... ChotaBheem' is a song that is famous among Indian children's. Bheem is an Indian mythological character. He is one of the 5 Pandavas of the epic Mahabharata. However, the cartoon character ChotaBheem has no resemblance with the old mythological character Bheem except his strength. ChotaBheem knows how to respect elders, he always encourages his friends and he is a brave boy, who is never afraid of any bad situation. This study will try to explore impact of ChotaBheem on children's behavior.

Review of Literature

Gokcearslan (2010) studied the Effect of Cartoon Movies on Children's Gender Development. He argued that Funny cartoon films have the necessary resources to tap into the educational aspect. (Stutts&Hunnicut, 1987) suggests focusing on children of two to seven years of age. The reason is that during this period they become increasingly susceptible to influence by images and symbolic processes, including those from advertising, and begin to make judgments about the various products they might use in the future.

Recognition of select cartoon trade characters tends to increase with the age of the child. The level of recognition and favorable attitude towards the product were positively associated with age (Richard Mizersk 1995). Parents often find it difficult to deny their children food that is endorsed by their favorite cartoon characters or celebrities on television (Solomon 1996).

Television has the control on children's metacognitive, shared, expressive and other behaviors (Mares & Woodard, 2001). Children show more interest in watching television programs which consist of several child characters (Schmitt, Anderson & Collins, 1999). Kannan (2014) studies about the depiction of Indian cultural values in the popular cartoon program 'ChotaBheem'.

According to Bennett (1995) children must hear moral stories in order to develop good values and moral literacy. Believers of conventional character education state that listening to moral stories in one of the important aspect of moral education. A child acquires the idea about how vital it is to "live" with a good quality and getting a better comprehension of the moral life by reading or listening to a moral story (Narvaez, 2002). Advertising can influence how children view and obtain appropriate models for the adult world, including concepts of appropriate products to use now and in the future (Belk, Mayer, and Driscoll 1984).

From the review of literature it is obvious that cartoon characters have a considerable effect on children. However studies related to impact of cartoons on social behavior of children are minimal. The purpose of this study is to provide much more specific way of looking at the content of children's most favorite cartoon

television program - ChotaBheem. The researcher has focused this study on the impact of 'ChotaBheem' on kid's social behavior.

Research Questions

- Does the ChotaBheem program teach moral values to children?
- What kind of stories does ChotaBheem program tell?
- How ChotaBheem influences the product liking and preferences of children?
- Are heavy viewers of this cartoon more aggressive than low viewers?
- Do children prefer ChotaBheem than physical activities?

Aims and Objectives

- To investigate whether pictures of 'ChotaBheem' characters on products influences young children's product preferences.
- To provide much more specific way of looking at the content of children's most favorite cartoon television program - ChotaBheem, to determine the degree and specification of moral values in a story to children.
- To explore the impact of 'ChotaBheem' on the daily basis activities of children.
- To check the level of aggression in the children after watching this cartoon.

Methodology and Sample

A content analysis of some episodes of ChotaBheem, Participatory

observation of kids and interview with parents and teachers are the methodologies used in this research project. Content Analysis is described as the scientific study of content of communication. It is the study of the content with reference to the meanings, contexts and intentions contained in messages.

This study will analyze the content of ChotaBheem cartoon program which is aired on the POGO channel. A content analysis of selected 25 episodes of the programme from May to August 2015 will be done. The content analysis methodology will analyse the first two research questions. The second part of the research uses Participatory Observation for conducting the study. Participatory observation are non experimental studies or inquires that are conducted as the subjects are engaged in the natural course of their lives. Here researchers study groups by becoming a part of the group. The participatory observation includes recording behaviors of six children (three girls and three boys) from age group 8 to 12. The second part also includes personal interviewing of the parents of children and school teachers.

Theoretical Perspective

Social learning theory

According to Albert Bandura (1977), social learning theory establishes the relationship between observation and observers action. Also observers learn many things by observing what the fiction character does in the program. Cartoon television programs are designed for children and are repeatedly implementing social learning theory.

Through this theory, we acquire, maintain and modify behaviors that we see others perform. For example, 'ChotaBheem', the protagonist is an honest boy and he is saving friendships forever. So it can influence children's learning of problem solving skills and quality of being honest. This way the concept of social learning is applied.

Labeling theory

It is an extension of social learning theory and also known as social reaction theory. According to Howard Becker, Labeling theory involves how learning can occur by attaching or imposing labels, titles and attributes (real or unreal) to others. Labeling theory is used in this study to learn how popular cartoon programme ChotaBheem affects children's social behavior.

Cultivation theory

According to George Gerbner "the primary proposition of cultivation theory states that the more time people spend living in the television world, the more likely they are to believe social reality portrayed on television". Television cultivates from childhood the very predispositions and preferences that used and acquired from primary sources. The repetitive pattern of television's mass-produced messages and images forms the mainstream of a common symbolic environment. Cultivation (ChotaBheem) leaves children a misperception of what is true in our world.

By using the above mentioned three theories, research explores the question of observational learning of children through watching cartoons.

Findings and Analysis

Part 1 – Content Analysis

The overall ChotaBheem programs are based on short stories or on short incidents which are held in and around Dholakpur. The program, which describes the feats of ChotaBheem and his team of friends, is an original co-production between Turner International India and Hyderabad-based Green Gold studios. Fresh episodes are telecast in the prime time zone that is every day evening 6 p.m. The first part of research is carried out by analyzing 25 different episodes of ChotaBheem. The first part uses Content analysis methodology.

We have listened to stories from our parents and grandparents. Those stories had a moral message at the end. At the same time, the concept and the characters in those stories were real and it could be adapted from the real life situations. Today, the content in the children's television's program are turned into a commercial. But ChotaBheem runs successfully because of the name of the character and portrayal of his behavior, proving team spirit throughout the program. On the other hand, fewer children in ChotaBheem program are portrayed as negative characters and having negative values such as telling lies, possessiveness, bullying others, and gender bias. But at the end of the story, characters who have moral values win over the negative characters. The ways followed by the protagonist to defeat evil characters and to prove justice is a highly notable factor. The stories of ChotaBheem series replicate the old system of governance and also the artifacts used by

the characters in the programs are not applicable to the contemporary period. But the values shown in those programs could be applied to the present situation.

The title song of ChotaBheem consists of more than 50 consecutive shots and among those 15 shots deal with good behavior such as helping others, taking responsibilities, protecting people, friends and animals etc. Visuals of title song contain 70% of positive values such as kindness to people and animals, showing responsibility, being generous, tolerance and unity; remaining part consists of negative values such as fighting with people or animals, showing eating too many laddoos, bullying others and gender discrimination. The lyrics of the title song also give importance to positive values and it doesn't include any harsh or rude words.

The main character "Bheem" and his friends are portrayed as good children and they follow moral values in their day to day life. In all the episodes of ChotaBheem program, the values such as kindness to others, responsibility, caring, veneration to elders, generosity, helping tendency, giving equal importance to other gender, protecting people and hospitality are emphasized. These values have been considered as positive values.

Bheem's portrayal as an obedient child gives a positive message to young minds of our country. Bheem is portrayed as very kind hearted that he even forgives his enemies. He never wishes for revenge and he is not a hyper violent super hero. These values give a very good positive message to the kids. He solves every mystery and problem in a calm and composed manner. He is very kind to everyone and is liked by everyone in Dholakpur village.

Though Bheem has always been portrayed as a good person generally, in one episode Bheem is shown as stealing laddoos. Later on, his action is justified by stating that he was hungry. At the end of the story, he threw a huge rock to stop a flowing volcano. The impractical situations and behaviors signify only fantasizing the spectators. In such a way, one day Bheem safeguard his people and friends from raging bull in Dholakpur. A nine year old boy who is assumed to be brave and mightiest in character is always portrayed to fight with animals and people who are bad in character in order to prove his power and strength. Out of the 25 selected episodes, there are three episodes which contain no significant moral values at the end.

The overall analysis of ChotaBheem program shows that 90 percent of episodes teach moral values to children. Relatively positive values dominated the negative values. This signifies that the portrayal of the characters in the ChotaBheem and the way they taught stories help the viewers to develop moral values. There is a significant difference in showing positive values and negative values in the program. Positive values are emphasized in this cartoon.

The result of content analysis shows that ChotaBheem programme gives more importance to moral values than negative values. The presence of negative values is very less in ChotaBheem. The kinds of stories discussed in ChotaBheem are related to kindness, love, caring, friendship and unity. Although some episodes have negative characters, the positive characters will win over the negative characters by the end by putting forward some moral values like integrity, respect, honesty and compassion.

Part 2 – Participatory observation and Interview

Second part of the research is done on the basis of a participatory observation and interview. Behaviors of six children (three girls and three boys) are recorded for the participatory approach. A personal interview of kid's parents and teachers has been conducted to know more about kid's behaviors. Television is the major source of advertisement and information for kids. Cartoon channels like Kochu TV, Pogo and Cartoon Network are the favourite choice for kids.

Favourite character

The major characters in 'ChotaBheem' are Bheem, Kaalia, Raju, Chutki, Indumathi, Dholu, Bholu and Maharaj. The most liked character by kids is Bheem followed by Chutki and Raju. The least liked character for them is Kaalia. Kalia, owing to his characteristics of being fatty and lazy, scored the least, while Bheem was liked the most due to his kindness, naughtiness and strong characteristic traits.

All the six kids have liked the character design of Bheem, while five kids have not liked the design of Kaalia. The top common reasons for liking a character were, having a 'funny look', 'strength', 'mischievous' and 'naughty look', 'cute eyes' followed by 'looks smart' while the reasons for not liking were 'fatty look' and 'aggressive nature'. In the case of Kaalia, the top common reason for not liking him was because of 'fat', having bald hair followed by his dressing style. These reflect the character associations and the preference for certain traits over others which could help to determine the popularity of a character. All the kids were also found

to be more fascinated by the mystical nature and appearance of the old witch in an episode.

Influence of ChotaBheem on the product liking and preferences of children

Cartoon characters associated with brands have a great influence in making the brand attractive to kids. Brand promotion strategies involving prominent cartoon characters can create wonders for brands. Cartoon character association with brands leads to strong preference for the brand.

Next thing that was analyzed was the influence of pictures of ChotaBheem characters, which appear on the products like toys, food items, school stationary items etc. on children's product preferences. For fulfilling this purpose, fruit drinks with mix fruit flavor were selected. Now out of 6 children, 3 children were exposed to fruit drink containing the picture of ChotaBheem. It was asked to each child asked "How much did you like this fruit drink?" The responses were noted down on the basis of a 5 star scale. The other 3 children were exposed to similar type of fruit drink whose package had no picture of ChotaBheem on it. Again the responses were noted down using a 5 star scale. In each case the children rated the products just on the basis of visual imaginary of fruit drink packages and they did not taste the fruit drinks at all. The analysis showed that young children preferred those fruit drinks whose packages contained the pictures of ChotaBheem. Thus, this showed that cartoon characters had significant influence on children's product preferences especially for beverages like fruit drinks.

Next thing that was asked to children was that whether they would think of buying this product next time when they visit to the market. In case of fruit drinks with pictures of ChotaBheem on the package, all three children replied that they would definitely buy these fruit drink when they will go to the market next time. In case of fruit drinks without pictures of ChotaBheem on the package, only one child replied that he would like to buy this fruit drink when he would go to the market next time. Finally among the children who agreed to buy these specific fruit drinks, it was asked to them that how they would buy this product. To this 4 children replied that they would go to the store with their parents and would buy this product. One child replied that he alone would go to store for buying these biscuit and another child replied that she would request to her parents to bring the desired product.

Then it was asked to parents of the sample children to describe the behavior that child exhibits for buying his / her desired food item with picture of ChotaBheem characters. Two parents replied that the child starts pleading over and over for buying the desired product. Another two parents replied that their child starts to count and pronounce the names of his/ her friends/ siblings who had bought the same product and there by starts making the requests for the same. The other two parents said that their child starts listing the benefits of the product and thereby makes requests for the same. All the parents opined that their child starts crying for buying the desired food item.

After determining the child's behavior parents were asked that how do they respond to their child's purchase request for food

item. To this three of the parents replied that they usually allow their child to buy the desired food item. Two parents said that they stop the child from buying the food item by saying that it would be unhealthy or costly. One parent said that they would say straight forward no to their child's purchase request and they would promise the child to buy the food item another day. All parents had opined that they usually suggest alternative item in response to their child's request. Next question that was asked parents was that why do they allow their child to buy the desired food item. To this four of the parents said they satisfy their child's request so as to make him /her happy and the other two parents said that they satisfy their child's request for food item so as to stop him/ her from becoming angry.

The kid's also says that they prefer ChotaBheem school bags and other stationary items. All the six children are very font of ChotaBheem toys. All these kids are having a good collection of ChotaBheem toys. The findings suggest that both boys and girls are very font of Bheem and his friends.

The findings suggest that children get significantly influenced by pictures of ChotaBheem on package of fruit drinks and other products. This suggests that ChotaBheem is an influential character for children. So one can make use of this cartoon character for selling products other than fruit drinks. The influence could be very high in case of food items, toys, dresses and school stationary products.

Behavioral change in children

The children are the most important faction of the society which is being affected by the television contents and cartoons. Children like

dresses and accessories/ belongings of their favorite cartoon characters. Due to their tender minds, most of the children try to imitate the actions performed by different characters. Violence is also an integral part of even those cartoons which are comedic in their genre. Even in comedic cartoons, characters fight with each other which are liked by the kids.

Four children (sample) watch TV more than 2 hours on daily basis while others watch less. This figure prominently indicates that children watch cartoons at least one hour daily. They consider cartoon as the major source of entertainment followed by music and movies.

Due to repeat telecast on POGO channel, the kids are getting addicted to ChotaBheem. During breakfast, after coming back from school, during lunch, in the evening, during dinner - all the time on the television, POGO channel comes only with ChotaBheem stories. Such continuous television exposure also affects the play time of the kids. They find ChotaBheem more interesting than playing and physical activities. As a result, the kids are lacking adequate body movements, which they require to build up their body and mind. One parent opined that they can't even watch the latest news and other programmes on television due to ChotaBheem, as it is telecasted all the time throughout the day. Children prefer cartoons over picnic and outdoor games. They are happier with ChotaBheem and other cartoons. These kids are not even ready to go for an outing during the evening on a holiday because they don't want to miss an episode of ChotaBheem.

The result of the participant observation shows that children

behavior gets changed after watching ChotaBheem. All participant parents agreed that their children's behavior changed after watching this cartoon. They show aggressive behavior during conflict and use the same techniques which they observed in the cartoon. Most of the animation characters show a great skill of fighting, in which most of the students would learn and imitate from their observation through those programme. The most likely aggressive reaction the kids would do was hitting, attacking, kicking, or hurting other people. From the words of kid's parents, it is clear that these kids have learnt different forms of violence from this cartoon show. Too much fight with the evil powers and wild animals brings the kids to the world of violence and they start applying these on their friends and other family members. A primary school teacher when asked about children's behaviors regarding violence and physical actions, she commented that some students are always picking up fights in the class, one of the reasons behind this aggressive behaviour could be that they are way too much influenced by cartoons like ChotaBheem or other programmes which parents without any concern let them watch in excess. Another teacher commented that kids are learning many good things from this cartoon.

All the kids of target sample were willing to share the unique experience and information about watching ChotaBheem. This demonstrates the high level of enthusiasm with regard to the content experience. This insight also depicts the high possibility of 'word of mouth' publicity generation regarding the cartoon and its characters, which can attract additional audiences to watch the movie.

The ChotaBheem had also affected the eating habit of

children. Kids love eating laddoo, which has no good nutritional count. Laddoo is the favourite food of ChotaBheem and he gains energy from this sweet. Kids said that they prefer to have laddoo everyday to be as powerful as Bheem. So, in a way the eating habits of many kids are also affected by this cartoon series. Bheem's eating habits are definitely not a path for kids to imbibe. There were cartoon characters like Popeye – the Sailor man, who encouraged kids to eat spinach. Eating spinach is completely legit on the health index. A school teacher commented that it's better if ChotaBheem encourages children to eat something like banana, carrot, apple etc.

The evil powers and few kids in this cartoon use rude words or phrases which the kids find very different from their day to day conversation and memorize them very fast. Parents said that their kids started using phrases like 'I will kill you', 'I will not spare you', and 'You fool' after continuous watching of ChotaBheem. But the children did not know the actual meaning of those phrases and they are unknowingly using such phrases in their conversation. The parents believe that this may affect the good manner that the kids learn in the school. One kid argued that he doesn't want to go to school and learn, because ChotaBheem is not going to school and he is brilliant enough. It is important to note that the boys perceived more change in their behavior on viewing ChotaBheem.

It is observed that children's behavior is changed after watching ChotaBheem. These children pay more attention to ChotaBheem cartoon's whole story or specific character and this craze affect their behavior.

Limitations and Scope of future research

In every research there are some limitations for the researcher because it is very difficult for researcher to conduct an ideal research. The study was primarily limited by its small sample size. The sample size could have been expanded by including more number of children. Limitation in terms of participatory observation is restricted to six children from 8 - 12 age groups. The participants represented a narrow range of age group. A larger sample with more diversity will give better results. In this study researcher only take one cartoon for the study. Future research can include more cartoons for better understanding of children's behaviors.

Conclusion

The kids are inclined to cartoon programmes, as they find the characters like them in front of their eyes, doing funny activities. So they get very easily fascinated by these characters and start imitating them. The result of this study indicates that children are highly influenced by the cartoons series - ChotaBheem. Because they more pay attention and time to watch this cartoons instead of other activities. When children focus more on the cartoon series it means that they are learning a lot of things from cartoons. In fact, the analysis shows that majority of children have some behavioral change affected through cartoons.

The Kids (sample) have a considerably high brand recall and were found to be brand specific. The kid's preferences for brands were in sync with, 'which' of their favourite cartoon characters was associated with the brand. It is however found that the believability of facts stated by the cartoon character in the advertisement is not

found true by kids. The kids neither believed that strengths and powers of the cartoon characters were due to the endorsed brand usage.

Most of the students (sample) spend daily 1 to 3 hours watching cartoons on television in their leisure time. So it can be said in view of above mentioned facts that cartoon watching is among the most favorite hobbies of the children. Cartoons are not only changing their behavior but it is also changing their language and language is most important part of any culture. Children use cartoon as source of entertainment than the other physical activities. As a result they are becoming fat and unhealthy. This thing is more harmful for children's physical health. It is obvious through the study that the cartoon 'ChotaBheem' affects mentally as well as physically on the grooming children.

The study confirmed that ChotaBheem cartoon program teaches many things to children. Cartoon tells several positive values. At the same time there are some contradictions in the way of portraying Bheem and other characters in the program. Children ought to be children at the age of nine, though he has more strength than others; he has been shown as fighting with animals and villains in order to protect his friends or other people. Children will get the notion that fighting is the only way of solving the problems. This may lead children to act aggressively even when they face simple problems. On the other hand, teaching moral values through telling stories such as what our parents told us about Thenaliraman stories, Aesop stories and Panchatantra tales.

India is the first country to teach ahimsa to the entire world.

Mahatma Gandhi proved to the world we can reach our goals through non-violence. Unfortunately ChotaBheem believes only muscle power. Though ChotaBheem is an indigenous product which depicts many moral values, it does take children to a fantasy world where they get strength through eating laddoos; children take up the role of adults, even over take elders in many ways. Results of content analysis show that this cartoon gives more importance to values, but results from the participatory observation shows that children are highly influenced by this cartoon programme.

To conclude the study, it is analysed that there is a strong impact of ChotaBheem on kids which can be seen on their life style, dressing, aggressive and violent behavior and their language.

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A Correlation between Mass Media Communication and Foreign Investments in India

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Abstract

India opened its doors to globalization in 1991 and the reference point of this change through globalization has been the United States of America (USA). The current study attempts to explore the relevance that globalization has brought to India through mapping the shift in pattern of mass media coverage of India by the foreign media and parallel marketing shifting patterns in investments made by foreign financial institutions in India, over the last two decades. A total number of 500 news of NYT were selected from a period of 1991- 2010 and top 25 news articles of each year were filtered through “relevance” from the NYT website and downloaded. The findings indicate an exponential rise in the number of news items which NYT carried about India over this period. This indicates an existence of a relationship between positive news coverage by independent media and a rise in the amount of investments made by foreign institutions in India.

Keywords: *India; Investments by Foreign Institutions; Shift in Communication quality and quantity; Globalization.*

Introduction

The world is getting integrated and technology is binding the various facets of human activity as a result every action of an

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individual or institution impacts the seemingly remote and apparently disassociated activities undertaken by others in far-fetched places as well. Developed nations of the North like United States of America (USA) or other European countries are linked to the developing or under-developed countries of the Asian and the African sub-continent. Technology has wired instances leading to an efficient flow of information. The technological knitting is overlapped with economic association due to the liberal economic policies and structures adopted by Asian and African nations, which has facilitated trade and commerce between developed, developing and under-developed economies of the world in creating a globalized world where political and economic powers rely on countries and systems outside their geographical boundaries to grow, develop and sustain (Amoribieta et. al, 2001). So, countries across the globe are exploring and creating systems and policies which encourage a symbiotic association with the outside world.

Economic association is one of the most popularly employed means through which countries partner with each other to establish and nurture long term associations. For developing nations, foreign investments made by multinational companies (MNCs) helps to boost the gross domestic production (GDP) while for the developed world, the other world – developing and under-developed nations are sources of untapped resources like raw material at rock bottom prices, labour, both skilled and unskilled, is available at very cheap rates and a large captive market in the form of a huge consumer base in available which leads most developed nations focus on the under developed or developing economies.

In the present times, Asia is recognized as a potential market. A recent study by the Asian Development Bank considered Asia to be in the midst of a truly historic transformation. It predicted that the continent holds the promise of making some 3 billion additional Asians, hitherto commonly associated with poverty and deprivation, affluent by today's standards. With this the world view of Asia is clearly expressed.

The factors which fuel the Asian growth can be divided into broad categories - classic and new factors. The classic factors are technical progress, capital accumulation and labour force growth while the new factors are the growing middle class; climate change and the communications revolution (Asian Development Bank; 2011). The changing economic topography of Asia has shifted the global media attention towards Asia and enhanced investments by the western companies. The current study is an attempt to map the altering stance on the western media towards India and correlate the media reporting pattern about India with the investment pattern of Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs).

Literature Review

Globalization and Interconnectedness.

Globalization has been the most outstanding area which has drawn attention of scholars and practitioners, across all fields, since the end of the cold war in the twentieth century. As, Scholte (1993) puts it that "globalization stands out for quite a large public spread across the world as one of the defining term of the late twentieth century consciousness'. Most scholars find the term elusive, difficult

to define and extremely broad based as it encompasses activities ranging from 'democratization, development, market deregulation, privatization, welfare reform, new security, agendas (such as immigration and drugs), and the general retreat of all aspects of the state' (Reich, 1998). A few characteristics of globalization which have been brought out by scholars like McGrew (1990) who defines it 'as multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation states (and by implication the societies) which make up the modern world system. It defines a process through which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have a significant consequence for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe' and Cerny (1995) looks at globalization as 'a set of economic and political structures and processes deriving from the changing character of the goods and assets that comprise the base of the international political economy – in particular, the increasing structural differentiation of those goods and assets'. The two key features of globalization have been the 'interconnectedness that transcends nations' and the emphasis on the 'changing character of goods and assets'.

Empirical evidences indicate the positive economic impact of globalization on Asian and South Asian countries (United Nations, 2008). India among other countries like China, South Korea, and Malaysia etc. has been recognized as a country of choice by the western developed world (Barthelemy and Adsit 2003) and researchers have listed out reasons like cheap labour, rapid change in technology, low cost and high returns in quality and experience and a captive untapped consumer base with an increasing

disposable income (Deavers, 1997; Ribeiro, 2001). As a result the present world is marked by economic, technological and cultural interdependence which has led to an interconnected social order (Johnston et al. 1995; Zürn 1995; Albrow 1996; Kofman and Youngs 1996; Held et al. 1999).

Factors of Economic Development

Most researchers have asserted that economic concerns are the only drivers which draw the developed world towards the developing nations but there are who have laid emphasis on more sophisticated factors like media which play a subtle but an extremely crucial role in the process of economic development of a nation (Sen, 1984, 1999; Djankov, et al; 2002). Most writers have asserted a positive relationship between an assertive and free media and the development outcomes of the 'development aspiring' nation. Stiglitz (2002), focused on the enhanced degree of governmental transparency and accountability in nations where media is strong which leads to positive economic development and better public policies which is an important consideration of the multinational companies (Spitzer, 1993).

Similarly the private business agencies also operate better with stringent corporate governance norms and execution (Dyck&Zingales, 2002) and reduced principal agent problem (Besley& Burgess, 2001; Besley, et al, 2002). But a lot of research attention has not been paid to the altering shifting stance and

resultant impact which foreign media projection, holds on the development process of a 'development aspiring' nation.

In the present globalized times the development process of a nation is highly dependent upon the investments made by the foreign companies in a nation and closed doors policies of government of India has often been considered as a factor which deterred India's growth till 1991 (Johri, 1983). The foreign investment is dependent upon the 'image' which the multinational companies hold about the nation where they may want to invest funds and boost the process of economic development. Mass media plays a very important role in creating perceptions about people other countries (McNelly and Izcaray, 1986) because most people get their information about people and systems outside their immediate environment through various channels of mass media (Lippmann, 1922 cited in Cho & Lacy (2000). Therefore, mass media plays a vital role in creating images about individuals, communities and nations.

Impact of Media Images and Framing on Investment

Recent studies have shown a strong correlation between media stories and stock market reactions (Tetlock, 2007; Tetlock, et al; 2008; and Peress, 2008). News stories covered in national newspapers are associated with substantial price responses on the stock market (Tetlock, 2007). This underlines the relationship between the investor and the availability of media to the investor.

With an increase in electronic media, the numbers of media

sources have grown exponentially. Availability of media reports is no longer specific to a particular geographical region. The current paper extends the research by linking FII investments to the media coverage of India by the foreign media. "Sentiment" which is broadly defined as investor psychology has been posited as an important determinant of asset price variation (Keynes, 1936; Shiller, 1990). Investor sentiment is among other things affected by the media coverage. Cindy (2013) says that it is difficult to link sentiments and asset prices, since beliefs are basically unobservable. However, she captures sentiment by "observing the qualitative tone of housing news from local newspapers- by calculating the difference between the positive and negative words across newspaper articles". Also, the literature on asset price bubbles establishes that media reflects and builds sentiment through an incentive to cater to readers preferences over a particular asset (Kindleberger, 1978; Galbraith,1990; Shiller, 2005). It is therefore a mix of behavioral and fundamental factors that has an impact on asset prices, which are in turn governed by their demand as measured by the flow of money. The fundamental factors which are responsible for FII investments in India are the returns available in the domestic stock markets, the exchange rates, IIP data, short run interest rates, inflation, country risk ratings and the Beta of the Indian stock market. This list is not exhaustive, however apart from these fundamental factors the psychological reason (read sentiment) for investments have been looked into with the help of the content analysis and categorization of the news reports by NYT about India.

Methodology

The New York Times (NYT), America's leading daily was selected to draw out data for the media coverage about a developing nation and here India was chosen as a sample of the developing world because apart from India China is another preferred destination for investment but access to both media and financial data for China was difficult to procure while that of India was available on public domain through reliable sources. Since the study was targeted at mapping the association between media coverage and foreign investments post globalization, total number of news articles pertaining to India which featured in NYT were noted and the top 25 news articles of each year from 1991- 2010 were filtered through "relevance" from the NYT website and downloaded. A total number of 500 news articles were downloaded. Of these 500 news articles, 120 articles dealt with 'Business and Personal Finance' (BPF) which were used for content analysis to segregate BPF news as positive, negative or neutral news.

To measure the association between the BPF news and the investments made by foreign institutions in India, the net cumulative investments made by foreign institutional investors (FIIs) in India between 1991- 2010 was downloaded (indiastat.com, 2014).

Analytical Tool and Technique

There may be several reasons for a lagged relationship between FII investments and positive BPF news. A simple correlation coefficient

is insufficient to characterize the relationship between FII investments and positive BPF news. Instead, the cross correlation function which is correlation between the two series shifted one against another as a function of the number of observations of the offset is used.

A correlation between the FII investments made in India from 1991 – 2010 and the total business news published by NYT about India was checked. Further, a correlation was also checked between positive BPF news and the FII investment in India. A lag effect of one year was taken because investments decisions by institutions are process driven which entails a time loss. So media impact on investments is studied with a time lag due to the time lost in the decision making process on account of organizational procedures, ‘psychological and technological’ reasons. FII’s often do not change “investment patterns” even if there are changes in the “investment environment” due to ‘inertia or habit’ (Larsen and Lomi, 2002; Dean and Mayer, 1996). They are not sure whether the “change” is “permanent” or “transitory” and would therefore want to wait and watch.

Results and Analysis

Business and Finance news (BFN) about India forms a small component of the total news covered by NYT about India. Other categories in which news is covered is political and governance news, accidents and art and culture. BFN about India in has largely been positive. Table 1 below shows the composition of BFN.

Table 1: News about India in NYT

Year	News Reports				
	Total Reports about India	Business & Finance News (BFN)	Positive News (PN)	Negative News (NN)	Neutral News (NeuN)
1991-2010	138391	120	65	34	21

To understand the impact of news on the investment made in India a correlation was checked between the BFN covered by NYT about India and the foreign institutional investments made in India from 1991-2010. Further for a sharper understanding of the type of news and investment a correlation was checked between positive news (PN) and the investment. All the correlation values were less than .4 indicating weak correlations between the institutional investments and Business and Finance news (BFN) coverage about India. The positive news also showed a weak correlation with the investments made by in India.

Table 2: Correlation without the Time Lag

	FII	PN	TN	BFN
FII	1	0.34826	0.33036	0.30363
PN	0.34826	1	0.23185	0.89026
TN	0.33036	0.23185	1	0.27304
BFN	0.30363	0.89026	0.27304	1

Since the nature of the data indicated a possibility of a time lag, the impact of total news and BFN on the investment was checked with

a one year time lag. The correlation between BFN and FII was moderate but foreign investments were found to be highly correlated with the PN as the correlation value is greater than .7

Table 3: Correlation with One Year Time Lag

	FII	PN	TN	BFN
FII	1	0.71692	0.31164	0.56236
PN	0.71692	1	0.20252	0.89694
TN	0.31164	0.20252	1	0.26367
BFN	0.56236	0.89694	0.26367	1

Conclusion

The study shows an exponential rise in the number of news items which NYT carried about India over this period. There has been a change in the category and type of news report from neutral to positive and the news reporting is more visually aided with photographs and pictures. A similar pattern is noticed in the foreign investments by institutions which have grown over a period of time. This indicates an existence of a relationship between positive news coverage by independent media and a rise in the amount of investments made by foreign institutions in India.

Impact of media coverage on investments has been an area which has gathered a lot of attention because spread of information through technology aided media channels has led to broader dissemination and increased awareness. As the electronic medium has reduced the geographical barrier and therefore, post globalization media of the developed nations has stepped up the focus and attention it pays to the economic activities of the

developing nations. Investments made by institutions and retailers are dependent on media which is considered as the only authentic source of neutral information on account of which the centrality and prominence enjoyed by media in decision making is growing. The mass media coverage about India in the foreign media had a positive impact on the FII's investment decision about India as a destination. The rise in the positive news coverage about India in foreign media and a lagged rise in the FII investment is a clear indication of the "information effect".

It can therefore, be seen that with an increase in mass media coverage about India and with a special focus on higher positive news coverage, the inherent risk of investing in India reduces for an FII, and therefore results in an increase in investment activity

Limitations and Scope of Further Research

CLC is a very popular method for identifying causal relationships in psychological and education research (Rogosa, 1980). However, if the individual series are auto correlated then the CLC can be misleading and distorted as a measure of the lagged relationship. This we can overcome by the process of "prewhitening" or through the "impulse response function". Further work in this area is possible after checking the data for autocorrelation. Drawing similar references for other developing countries might not be possible since the data pertains to only India.

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Contextual Analysis of Current Media Governance & Policies in Pakistan

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Abstract

This paper raises concerns regarding the role of PEMRA and the rules governing the content on Pakistani television. The paper aims to identify the different phenomena which have become common place in the Pakistani media these days. In the later section, it tries to isolate and discuss the historical development of the adopted western cultural ideals, which author's argue led to these phenomena.

Keywords: *PEMRA, Pakistani television, Policies, media*

Introduction

In the year 2002, General Pervaiz Musharraf gave the go ahead to establish Pakistan Electronic Media Authority (PEMRA), which for the first time in Pakistan's history, opened the gates for private media. The aim of PEMRA among other things has been to one, Improve the standards of information, education and entertainment, and second to enlarge the choices available to the people of Pakistan in the media for news, current affairs, religious knowledge, art, culture, science, technology, economic development, social sector

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concerns, music, sports, drama and other subjects of public and national interest(PEMRA, 2002).

Although a closer look at the content of more than 80 licensed channels, one could see that channels remain unbridled. The content showed on these, crosses religious and cultural limits more than often. Although code of conduct has been issued but we witness that neither channels adhere to them in true spirit neither does PEMRA take any significant actions against the violators.

Media broadcasts offensive programs and advertisements that one finds hard to watch alongside family. Vulgar dances and songs are shown in the backdrop of almost every news. The re-enactment and dramatization of crimes in the garb of investigative journalism is pushing society towards sensationalism and violence. Advertising has been blatantly used women as a source of attraction. Making use of skimpily clad and good-looking women as mere objects to lure customers towards advertised products or services has become the tool of choice of advertisers. In this way women are being used as a cheap and effective instrument to sell products even with which women have no concern. This practice of utilizing women to add charm to the screen and using them as marketable commodity is deteriorating the self-esteem of women. This also reinforces women's subordinate positions and discredits their intellectual and productive role in the society(Institute of Policy Studies, 2009).

Pakistani media has desensitized people and especially youth to violence and sexual behaviors through rampant exposure. The rise of celebrity culture has also fueled these temptations with over

glorifying materialism in songs, movies and shows. It appears that nation has lost its religious, cultural and traditional values and they are now extinct from our everyday lives. The assault of international media has made us doubt our own national identities.

Over the years, members of the public have raised such issues in the court of law since these subtle messages through the media are playing havoc with the young generations. Unfortunately government has been able to dodge these attacks by using the multi-polar nature of culture as armor. For example in year 2012 Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry while hearing a case, observed that media is “spreading vulgarity” and PEMRA is completely silent over the matter. It is interesting to note that the then chairman of PEMRA, Javed Jabbar, told the court that laws regulating content of the programs were not properly defined and that vulgarity was relative. “Something which is vulgar to the complainants might not be vulgar to you and me” (Khan, 2012). This relativism has crippled our national belief system.

It is vital to dig out the causes which have resulted in moral, ethical and spiritual degradation of the Pakistani media. It is imperative to look into the roots of these changes which Pakistani media has blatantly adopted since only then we would be able to see the reasons behind its downfall.

Explanation of Phenomena

There have been a number of milestones which played a significant role in establishing the media policies in Pakistan. In 1980's when General Zia ul Haq came into power, he steered the media towards

the path of Islamization which involved ban on airing of music and making females wear head scarves in addition to many other such steps. During the subsequent regimes of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, PTV was reduced to nothing but a mouthpiece of the state.

In 1995, Javed Jabbar along with Dr. Mubashar Hasan filed a constitutional petition referring to the interpretation of Article 19 of the constitution which refers to the freedom of press. It was highlighted that there is a need to redefine 'press' as 'mass media' as in modern time both expressions hold the same meaning and include television and radio as well. Supreme Court of Pakistan was requested to look into the working of the Government which, by creating private monopolies in TV, had encroached upon a number of constitutional rights of the citizens of Pakistan including, elimination of Exploitation (Article 3), freedom of trade, business or profession (Article 18), freedom of expression (Article 19), equality of citizens (Article 25) and preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution (Article 38A). The petition was heard and deemed worthy of hearing but soon the then government of Benazir Bhutto came to an abrupt end and the case forgotten.

Javed Jabbar became a minister in the subsequent care taker government and was instrumental in the formation of Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance (EMRA). The succeeding government of Nawaz Sharif did not take much interest in it and the above mentioned act was never passed by the parliament.

This was exactly the time when due to lack luster performance of PTV and the widespread presence of cable TV, Indian channels started to gain popularity and proliferate our society. In

order to curb the onslaught of Indian channels which according to the then Minister for Information and Media Development, “between the song and dance ... seek to undermine the rationale that validates and motivates Pakistaniat ”, General Pervaiz Musharraf gave the go ahead to establish Pakistan Electronic Media Authority (Jabbar, 2003).

Big tycoons, some with murky backgrounds, jumped on the bandwagon and established colossal media houses by getting licenses (Amir, 2013). Media became oblivious to its real responsibility of educating and informing people. Just a casual glance at the content shows that media which should have been a manifestation of societal values is entrenched in family melodrama and yellow journalism ("The decline of the Pakistani media," 2015).

Profits have taken the center stage because of which priorities are no more aligned with the national agenda. Coverage of national tragedies and social issues are sidelined for content which is more sensational and rating friendly. Impartial and ethical reporting has become a trivial issue. There is no regard for the regulatory bodies as well as myriad directives, ordinances and orders issued by these bodies. PEMRA's Code of Conduct which prohibit from “airing programs that are against basic cultural values and good manners, and the sanctity of home, family and marital harmony” falls on deaf ears. “Well the west does it” is the answer thrown at the face. Media acts as a moral and ethical police of the public and public offices but when it comes to self-accountability, they become defensive and label it as stifling of freedom of speech(Bandial, 2015).

Here we would like to identify different phenomena which have become commonplace in the Pakistani media these days. Then

in the later section, we would isolate and discuss the historical development of the adopted western cultural ideals, which according to us have led to these phenomena.

Freedom to Self-Regulate

A significant portion of what is being presented in Pakistani mass media is hypothetical and under-researched. Most of what reaches the public is based on biased views. As is the case nowadays views and news are amalgamated and the result is a blend of incoherent mess. The content of news media including current affairs programs is of more concern as regulating them is more complex than just distributing broadcast licenses.

There are multiple factors which mold the content. In recent history, rating agencies and media houses have garnered unprecedented power to shape what is being telecasted on the television. They are in possession of big chunks of time slots which they subsequently use to provide benefits to advertiser-clients. All these activities are done behind the scenes and the audience is completely clueless. This cloak of invisibility also helps these organizations to evade accountability when they compromise public interest due to higher profits(Jabbar, 2012).

It is government's prerogative to issue permits and licenses. Although when it comes to deciding the limits of what is permissible, the laws are susceptible to several interpretations. The prime question being that who would be the ultimate authority to decide what is considered moral or amoral. The problem of

regulation roots from the fact that media content can be very unpredictable and needs constant surveillance.

Usually a synthesis of three sets of regulation is typically suggested to reign in the media. The first type would be self-regulation by participants of the media themselves but this practice can prove feasible only if regulators are free and unbiased. Second type of regulation could involve bringing public, media experts and journalists onto the panel. Finally a third type which is also the most daunting one is social regulation by which the public interest is given more weight than the commercial interest of media houses and government (Jabbar, 2012).

In all of the above mentioned regulatory techniques there are certain assumptions which have been taken as universal truths. Firstly, it is assumed that human beings can be “independent” or value-free. If this assumption does not hold true then hiring independent professionals or asking people to devise legislations regarding regulation of media would always remain a biased affair. Secondly, when talking about social regulation, it is assumed that society as an aggregation of individuals would be able to move towards some kind of collective benefit. It can be observed that time and again more independence is demanded by the media. They want more breathing space and freedom to make their own decisions. All these demands of the modern media have sprouted from certain assumptions which have their roots in the western cultural ideals, and would be discussed later in this paper.

Obscene Content/Women’s Objectification

Nowadays media is the major source of recreation but unfortunately

in the name of entertainment and fun, media is promoting vulgarity and obscenity. Every society has some social, religious and ethical values and media should be cognizant of such values but our media distorts the aesthetic taste of people. Vulgarity in TV programs, brutality in sports (Boxing and Free-Style Wrestling and Bull fighting etc.) and obscenity in advertisements cannot be called entertainment (Jan & Akbar, 2009). Even advertisements that target children as their audience are replete with explicit and suggestive terms and images. The safest option for kids has always been the cartoons but these days even that is risky because of the excessive vulgarity quotient in it (Hasan, 2011).

The PEMRA ordinance's definition of 'acceptable content' is quite unclear and thus leaves the decision on the subjectivity of the content editors. This is the reason why we see media crossing limits every now and then (Zaidi, 2014). For instance when in a Pakistani court it was pointed out that some programs make mockery of politicians and leaders, the now ex-chairman of PEMRA is reported to have said that such programs are "in good humor" and that such programmes "are enjoyed." In agreement with his statement, the Judge said that such programs are telecasted globally and have never faced any opposition. Justice Pervaiz said that even in Western societies, president's parodies are shown on TV. The Chief Justice instructed the ex-chairman to categorize programs according to proper ratings as it is practiced in the West so that the audience have a clear idea of the content of the program they are about to watch (Khan, 2012).

It is interesting that how in the case mentioned above,

Western media practice was considered to be a justification for what is being presented on the national media. There is a need to look at the roots of this cause as to why certain media practices emanate from Western culture.

Profits as the Prime Focus

The foremost occupation of the media is to sell viewers to advertisers. In this way advertisers gain the upper hand, since without their support media would lose its economic edge. As Chomsky and Herman said, "The idea that the drive for large audiences makes the mass media 'democratic' thus suffers from the initial weakness that its political analogue is a voting system weighted by income!" (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 16)

Television channels have engaged in a rat race of ratings as it is clearly evident from the views of a news director of a channel, "I spend most of my time monitoring the news ticker on other channels to make sure I don't miss anything. Since the only thing the channel owners care about is ratings, we need to break the same news as everyone else, and I feel the pressure to compete" (Yusuf, 2013). On multiple occasions, media tends to favor more controversial news which is bound to result in more revenue instead of something which is although more significant but is less likely to create a hype.

The problems inherent in the market model have also emerged in media environment. For example if governments do not interfere and rely on the invisible hand to drive the whole scenario towards an end which is beneficial to all, then usually we see that greed drives people towards worse. Monopolies, oligopolies and

cartels start to emerge where a handful of people try to take the control of the entire industry. Pakistan is also facing media monopolies and concentration of media ownership since PEMRA ordinance has allowed cross ownerships in up to four satellite, TV, FM radio licenses (Rasul & McDowell, 2012; Zaidi, 2014)

Biased Coverage

Another phenomenon which closely relates to profits being the prime focus of all media related activities is the prevalence of biased coverage on different political, economic and social issues. In Pakistan inconvenient realities are sometimes permitted to go on air to give an aura of impartiality so the media could refute allegations of siding with a particular viewpoint. As Chomsky and Herman put it: "the 'naturalness' of these processes, with inconvenient facts allowed sparingly and within the proper framework of assumptions, and fundamental dissent virtually excluded from the mass media (but permitted in a marginalized press), makes for a propaganda system that is far more credible and effective in putting over a patriotic agenda than one with official censorship" (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. Preface).

The power elites often put journalists or entire media houses on their payroll and in this way circulate the news which is important to their own interest. Experts which appear on talk-shows are also at times linked to those organizations which are funded by corporate sector and affluent families. To uphold their place, government and businesses spend money to make things "comfortable" for news agencies. They offer journalists facilities such as advance copies of

speeches, governmental reports and press conferences. They also strategically organize press conferences which makes it easy for journalists to give them due space and air time. This means large organizations of the power elite support the mass media by playing their role in cutting down of the media's costs of obtaining news updates. In this way, these organizations get privileged access to media. Considering this scenario, it is a far-fetched notion that media coverage of news would ever be free from biasness.

In all the above mentioned phenomena which are prevalent in Pakistani media, there is a reason why parallels can be drawn between media practices in Pakistan and West. Over the years our government and organizations have applied "European and North American strategies and institutional paraphernalia to societies and cultures where they simply do not fit" (Wiarda, 1981). Under the garb of foreign aids and assistances, these ideals have also permeated into the practices of Pakistani media as well.

The roots of phenomena such as Freedom to self-regulate, culturally inappropriate and biased content can be discerned in the western cultural ideal of political liberalism. Moreover this approaches where people solely focus on maximizing choices for given goals is known as utility maximization in modern economics and has its roots in a cultural ideal of individualism. In the next section we aim to see that how these ideals were initially developed in the Western society and subsequently how they made their way to East.

Historical Development of Cultural Ideals

Here we would like to trace the historical roots and the subsequent

development of these Western cultural ideals i.e. political liberalism and individualism which are playing havoc with Pakistani media. It is critical to note that these ideals reinforce the instrumental picture of agency which emerged from the scientific picture of the world. The uniqueness of instrumental rationality (goal-instrumental /zweckrational approach) lies in the fact that it considers that an individual takes an action in social domain only after considering the costs and the various tools/resources available. It believes that deliberations before a social action are similar to those before an action which involves lifting a heavy object. This approach also came to be known as “means-ends” since under this conception only the goal (end) and resources (means) are the prime focus and if acting morally in a certain situation does not help to achieve the desired goal then (according to this conception) a person ought to refuse to act morally. Instrumental rationality stems from the scientific ideal of the Enlightenment age. Under this instrumental picture of world view, worth of aims is not in question as long as they serve the interest of an individual. Complementing the modern scientific age, such world view involves making decision irrespective of social, cultural, religious and historical contexts(Bishop, 2007).

Political Liberalism

It is an ideal which lies at the heart of liberal values, which staunchly support noninterference of state machinery in an individual’s life. It is an important political ideal, known as *political liberalism*. According to this ideal, the state should not stand by a particular conception of what constitutes a perfect life i.e. it should not matter to the government whether the aim of an individual (or in this case media

houses) is happiness, honor, integrity, wealth or fame. Similarly government should not side with any particular religious or sexual norm. Working contrary to this is considered an attack on autonomy and individuality, both of which have their roots in instrumental picture of the world(Bishop, 2007).

Liberalism became a political drive during the Enlightenment era, and it became a rage among intellectuals of the West. Ideas prevalent at that time such as hereditary rights, state religion and kingship were disallowed by liberalism. John Locke is often credited with establishing liberalism as a separate philosophical institution. Locke contended that each man has the right to life, liberty and property, and that governments must not encroach upon these privileges based on the social contract(Locke, 1690).

Famous revolutionaries made use of liberal philosophy to defend the coup d'état against what they perceived as despotic rules. Liberalism began to gain ground swiftly; particularly after the French Revolution. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, first penned down in 1789 in France, is the foundation of both liberalism and human rights. The 19th century witnessed liberal governments coming to power in nations across Europe, South and North America. During the 20th century, liberal ideology strengthened as liberal democratic nations triumphed in world wars. Nowadays, liberal parties continue to exercise control across the globe, accompanying an obligation towards limited government control and laissez-faire economic policies (Kalkman, 2011). Historically political liberalism is also connected with the concept of autonomy, which was developed as a comparison to the sovereign

self-government of individual nation states. Although autonomy in human context has been difficult to define but it certainly involves external factors such as the right and privilege to live life free from any kind of mediation from the state or the people. It also involves internal factors such as the psychological capacity for self-government and the ability to make our own decisions and decide the course of our lives. Any involvement of the world with the self is considered an attack on an individual's autonomy and integrity. This ideal is reinforced by the intense liberationist or anti-authoritarianism of modern Western culture (Taylor, 1992). This strong drive for autonomy in modern times dates back to Enlightenment age and aims to free people from all form of superstitions, prejudices, authorities. The Enlightenment ideal of autonomy aims to disregard customs, traditions and authority and become an autonomous, self-defining individual. The ground reality is that this deep commitment to autonomy leaves society with no fundamental values which are shared by the society. No matter how much the liberalist repeat the slogan of "live and let live", emphasis on autonomy would create clash of wills and powers.

Individualism

The concept of freedom of speech/expression which has permeated in our society provides a shield to the media who in its name churn out whatever they wish. Freedom of speech has its roots in a form of individualism (a western cultural ideal), known as expressive individualism. It is steered by the belief that each human being has a particular core of feelings and intuition, which require an outlet to be

realized. A person would not develop as a human being if these feelings are suppressed or if they are not respected. These are the lines on which today's drive for freedom of speech is built. Therefore, whenever someone is hindered from speaking about something (no matter how hurtful, blasphemous or derogatory), it is considered a direct attack on a person since expressive individualism has linked freedom of expression with basic human rights.

This form of liberal individualism arose out of the Romantic movement of the late 18th and 19th centuries as a counter narrative to the rationalistic and calculating atmosphere of that age. Romanticism takes pride in closeness to nature, instincts, mythical consciousness, beauty and art (Bishop, 2007).

In modern times this expressive individualism has found its culmination in the form of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was approved on December 10th, 1948 at the General Assembly of the United Nations. The General Assembly made it mandatory to all member countries to make public the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

The International covenant on civil and political rights (ICCPR) Article 19 (1 & 2) gives citizens of the signatory countries the right to freedom of expression; This right comprises freedom to search, obtain and convey all kinds of information and ideas irrespective of borders, either verbally, in writing or in print, in the form of art or through any other media of his choice. "This has its roots in the same process that led to the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights. A "Declaration on the Essential Rights of Man" had been proposed at the 1945 San Francisco Conference which led to the founding of the United Nations" (General Assembly resolution 217 A (III), 1948).

Pakistan is also a signatory of these declarations and thus subsequently the essence of this declaration found its way in Pakistan's constitution and different ordinances. PEMRA's ordinance is also no exception.

Another offshoot of liberal individualism is utilitarian individualism and it focuses on maximization of happiness or welfare of an individual or group/society. This disguised cultural ideal gets its vent in the practices of our media industry. The rise of utilitarian ethics and marginal revolution coupled with the powerful media hasn't bode well with the society. It reduces human being into a rational calculator with a sole aim to maximize self-interest. Commitment to this ideal is nothing but the acceptance of the conceptual ideal of instrumental rationality.

The main intellectual impact on 19th century liberal tendencies were of Adam Smith and other classical economists, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, established majority of the concepts of economics. Smith wrote that as long as supply, demand, prices, and competition were allowed to move freely without government intervention, self-interest, rather than selflessness, would maximize the wealth of a society through profit-driven production of goods and services (Smith, 1776).

According to Smith an "invisible hand" directs society

towards collective benefit as they strive to maximize profits. This stance provided the foundational grounds for wealth accumulation which hitherto was considered an objectionable act. Utilitarianism gave the rationale for economic liberalism. Despite the earlier bend of this movement towards welfare, as envisaged by John Stuart Mill, it turned out to be an excuse for noninterventionist movement (Richardson, 2001).

This ideal results in an over emphasize on predictive success and pushes towards an 'anything goes' attitude. This instrumental approach leaves truth at the expense of usefulness. These ideals also gave rise to the concept of *homo economicus* compared to *homo reciprocans*. Supported by the ideas of John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and finding its concrete meaning in rational choice theory of Lionel Robbins, *homo economicus* or economic man conception viewed human beings as rational and self-interested individuals who as consumers aim solely for utility maximization and as producers aim just for economic profits. On the other hand conception of *homo reciprocans* viewed human beings as motivated towards collective good. The following words of Smith do give us an idea as to under which light human actions were being analyzed in that era. "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest." (Smith, 1986).

Ceteris Paribus is also a part and parcel of this cultural ideal. *Ceteris Paribus* means that people can hold only a certain number of variables constant while performing economic analysis but in reality when they apply such a model, there can be many unwanted

repercussion. Ideally in such a case, economic model should not be applied but when goals are being achieved 'getting' takes precedence over 'getting it right'. We witness media destroying millions of households by showing indecent material but as long as profits are being made, everything else is ignored.

Analysis

Serious questions have been raised against media since its global rise. Although touted to be free and fair, nowadays it is marred with "rampant growth of commercialization, decline of public broadcasting, dominance of entertainment programming and a lack of genuine diversity in program genres" (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). It is developing at a break neck speed and establishing its roots in all the emerging economies of the world.

There is talk of media freedom but at the front of media accountability there is complete silence. In the clash for higher profits media personnel often resort to distorting reality and making mountain out of a mole hill. Media, which enjoys unprecedented powers and hold public under their sway, is divided along the lines of ideologies and for some "money is also an ideology" (Siddiqi, 2014).

Like US, Pakistan also has a liberal outlook towards its media policies. The ideal of free market economy in which we allow the market forces to act freely without any governmental intervention is also applied to media. Government does not supervise daily operations of the media and let the market decide the media output. Pakistani media left their responsibility as gatekeepers and have

allowed a frenzy of shock tactics to go on unchecked. The fine line between facts and opinions is blurred out by the incessant talk shows. This blurring on one hand has created confusion among the masses and on the other hand has made media itself shift from one standpoint to another (Rehman, 2014) “reducing the media to a genre of mediocrity, hypocrisy and degeneration” (Pasha, 2000). Unreasonable commercialization has given the reigns of Pakistan media in the hands of the corporations who pay for advertisements. Money is the deciding factor behind portrayal of different viewpoints on channels. Media tycoons are busy saving their own business interests which span multiple industries. These shady practices have downgraded media to a supplier of infotainment which includes substandard tabloid journalism; leaving public unable to differentiate between truth and fiction (Shah, 2013).

Media treats audience instrumentally for the goal of maximizing the welfare. These days we witness an onslaught of mindless shows without any consideration for the moral and ethical values of the society just to gather ratings. This gives us a picture of a society which becomes increasingly rationalized and progressively unable to evaluate the worth of its output other than personal preferences or sheer desire. Modern society with affinity for instrumental view would lead towards overly exuberant lifestyles disregarding what is best for the collective welfare. It focuses on the most efficient and effective means to achieve a particular end disregarding any moral justifications. Instrumental rationality tends to focus on the 'hows' of an action, rather than its 'whys' (Bishop, 2007).

Baker (2001); Robert W McChesney (2003); Robert Waterman McChesney and Nichols (2002)), maintain that cross-media ownership results in 'oligopolistic dominance' resulting in privatization of information (Masterman, 1985). This sentiment is voiced all over the world by people. Pope John Paul II said in 2000: "...Journalism cannot be guided by economic forces, profit and special interest. It must instead be felt as a mission in a certain sense sacred, carried out in the knowledge that the powerful means of communication have been entrusted to you for the good of all" but unfortunately the underlying concept of working for the public good has been replaced by the greed to extract profits out of the airwaves. It is now the "personal, political and corporate agendas driving the Pakistani media industry" (Husain, 2012).

The treatment of a person as a tool for the objectifiers purposes is quite evident in media's objectification of women. This is practiced persistently and effects the society. The "ideal" woman as portrayed by the media is damaging as people are made to run after an unachievable image of femininity. Women are enslaved in this perception of being a mere object or prize.

This portrayal of woman has also set high and unrealistic standards of beauty for both women and men. On one hand women get frustrated trying to reach those standards. They become dissatisfied with their overall life and low self-esteem and eating disorders become frequent occurrences in the general female population. On the other hand men compare women in their lives to what they witness on electronic and print media. These men consider women's modeling as an indication of their longing to be treated as

they are depicted on the media. Society both at individual and collective level suffer from this objectification. This malicious cycle which never lets an individual get satisfied with what he has, keeps pushing society towards risky situations as relationship lose their worth (Berberick, 2010).

Unfortunately, when one stops believing in any particular conception of good life then every individual starts running after their very own conception. This might not prove beneficial for the society as a whole. Although political liberalist believe that they can come up with a conception of good life which is best for all since they can use value-free methods. This belief that there can be value-free methods in social sciences similar to natural sciences is also a misconception enforced due to the popularity of scientific method. Nature of social sciences is definitively unlike the physical phenomena which we study under natural sciences and which may or may not follow natural laws. There is definitely room in social sciences for objective reality. Therefore, no matter which conception of good life liberalist come up with, it would always be value-laden and would be favoring one segment of the society over another. Pakistani media seems to be suffering from the same problem where media houses, government and different segments of public have different views regarding the working of media.

Everywhere there is talk of freedom of speech but all we have seen in the name of media freedom is a downward spiral towards sensationalism. Usually it is thought that these ideals would lead to tolerance and respect for each other's views but when one considers his own views as a panacea for all world problems then it generates

intolerance. According to Western culture as long as you are not hurting someone physically and monetarily then it is fine to express opinions regardless of how blasphemous or insulting they are. The recent controversies regarding the drawing of caricatures of Holy Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) is a stark evidence of the cultural insensitivity of expressive individualism.

If this situation is analyzed solely on efficient causation then yes, making a caricature of a person is not supposed to hurt anybody. Only when this situation is put into historical, cultural and moral perspective; we are able to see the significance and consequences of such an act. The mechanical way of understanding presupposes that the meaning of freedom of speech is same for all people on the globe (Kays, 2012).

Unlike the instrumental picture of the world where humans are treated like molecules governed by efficient causation, humans are far more complex entities. If we remain entangled in the cultural ideals of autonomy and individualism then ultimately everyone would become well equipped to get what he wants instead what someone else wants for him. It would portray a very disengaged, impersonal and mechanistic picture of the world leading to social isolation and a troubling emptiness (Bishop, 2007).

Martin Heidegger, a fierce critic of instrumental rationality, was of the opinion that individual's instrumental relationship with the world is one of the gravest dangers and threats of modern times. It is even detrimental to the human soul and may lead to moral nihilism.

Max Horkheimer was also of the view that instrumental knowledge

would make social and moral values subjective and irrelevant. He also thought that this type of knowledge is the cornerstone of oppressive industrial culture of capitalism (Zalta, 2009) and this would lead to negligence of important values which have until now kept traditional societies together.

Guignon (2002) believes that under such rationality a person is a living cost-benefit calculator and continuously in search for most efficient ways to his desired goals. This technical approach does not reap any intrinsic rewards rather only extrinsic benefits. On the other hand the most fulfilling social experiences in life are those which give us intrinsic gratification and make us a wholesome person. Such experiences can only be achieved through a 'whole-structure' where you act while keeping your complete life in view. This view is beautifully captured in the following verse of Allama Muhammad Iqbal

Translation: "Life is higher than the calculation of profit and loss; Life is sometimes living and sometimes forfeiting living."

One cannot be autonomous and remain a social entity at the same time. There is a need to create a more holistic picture of human activity where it is realized that human actions have a profound effect on other human beings as well. We should strive to adopt a *wertational* approach which does not solely aims towards fulfilling goals rather aims towards a well-lived life where our goals fit nicely into the overall society.

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Satellite TV in Iran and the western cultural assault: From prohibition to conditional freedom

Kamaladdin Nikraftar Khiabani

Abstract

The Islamic Republic of Iran since 1979 has been rallying for support against the Western World usage of modern ways in a widespread "Cultural Assault". In 1990 Satellite TV was introduced and Iranian's got the chance to watch Western programs but soon The Islamic Republic of Iran declared satellite TV as a threat and prohibited its watching in 1994. Despite government's strong opposition, Iranian citizen's interest in satellite TV has increased over the last couple of decades and the use of satellite TV has become more common. Present article interprets the policies of Iran's system, especially Iran's broadcasting, in dealing with satellite TV while exploring its varying position through multiple religious regimes in Iran. It argues that this challenge will continue to be a pressing one in the eyes of the Iranian government.

Keywords: *Communication Policies, Cultural Assault, New Media, Satellite TV, Television, Broadcasting.*

Introduction

Globalization has become a common phenomenon around the world and even Iran finds itself exposed to it. According to most scientists, the process of globalization has gained a lot of momentum in recent years with the help of new media technologies. According to Stevenson (2008, p. 301), in the years after 1980, the American culture spread throughout the world by way of new and improved media access with widespread availability. The result being that Western Culture and Lifestyle, based on ideologies such as Liberalism and Capitalism, has spread dramatically. The most important mediums which have helped to distribute the western culture are the cinema

and satellite TV.

The west could further distribute their culture by way of new media technology and the ever expanding market available for it. The present distribution has already affected the lifestyle of people across the world. According to Tomlinson (2004, p. 38) the cultural effect of globalization and the issues regarding it play an important role in people's lives.

According to some researchers, globalization has impressed on the culture of many governments and nations because of new media technologies developed over the last 30 years. In recent years, most old traditions and domestic values have been replaced with the cultural norms of the west. According to Mutlu (2005, p. 49) advanced media technologies like TV not only create a new identity for citizens, but also cooperate in creating a common global culture. This issue has resulted in most countries of the world trying to find a way to deal with the western culture's penetration. For The Islamic Republic of Iran's managers and authorities, globalization is not only the marker for distributing the system of Capitalism, but is also a western cultural assault on Muslims' beliefs and religious values.

In this article, after explaining the perspective of the Islamic Republic of Iran about their culture's globalization and new media technologies, the government's attempts at fending off the "Cultural Assault" of the west will also be considered.

Then the activity of the satellite TV in Iran from its start to the present day is explained. For this, different functioned researches done on satellite TV are used along with interviews with experts and communication policies mentioned by the government. Also, the

programs and Islamic Republic of Iran's activities which are in dealing with satellite TV are mentioned.

Islamic Republic of Iran and dealing with globalization of culture

The main reason for the sensitivity of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a result of its ideological considerations (Shahin, p. 2013; Muftuoglu, p. 2013). According to Yurdakurban (2007, p. 10), Islamic Republic of Iran has a strong religious root because a "religious scholar" had leadership of their revolution and was able to unite people from the different walks of life against a common enemy, Mohammad Reza Shah. It should be added that, most of the people of Iran are religious; the sensitivity of these people regarding the subject is derived from the teachings of Ayatollah Khomeini who has a thesis in Shia Islam and is counted as a credible reference (Chetirge, 1997, p. 40).

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, through the 400-day period (Milani, 2004, p. 41), Ayatollah Khomeini gained control as the Charismatic leader of the revolution (Farhangi, 2002; Defronzo, 2000; Beshiriye, 2009; Zibakalam, 2008; Cottam, 1989 and Dehgan 1998). Since that time, in keeping with the considerations of Imam Khomeini, who maintained popularity among the people, the country's mold formed according to the Islamic figure. Since he was against the secular system, he introduced strict policies promoting Islamic upbringing in all executive pillars of the country (Dastani, 2003, p. 39). The Islamic shariah was also consulted in the editing of the constitution of Iran and the Islamic Republic's issuance was written in the constitution (Defronzo, 2000, p. 86). According to Cleveland (2008, 480), the governing system of Iran was changed and

it formed a basis of Islamic rule.

The Islamic Government of Iran started a short time after the revolution of 1979 and continued in the leadership of Khomeini. This confederation's government in the country's executive pillars made Iran sensitive to the western globalization process and the distribution of the western culture.

This all was followed by Iran's government adopting new policies, some of which were, the broadcasting organization's expanded activity and the developing of its programs, creating research and studying centers in broadcasting & programming and planning mediums in the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. These types of communication policies led to new rules associated with the dealing of modern media technologies. Some of the rules made, with the prevention of cultural assault in mind, were, the prohibiting of the use of satellite equipment (1995), the management and supervision of the ISPs (2004) and the rules regarding cybercrimes (2009).

The Scheme of "Cultural Assault" and Its Impacts in Communication Policies

The phrase "Cultural Assault" was used for the first time by the leader of the revolution on 11th June 1992 (Yusefvand, 1998, p. 11). The main focus of Ayatollah Khamenei regarding the "Cultural Assault" was the distribution of western culture throughout the world and its lone-riding through the international field. He asked the authorities to prevent the spreading of western culture in his country. In keeping with this, the country's media activities were

planned and the programs of The Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting organization were formed. According to Farhangi (2002, p. 219), cultural assault tries to ruin the values, worth, customs and culture of the masses in a systematic manner. For this, the youth are the target with the goal being to separate them from their Islamic roots. Fakhar Tosi (2010, p. 41) believes that, the western cultural influence is a new form of invasion which unlike military action controls the thought rather than occupying the land.

Herbert Schiller introduced new media technologies for the first time in the 1960's. According to Schiller, the distribution of western culture through new media technologies is unfair as it creates "cultural domination" (Adakli, 2006, p. 34-35). Ruhani (1997, p. 103-104) states that the president of Iran commented on the western cultural invasion in the book "Islamic Republic: challenges and bases" as quoted, *'The West, with its secular system, in fact wants to separate the religious presence in people's personal lives, while the founder of Islamic Republic of Iran believed that religion is not separate from politic. After the revolution, Iran was formed by this confederation and it solved their existing cultural problems. The main goal of the cultural assault was to negate the impact of this confederation and to reestablish the cultural dominance of the west'*

Ayatollah Khamenei also believed that the weakness shown by the Islamic Revolution while dealing with the spread of the western culture was a disappointment. According to him, an Islamic county like Iran shouldn't compromise on the Islamic code of conduct and should be able to manage itself without the allies' help (Nasri, 2000, p. 61). The western world has used its advancement in media to unify a

global culture thereby overshadowing the individual cultures of society. To achieve this they used humanistic sciences and produced products such as new media services, advertisements and communication technologies like social networking. According to Ruhani (1997, p. 20)¹, in the past, colonialism was in military form, but these days it has acquired the form of victory by cultural dominance with the weapons being replaced by social influence through advanced media technologies such as satellite TV and internet. Therefore, dealing with the cultural assault of the west is an important issue for the Islamic Republic of Iran. So much is the importance of this issue that 322 formal sessions from the third period to the seventh period of the Islamic Parliament from 1988 to 2008 discussed the impact of the western cultural assault.

Following the Leaders statement the governing authorities and especially the clergy attempted widely to reinforce his concept. With the victory of the Islamic Revolution the country had fallen in the hands of the clergy and thus they formed a new level of government in Iran. With this background, naturally and as Shahin (2013, p. 18) emphasized, the primary goal of the clergies became, to preserve the Islamic Republic of Iran.

¹Ruhani (1997, p. 20-24) summarized the modern colonialism's characteristics as followed: 1- removing the borders among countries by utilizing the satellite TV 2- the power leans back on science, technology, advertisement and media 3- occupying the thought has been replaced by occupying the lands 4- by increasing the importance of satellite TV, the local mediums have lost their values, 5- reinforcing the international organizations 6- for controlling the countries, they are divided to small countries and 7- codifying the new rules in different countries depending on western countries' willing.

Satellite TV in Iran

Satellite TV historically started to work in the 1960's. These satellites were used for the first time by U.S.A. and The Soviet Union, but satellite TV in its comprehensible form became active in the 1980s (Yangin, 1987, p. 22).

In Iran, satellite TV started being watched in 1990. This delay was due to the Islamic Revolution in 1979 followed by the war between Iran and Iraq which continued till 1989. The initial use of the Satellite TV was by the rich elite as it was too expensive for the average citizen to afford. In the years to follow, by attracting people's attention, use of satellite TV became more common. In that period supply was increased, with the product costing around \$500. Today the price at average is one-fifth of that at \$100.

In the primary years, the programs of satellite TV, films and shows were recorded in video cassettes and distributed among the interested buyers. According to Mohsenianrad (2005, p. 1679), most of the shows recorded at that time were programs of Turkish cinema, such as SHOW and STAR, catering to popular demand. After several years of development and the reduced cost of equipment, Satellite TV took the video sets' place and in 1993 through Tehran's Sixth Book Fair, people had become familiar with direct broadcasting of the satellite (Huseyni, 2009, p. 19). After that, because of an increase in demand of satellite equipment, these instruments began entering the country from both the southern and western borders. In 1995, 12-million-people in Tehran (estimated 20% of population) had access to Satellite TV and this included over 500 satellite antennas. Barraclough (2001) mentions regarding the watching of satellite TV in Iran that:

what is most striking about the popularity of satellite television is the fact that so little of the programming is linguistically compatible with Iranian audiences. While the Turkish speaking Azeri minority and the Arab speaking minority in Khuzestan may have appreciated satellite programming in their respective languages, the Persian speaking majority were largely left out, with just two hours a week from the Voice of America` (p. 30).

In a short period of time the interest in satellite TV became widely spread. This rapidly spreading technology got the authorities concerned as the lobbying against it became more and more severe, especially in the Parliament. In January 1995 a law prohibiting the use of satellite equipment was passed. Following this the government took responsibility for the execution of the Law, banning the buying and selling of satellite equipment. This Law was cemented through 11 Articles and 4 Notes with strict implementation. The main purpose of the Law was to deal with the western cultural assault against the Islamic Revolution and the values of the citizens of the Islamic State. It can be said that the goal for the Iranian Government was to reinforce an Islamic Lifestyle and prevent the rapid spread of the western culture. Hashemi Rafsanjani's presidency saw this Law firmly abided by, but after him through the presidency of Khatami some flexibility was created in the execution of this law.

In Iran, by paying attention to the political structure and presidential authority through changing governments, we see a drift in the execution of policies. During the initial period of satellite TV three presidents came and therefore from a practical point of view, we see three different applications of the Law prohibiting the use of

the Satellite. During Rafsanjani's period, the law was established and implemented strictly. After that during the period of Khahtmani the execution was softened. The police were not allowed to enter a house to search without a warrant issued by a judge. This was a practical change as people were given the right to their privacy. These changes inevitably resulted in an increase in the use of Satellite TV

In the first period of Ahmadinejad's presidency, action was taken to implement the law. The police started searching and gathering satellites from apartments. These raids were infrequent and normally prompted by political reasons (Bordbar, 2011, p. 58), for example when the Islamic leader would address the issue of Satellite TV, raids would become more frequent.

According to Mehmet Fuat, by the increase in availability of media in the globalization decade, the limitations among countries is reduced and a form of cultural exchange has become common with the interest in satellite TV being spread all across the globe. Therefore, with the powerful stature at which the western media industry stands, the entire world has an interaction with the western culture. A major share of this interaction is through western TV shows which depict the norms of their society (Dogon, 2008, p.192). According to McQuail, TV has increased our educational capacity and distributed structure and information equally around the world (Mutlu, 2005, p.92). Friedman believes that TV could accomplish the process of globalization and the distribution of western culture around the world (Dogon, 2008, p.194). Stevenson (2008, p. 283) emphasizes on the power of travelling through the screen of a TV while sitting at home.

The satellite TV had interested buyers in most of the big cities in Iran. According to Ahmadkhani (2011, p. 19-20), the main reason for this is the luxurious lifestyle prevalent in the big cities coupled with the cheap, readily available nature of satellite TV equipment. The receiver which is an essential part of the satellite was smuggled into the country, coming from Dubai and Iraq to Iran. A complete set of satellite tools was available for \$100. So, cheap cost was certainly one of the major factors attracting people to this product.

Upon interaction with the citizens in possession of Satellite TV, one can see that they believe it is their right and social freedom to have satellite access. In this regard the opinion of the masses greatly differs from that of the government. A Functioned research shows that between 60 to 90% of the residents of the big cities use satellite TV (Nazari, 2011). Other researches show that in large cities 77% while in small cities and villages 24% have access to satellite TV (Rabyi & Ahmadzade Namvar 2008, p. 65-66).

"Cultural Assault" and Developing the Activity IRIB

It is possible to find a connection between Cultural Assault and Satellite TV. In the 1990s the use of satellite TV technology made the authorities of the Islamic State of Iran rise in opposition of western media. 2 years later the term "Cultural Assault" was coined and this issue developed throughout the country (Yusefvand, 1998, p. 11). All decisions made in the country in the following years were in attempt to prevent the Western Cultural Invasion.

After the statement "Cultural Assault" proliferated all across the country, the authorities, managers and clergy started to interpret and explain the different dimensions of cultural assault present on

various levels of society. Important examples of this statement are the speeches against Satellite TV published in the Keyhan newspaper. Eventually, towards the end of 1994, the law prohibiting the use of satellite TV was passed and the government made special bodies with the purpose of ensuring the law's implementation.

Iran, after obtaining new satellite TV technology and ending its ban on western media started a new era for The Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (2012). As said by Akinci (2005) the media policy of Iran after the revolution in 1979 was to defend against the western culture, but by developing the use of satellite TV, broadcasting in Iran started using latest media technology. An important event regarding this is the decision in Khatami's period to sign a 10 year contract with CNN and BBC (Khaibani, 2007, p. 495).

Another important decision for Iran Broadcasting was the buying of a satellite, as proposed on 11th of June 2006 by the Iranian Parliament. The certificate was signed by the parliament on 29th June 2008 and a budget of \$250 million was set for this purpose. After this policy all radio and TV channels in Iran were transferred to satellite in 2010. Further, by renting the Hotbird and Arapsat satellites, Iran's own TV channels finally got the chance to be broadcast. In February, 2012, the number of Iranian TV channels available on satellite TV reached 56 (Yegin, 2013, p. 75-76)².

² Channel 1 of Iran's TV includes the public programs, channel 2 includes social network, channel 3 includes sport and youth channel 4 includes the scientific network, channel 5 includes Tehran Channel. Moreover, a 24-hour news network- education network, Quran, Documentary, Bazar, and Movie, Namayesh, Shoma and Puya are being broadcasted nationally. Moreover in all 31 provinces, there is a special channel for that province.

Iran TV channels for citizens who live abroad are Jamejam 1, 2, 3- El-

Zargami (2010) the head of Iran Broadcasting emphasized the need for unthreaded channels of satellite in Iran. In his speech, he introduced Iran Broadcasting as a high potential department and added that Iran's TV channels and programs have the capacity to compete against satellite TV channels. In spite of the authorities' considerations, fans of satellite TV in Iran kept increasing.

Satellite TV in Iran: From Prohibition to Conditional Freedom

As it was mentioned before, in spite of the government's efforts to reduce the spread of satellite TV's influence, the number of fans in Iran continues to increase. Functioned researches show that a minimum of 60% to a maximum of 85% of people watching satellite TV are situated in larger, more developed cities. The most important center for the collection of statistics regarding the use of satellite TV is the Iran Broadcasting Research center. In April, 2010, a conversation with an official at this center revealed, that based on existing statistics about 60% of people in large cities have satellite access. Also, based on statistics presented by Bicheranlu, more than 60% of people in cities have satellite TV for watching.

Ali Jannati, the current prime minister of the Islamic Guidance and Culture Organization believes that prohibiting the watching of satellite TV is neither suitable, nor profitable. Jannati said in a discussion that: by paying attention to the recent development and improvement of the latest media technologies we can see that preventing or prohibiting their use is a very difficult task. According

Alam news network, El-Koser religious network, Seher foreign language networks 1, 2, 3- English language news network Press TV, Arabic Film, I Film, and Spanish Language network Hispan.

to him, based on latest statistics 70% of the citizens of Tehran have access to satellite TV and this number is only going to increase in the time to come (IRNA News Agency, 2013). Other researches show different figures, with one suggesting that 77% to 85% of people in large cities watch satellite provided television (Nazari, 2011).

In relation to the reason for the Iranian citizen's interest in satellite TV, we find a variety of issues for the local population. Based on research conducted in Tehran by the Iran Broadcasting Research Centre (2012) in 2009, the main reason for the interest in satellite TV is the unsatisfactory quality of local Iranian television. 77% of all repliers in the survey cited this reason, stating Iranian television programs as being monotonous and boring.

According to Alikhah (2012, p. 2), in spite of the applications of the Iranian system, such as the promoting of local TV programs by Iran Broadcasting and prohibiting the use of satellite TV, the public interest in satellite TV has only increased. Regarding this issue, it is necessary to mention the role of minorities in the spreading of satellite TV. As it was mentioned before Iran is a multi-cultural country where Turks, Persians, Kurds, Arabs, Lors and Baluch all live together. The minorities are naturally more interested in programs depicting their cultures, in their languages which are not available on local television. A research conducted (Rasoli, Marofi & Khanchesephehr, 2013: p. 73) showed that the lack of local television programs suitable for ethnic cultures make members of those cultural groups more inclined to watch Satellite TV. Also, according to findings of the Iran Broadcasting Research Center, the lack of leisure and entertainment in locally produced television programs is an

important factor in the increase of the audience for western TV programs.

As we know, one of the main applications of television is to provide entertaining programs for the amusement of the audience (Mutlu, 2008, p. 28). According to Postman (2012, p. 36), the main purpose of television in our daily lives is entertainment. Tabatabayi (2010, p. 83) also believes that the entertainment programs of new media like satellite TV caused the closing and convergence of culture internationally as well as in Iran and many researches support this claim (Afkhami, 2007; Tabatabayi, 2010; Dindar & Heyderbeygi, 2011; Nazari, 2011; Rasoli, Marofi & Khançesepehr, 2013).

People, interested in accessing latest information and news nowadays, refer to satellite TV. According to Ahmadkhani (2011, p. 118), Iranian citizens don't trust the news broadcasted by The Iranian Broadcasting and know it to be single dimensional and biased. Therefore to access real and accurate information people refer to proper news networks such as the BBC. According to some journalists such as Kianiand Sadegi (2013) by using new connecting technologies, we can access news and information from around the world. According to Tomlinson (2004, 18), new media technologies provide access to news and information readily from our homes. Also Gerbner (2005, p. 94) emphasized on presenting the news and vital information by new mediums on a large scale to different social groups of addressees.

One of the other reasons for the watching of satellite TV by the Iranian citizens is the satisfaction obtained from watching it. The link between Satellite TV and the satisfaction of the Iranian citizens was

proven by some researchers like Nazari (2011), Dindar & Heydarbeygi (2011), Metani, Hasanzade, & Farhangi (2012).

According to Afkhami (2007, p. 20), young people and adults have different preferences while watching satellite channels. According to him, the younger audience is more inclined to watch entertaining programs, whereas the elders prefer news and documentary programs. Throughout this research, the reasons for the spread of satellite TV can be summarized into four points. Entertainment of the audience, transmission of vital information, providing a platform for news broadcasting and finally connection of social and cultural identities. As the level of intellect and education of the audience increases they are able to better take advantage of the information available (Metani, Hasanzade, & Farhangi, 2012: p. 197-198).

In summation, most of the citizens mentioned their reason for watching satellite TV as being entertainment, which is a need not normally satisfied, as the country's policies are governed by an ideological system.

Conclusion

The satellite TV in Iran has 20 years of history, which in spite of the opposition from the governing system saw a rise in the people's interest on a daily basis. Iran's political system prohibited the use of satellite technology as well as the watching of satellite TV by Iranian citizens. As mentioned by the researcher, despite the prohibition, the popularity continued to increase, the reason being that satellite TV happens to be a great source of entertainment, as well as knowledge and information.

The vast amount of exposure carried by television coupled with the rapidly increasing number of viewers, affects the customs and cultural norms of society having a huge effect on the lives of the citizens. It is natural that the entertainment is limited to within the house, so using the basis of Mabudi's reaserch (2012, p. 122-123), the method of life of the citizens is divided into two separate phases, the life at home and the life in public. The public life, in the outdoors, is formal and follows the basis of the Islamic Regime's laws and norms. At home the method is formed by the influence of satellite TV. The difference between the two is, quite simply, the difference between the norms of society of the west and Iran, be it dress code/fashion, relationships, style or food.

According to Yangin (1987, p. 17), new media technologies have the ability to effect societies and create changes to its very roots. Amongst most new media technology the Television is regarded as the most powerful tool for spread of culture, news, information etc. The reason for its success is its sturdiness, variety and minimal cost (Kuchuk 2005, p. 308).

Other reasons for watching satellite TV in Iran can be explained by the theory of Uses and gratifications which the researcher pointed out. Elihu Katz explained the mentioned theory as follows (Yaylgu, 2006):

‘Humans include social and emotional needs. According to this theory, users solve some part of their needs. This solving is related directly to humans' freedom in selecting’ (p. 62).

One of the other attractions of satellite TV is its modernity. This

issue can be defined as the development of modernity by communication technologies. The theory was stated for the first time by Daniel Lerner during 1950. According to Lerner (2005, p. 653-654), modern communication technologies include the ability to change the thoughts and beliefs of traditional societies with regard to new issues. In Iran, the effects of this theory can be seen, especially among the youth who are more acquainted with modern technologies such as satellite TV and Internet (Garib, p. 2004, 5).

As mentioned before, satellite TV is becoming more and more common among the citizens of Iran. Regardless of this, the government continues its defense against the western cultural assault, implementing policies in keeping with basis set by the Islamic Republic System. The conclusion, therefore, can be drawn that this challenge will persist, although preventing the spread of new media technology is almost certainly impossible, the battle against Cultural Assault will continue in Iran.

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Book Review

Goldberg, Bernard. *Bias: A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distorts the News*. ISBN 0-89526-190-1

Reviewed by Fizah Shahbaz

The book "*Bias: A CBS insider exposes how the media distort the news*", by Bernard Goldberg, meticulously explains the left wing bias in the mainstream US media. The book reveals a total default on responsibility on the part of media by analyzing the media coverage of a number important events including homelessness, racism, gender roles, AIDS, and increasingly sensitive issues like terrorism and tells the readers how the popular media culture thrives on hypocrisy and double standards of liberal media elites who color the news stories to pursue their narrow agendas.

An American bestseller in non-fiction genre, the book highlights the techniques that media executives employ spin the reality and present a distorted picture of facts to the wide scale American audience. Taking CBS's lack of objectivity as a basic argument, the author – who had worked his way for 28 years up to the top of CBS news – attempts to unveil the narrowness of intellect and limitation of professional genius that overwhelms the mainstream media culture of which, he himself has been a part. Comprising of fifteen chapters, the book is written in first person pronoun and the author shares his personal experiences as a veteran CBS reporter to tell the readers that liberal bias pervades the mainstream media.

First few chapters discuss Goldberg's career life at CBS and how despite being a leftist, he witnessed the obvious liberal bias in the news coverage. He joined CBS News in 1972 and remained associated with the network for good 28 years till he was forced to resign by certain circumstantial factors in 2000. During his stay at CBS, he won seven Emmy awards for numerous journalistic endeavors. He was very much ensconced in the liberal environment at CBS as his claim regarding his political affiliation testifies. He said that he always voted for Democratic presidential candidates. However, continued trend of slanting of news at major broadcast networks of America disillusioned him and he started whining about it before the network executives. The trend, however, continued unabated.

As a consequence, he chose to go public with his criticism of the inherent liberal bias in the media. He wrote an op-ed piece in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1996 in which he fiercely criticized the coverage given

to tax proposal by media. His temerity brought him the wrath of all the media pundits who were once his friends. He was personally and professionally sidelined and his career came at the verge of destruction. People equated his move with a professional suicide on the part of Goldberg. Finally, in 2001, he wrote another op-ed in the same journal and exposed – in rather harsh words – how the so-called liberal media elites have responded to his criticism. He furthered his argument by saying that his erstwhile colleagues were so much angered and shocked because they were not aware of their inherent leftist tendency. Rather, they think they were projecting fairly reasonable views in their broadcast. Bias, according to Goldberg, had penetrated so deep down in their thinking that it comes naturally to them, without their deliberate effort.

Subsequent chapters discuss the various examples given by Goldberg to vindicate his stance. He discussed one event in one chapter and gave a detailed analysis of the event emphasizing upon the widening gap between the ground realities and mediated realities. First example comprises insistence on an ideological semantic which Goldberg referred to as politically correct language. Talking particularly about the evening news at CBS, he mentions that one is bound to use the euphemisms like ‘Native American’ and ‘handicapped’ for ‘Indians’ and ‘disabled’ respectively on air.

Next example of Goldberg revolves around the issue of homelessness in America. He gave a comparison of figures given by General Accounting Office and those given by the three leading networks i.e. CBS, CNN and NBC. No wonder, the figures were greatly exaggerated by the networks with CBS giving the most exaggerated account. He further points out that contrary to what media shows, not all homeless are deprived sympathetic people being roughed at the hands of state or fate. Rather, most of them are drug addict demented people who deserve their fate. Furthermore, he exposed the underlying agenda of media by mentioning that media was so ardent is seeking sympathy for the homeless during Republican president’s regime but it ceased to be newsworthy shortly after Democratic president took oath.

According to Goldberg, the issue of AIDS among normal heterosexuals was also a virtual threat created by media to further other underlying agendas. He said that the issue was unduly highlighted to draw people’s attention towards AIDS activist. A \$ 5 million advertising campaign was launched by the federal government

to warn people of something which, according to the author, was not really a threat.

In the chapter dealing with the feminist attack on men, the author talks about the obvious feminist stance of liberal media by comparing the number of stories devoted to feminists' cause with the number of stories devoted to men's cause, no matter how just the latter are. Goldberg explains in detail how certain policies of custody and visitation were actually exploited by women to take revenge from their male counterparts and media chose to stay totally silent over it. On the other hand, one finds stories of brutal insensitive fathers and husbands everyday on media. Goldberg claims that it is politically correct for leftist media to show women as victims in an apparently men's world.

The chapter on multiculturalism exposes the policy of certain media outlets where it is mandatory for the reporters to ad a minority reference in all the stories they cover. Goldberg calls it a veritable parody on ideological extremity. He further exposes the hypocrisy of media elites in this chapter by mentioning that one hand they call for affirmative action for the right of minorities whereas on other, they make sure their kids get admissions in top rated Ivy League schools.

Goldberg points out another very interesting ideological dilemma which is obvious yet unnoticed by many people. He says that we see people on right as being publically identified as 'Rightists' but those no left, even extreme left are not given such identifying labels. If conservatism is an ideology worth being identified with, so is liberalism. He quotes the example of Phyllis Schlafly who was publically known as a conservative, but no such ideological label was used for Catharine MacKinnon who according to author was a radical left wing professor.

Numerous thoughtful individuals have migrated from left to right over the past few decades and expressed their transition in their published works. Two books that talk clearly of the prevalence of this ideological hegemony over intellectual culture of Europe and America are worth consideration.

First one is Harry Stein's book *How I Accidentally Joined the Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy (and Found Inner Peace)*. He has long been a left wing journalist and contributed columns and editorials to several media besides writing a number of books. Unlike Goldberg, Stein's transition to right is marked predominantly by his family life when he started seeing everything through the prism of parenthood. The book shows how despite being a content liberal wedded to a content liberal wife, Stein found it relieving to watch his kids playing traditional

gender roles and his wife giving up her career to raise the kids. Where Goldberg's *Bias* has a serious, rather angry expression, Stein' book has a humorous and satirical appeal.

Another is William McGowan's *Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism*. McGowan is also a well known journalist and been associated with reputed media organizations including the Manhattan Institute. His book emphasizes on the fact that American media is exhibiting an undue yearning for multiculturalism which is distorting he gave example of USA Today where it was mandatory for the editor to feature a colored person on its front page. McGowan also referred to the case of Mathew Shepard, a homosexual who was kidnapped and murdered to cause a stir in the media and civil society. He quoted that American press published over 3000 stories about this incident. On the other hand, a young boy who was raped and murdered by two homosexuals received only 46 stories. McGowan's book pertains more to the editorializing policy of leading print media outlets and provides qualitative as well as quantitative analysis of what he calls news coloring.

Goldberg's book provides a bold and daring commentary of today's media practices and fairly exposes the shortcomings that underlie the coverage of some of the most important events in American as well as world history. One of the book's major strengths is the identity of its author. While conservatives have been whining about the liberal bias in the media for decades, it sounds more like a confession when it comes from a veteran CBS insider i.e. a liberal. Furthermore, the way Goldberg has used examples of real incidents and their coverage by mainstream media whilst mentioning stats and drawing comparisons to vindicate his point of view gives the book immense credibility and the reader is compelled to look at the news coverage critically.

One of the major criticisms on the book comprises the staleness of its arguments. Liberal bias in the media has been a topic of debate for decades and what Goldberg presented as newly found revelations is in fact his much belated realization.

Ideologically this book is a waste, for it neither stands with liberals nor with conservatives. Goldberg has vehemently criticized the liberals whilst constantly denying his allegiance to the conservatives which make his ideological allegiance pretty confusing. Several critiques find him in a very awkward position on ideological sphere. Goldberg, along with the authors of other two said books i.e. Stein and McGowan, talk

vehemently of the liberal bias that pervades the leftist media, yet insists that his arguments should not be seen as an endorsement of conservative values.

One does not need to read the book twice to find the author is extremely angry. The book clearly reflects the author's anger and frustration over the wrath of his former colleagues that he invited by going public with his criticism. At certain points in the book, Goldberg has used severely harsh words and gone fairly brutal in his condemnation of his colleagues, so much so, that the reader is forced to think whether purpose of this book was to bring objectivity in the media or to settle personal scores.

About the author

Bernard Goldberg is the winner of 12 Emmy awards for excellence in journalism. Having worked for thirty years at CBS, he now works for HBO and reports for 'Real Sports'. He is author of five books including *Bias*, namely: *A Slobbering Love Affair*, *Crazies to the Left of Me*, *Wimps to the Right*, *Hundred People Who Are Screwing Up America* and *Arrogance: Rescuing America from the Media Elite*. He has contributed editorials for *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* on a wide range of subjects. He is also a news and media analyst for Fox News where he comments regularly on the state of the press.