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Indian Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism

Aims and Scope

The journal focuses on research in journalism and mass communication. The journal is refereed scholarly journal in mass communication and provides leadership in scholarship for the field. It publishes original articles and book reviews on topics including but not limited to theoretical and methodological developments in journalism and mass communication, international communication, media technologies and society, advertising, public relations, journalism history, media law and policy, media management and economics, political communication and health communication.

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Contents

Sr. No	Article/ Authors	Pg No
01	BREXIT, Trumpism and the Agency of Populism in Contemporary Political Communication <i>- Michael Ugorji</i>	1 - 11
02	Digital Media and Educational Role Study Case of an Arabic E-Magazine <i>- Thouraya Snoussi</i>	12 - 25
03	“Fake News” is a Fake Notion <i>- Clarence W Thomas</i>	26 - 27
04	Freedom of Press and Broadcasting Media in England and Bangladesh <i>- Tariq Adnan</i>	28 - 37
05	Low Wage Crisis: Impacts on Bangladeshi Garment Sector Workers <i>- Tariq Adnan</i>	38 - 45

BREXIT, Trumpism and the Agency of Populism in Contemporary Political Communication

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ABSTRACT

Donald J. Trump's presidency and Brexit happened to the world in a flash and that flash has refused to wane. The reality of these two major socio-political upheavals has rattled pundits and since posed the question of how the events came to be. This study addresses the tangential role played by populism, which by its amorphousness and lack of any particular ideological depth readily lends itself to the services of various forms of socio-political ends. Therefore, this paper argues that the capacity of populism, as an ambivalent and radical agent of mass movements, to effectively invade the political issues space and sustain or alter the course of sociopolitical action is pivotal to the strategies that energized Brexit and Trumpism, and eventually gave them unlikely victories. Digging into the depths of this agency unearths its strategic communications powers and also establishes its salience to contemporary political ideology and rhetoric.

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Keywords: Political; Communication; People; Social

INTRODUCTION

Recent political discourses are being driven by a powerful current that is located in the remote sites of mass consciousness; and which at the moment seems unstoppable. Most researchers and analysts concerned with mass movements and their capacities to alter or sustain the course of sociopolitical action tend to agree that populism has grown to become an essential ideological stance that easily draws the masses' attention to their own insecurities and subconscious aspirations; emboldens their resistance or advocacy thereof; and invites them to make salient choices, guided or unguided, to respectively alter or foster those insecurities and aspirations.

Populism has been defined primarily as a specific political communication style or a political style that essentially displays proximity of the people, while at the same time taking an "antiestablishment

stance” and emphasizing an idealized homogeneity of the people by the exclusion of specific segments of the entire population [1]. It has also been described as a thin-centered and analytically limited ideology which advocates the sovereignty of the people as a homogeneous entity [2,3]. These perceptions of populism as a complicated, limited and conflicted ideological stance create spaces for malleability and possible exploitation by politically engaged individuals and collectives to apply it for mass manipulation purposes. This paper will demonstrate that in subsequent sections with instances from Brexit and Trump’s campaigns. Stanley [3] describes populism as “a ‘thin’ ideology which, although of limited analytical use on its own terms” interacts well with “the established ideational traditions of full ideologies”. Hence, despite its lack of ideological depth and limited capacity for analysis, populism interacts with well-established ideologies such as liberalism, Christianity, Islamism, gender politics, left and right-wing radicalisms, among other isms. This interactional flexibility with other ideological perspectives answers to its frequent adoption in the promotion of various mass-targeted ideological campaigns. Thus, populism transcends its purview as an ideological stance to become a motif of a kind in the execution of politically activated ideological campaigns; such as those run by Donald Trump and the Brexiteers during the 2016 presidential election campaigns in the United States and the EU referendum polls in the United Kingdom.

Populism has also been depicted as “a political response that favors popularity over other policy considerations”, therefore endorsing another view that casts it in the light of that which “depoliticizes the political and hyper-politicizes social relations” [4,5]. According to Panizza [4], populism also blurs the line between the public and the private and “brings into the political realm both individual and collective desires that previously had no place in public life”. Therefore, populism could be said to freely lend itself to various forms of topical social debates, cultural politics and mass movements.

METHODOLOGY

That populism was a seminal agent in the successes of the 2016 US presidential campaigns of Donald Trump and the UK EU-Referendum (Brexit) has been variously established by researchers, but the depth of that agency is what this paper dwells on. The discourse in this paper therefore, begins with a concise review of the radical concept of populism and progresses to explore the other concepts (Trumpism and Brexit) through the lens of populism. This has been done utilizing evidence from various sources comprising primary texts from Brexit and Trumpian campaigns, peer-reviewed research articles, a few influential Op-eds, as well as editorials where necessary; in order to give a proper perspective to the ensuing discourse.

The fodder of populism

It would be necessary to mention a few factors that give rise to populism with a gaze on right-wing populist movements which in many ways relate to both Brexit and Trumpian campaigns. Chief among these factors is the rising global income inequality and its attendant sociopolitical tensions. Peters and Volwahren [6] identified three factors that have been in the forefront in driving higher income inequality since 1995, namely: globalization, technological change and migration. This is however not to say that these factors have not had a real positive impact on aggregate income. It is these factors and the economic frictions that they generate that have given rise to the recent wave of right-wing populism in the western hemisphere; such as those that yielded Brexit and Trumpian sentiments. The masses that are worst hit by the fallout of these ‘adverse’ developments and the attendant economic inequality that they generated began to react and get restive about their precarious condition, giving rise to the new wave of populism.

Of all necessitating factors, globalization appears to be the chief culprit. Globalization in its wake brought along certain socioeconomic dynamics which have created both winners and losers of new globalized economic systems in Western Europe and North America. It has also created “distributional frictions between winners and losers” [7]. The eventual losers of globalization tend to be easily lured to the divisive rhetoric of right-wing populist parties [6-11]. It is then not surprising that the demographic most susceptible to Brexit and Trumpian rhetoric and which were most animated in their support of these campaigns, comprised the classical losers of the new economic order; rural-dwelling, middle-class and working-class natives, as will be demonstrated below.

Hence, globalization being a determining factor, exhibits “the potential to alter the political issue space as well as the institutional opportunities available to political actors”; thereby enhancing its propensity to drive support for radical right populist (RRP) parties and their ideas [8,12]. This explains the recent growth of RRP in Europe, which exploit the fears and vulnerabilities of the citizens to win support by championing tough immigration laws and proposing a less powerful European Union [7,9,12].

It would be recalled that at the end of a vicious and divisive Brexit campaign season between the Remainers and the Leavers in the 2016 UK EU-Referendum, a combination of factors succeeded in shaping public opinion and attitudes towards the EU and further integration. These factors include, but are not limited to: the escalating refugee crisis chiefly emanating from the Libyan, Iraqi and Syrian wars, alongside anti-multiculturalism activism, the fears of increased terrorism and cultural infiltration; socio-economic tensions and inequalities that keep widening with furious globalization and technological advances; and the participation of a Eurosceptic press that “provided the backdrop to all

debates on European integration, reinforcing, and in turn reinforced by, the reluctance of pro-membership politicians” who failed to publicly present a strong positive case for remaining in the EU [13,14]. According to Pettifor [15] the ‘Brexit’ vote simply represents the latest manifestation of “popular dissatisfaction with the utopian ideal of autonomous markets beyond the reach of regulatory democracy”; a collective often misguided, “efforts of those ‘left behind’ in Britain to protect themselves from the predatory nature of market fundamentalism”. This is therefore a form of social self-protection by the people from self-regulating markets on issues of money, trade and labour [15].

Other factors that directly or indirectly stimulate the rise and growth of populism, particularly in Western Europe and North America, range from economic and cultural to socio-political upsets and failures of leadership in recent years. These myriads of factors include: technological change, mass migration, neoliberal capitalism, ‘liberal authoritarianism’, the 2008 great recession, backlash from the prevalent multiculturalism occasioned by globalization, the Eurozone crisis and growing Euroskepticism, the dilemmas of representative politics in Europe, politicized policy practice, protest, anti-mainstream sentiments and all sorts of unfulfilled expectations, etc [6,7,9,10,16-19]. These factors have to varying degrees instilled fear or resentment, and also induced nationalistic feelings and sentiments among the citizenry, and rendered them vulnerable to populist ideologues and xenophobic RRP parties; who simply cash in on this loophole to enlarge their followership. It is also important to note that some of these factors either spin off from globalization and its corollaries or are closely associated with them.

Populism in paradigmatic relations

Since populism or populist relationships function in a directional dynamic, it would be crucial to further explicate that directional phenomenon as it relates to this paper. According to Brubaker [20], national populism is a polemic; an ‘us’ and ‘them’ relationship that operates in both vertical and horizontal dimensions. In the vertical dimension, the opposition operates between ‘the people’ and ‘the elite’; where ‘the people’ refers to the ‘ordinary’ people (or as Donald Trump styled them, the ‘forgotten men and women of our country’). “The elite” is seen as corrupt, self-serving, paralyzed by political correctness, and, above all, out of touch with or indifferent to the concerns and problems of ordinary people” [20]. In the horizontal dimension, the opposition operates between insiders and outsiders: between ‘people like us’ who share our way of life and those on the outside who are said to threaten our way of life. This includes ‘internal outsiders’ or those living in our midst and who might even be citizens of the state, but are not regarded as part of the nation. The ‘outside’ also includes impersonal forces or institutions that are perceived as threat to our way of life or our security. These may include “globalization, unfettered trade, the European Union, radical Islam, and so on” [20]. It is usually on the

horizontal dimension of the relationship that ‘the people’ vent their fears, anger and frustrations. Therefore, it is also on this site that the RRP parties and populist political leaders perform most of their manipulative strategies to win over and control the gullible enchanted masses who find a façade of solace in their soothing, but often hollow rhetoric. Trumpism and European national populism are noted to “bring the vertical and horizontal registers together by characterizing “the elite” – political, cultural, or economic – as “outside” as well as “on top””. This way, the elite are portrayed as not only “insensitive to the economic struggles of ordinary people”, but also “indifferent or condescending towards their way of life” [20-25].

Trumpism resulted from a combination of factors. These include growing disenchantment among the masses in the United States and Western Europe with their political leaders. These (mostly liberal) governments seemed disconnected from the insecurities of the masses in the context of the unrelenting effects of globalization and the crisis of neo-liberalism which has negatively affected a layer of the western middle classes and particularly ‘white working classes’ [21,26,27]. Globalization and neo-liberalism became the essential fodder for growing inequalities, thereby creating a fast widening gap between the winners and losers of the globalized socioeconomic order. Similarly, the vote to leave the EU came as a result of decades of misgivings and disapproval among certain sections of the citizenry in the United Kingdom towards their country’s membership of the continental body. It has been argued that these ill-feelings may have been allowed to blossom as a result of the diffidence of Britain’s political elites towards domestically promoting the benefits of EU membership and highlighting notable British successes in shaping the EU. Thus Euroscepticism has been allowed to evolve both out of the negligence of political leaders and the lack of adequate information on the part of the ordinary man on the street.

Between Brexit and Trumpism

In the foregoing, Trumpism and Brexit can be said to be akin to each other in view of their emergence as reactionary sociopolitical behaviour driven by popular discontent, protest and populism. In what Adam Quinn [24] refers to as ‘the unthinkable’, Britons voted to leave the European Union, while Americans voted to elect Donald Trump as president, against conventional rationale and in a total slight of the established order. In the core of these two major political upsets and phenomena lies ‘anger’; this led to bitter battles among the citizens against perceived insensitive leadership in the face of escalating socioeconomic inequalities and cultural backlash [28-30]. According to Ramswell [29], the UK and the USA each found their homelands embroiled in bitter battles raging among their citizenry in 2016. He argues that the Leave/Stay campaigns in the UK and the 2016 US presidential campaign precipitated a rebirth of nationalism; when what began as good intentions for positive change quickly morphed into

battlegrounds of derision and division waged by reinvigorated and enchanted populations. Smith [30] ascribes these manifestations of anger (or as she puts it, “Mad as hell” moment) to “the sluggish world economy, migration crisis, and negativity towards globalism”. The recent wave of mass migrations from the Middle East and Africa into Europe and the persistent immigration flux of people from Latin America into the United States, alongside the cultural diversities that they bring with them, have raised much fear and apprehension from the citizenry in the target regions. Hence, Western Europe and the USA have been rendered fertile grounds for the breeding of fervent nationalistic sentiments that easily evolved into ferocious antiimmigrant populist movements. In the view of Ramswell [29], racism and xenophobia have been transformed from isolated issues affecting only small portions of a society to become preeminent issues of debate and have also been given a vantage position in political warfare as obtained in the USA and the UK in 2016. However, the rise of antiimmigrant sentiments in Europe and the USA could be attributed to issues beyond racism, misogyny and xenophobia; such as dearth of jobs, wages and lack of sundry opportunities.

Brexit and trumpism: the agency of populism

Populism has been widely identified by experts to be the driving force for Trumpism, Brexit and many other recent manifestations of right-wing political activism; such as in Poland, France, Austria, the Netherlands and with the AFD² in Germany. As already established above, populism thrives on mass movements and propels them as well, irrespective of what their proclivities are on political ideology. Populist forces proved decisive for the outcome of the British EU referendum, with their leaders allegedly igniting anti-immigrant and nativist sentiments in England; while Donald Trump similarly exploited the notable support for populism in the USA. In both cases, popular discontent and revolt against the establishment have fuelled the raging populist fire. Trump and his radical right party (RRP) counterparts across the Atlantic, the National Front in France and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) among others, rode the waves of ongoing frustrations; socioeconomic inequalities and cultural backlash. All of these factors are fallout of globalism. Globalization therefore, effectively created a dichotomy between winners and losers and consequently generated popular discontent and political revolt, which in turn fueled the fire of populism in the western hemisphere. Hence, Donald Trump, like most of his RRP counterparts in Europe, got his largest votes from the classical ‘losers’ of globalization contrary to the performance of his opponents. A majority of this Trump voter demographic are older Midwest-dwelling (Rust Belt) and blue-collar white male who are most likely to have lost their privileged access to the jobs they once had on a platter. Similarly, it was mostly the lesseducated, non-cosmopolitan, poorer and older voter across the Atlantic that mostly favored Brexit [31-34]. Analyses of the demographic spread of the Brexit vote paints a clearer picture of this pervading palpable fear and resentment for globalization among older folks. As Calhoun [32] observes, “Fully 75

percent of those aged 18 to 24 voted for a future in Europe. Sixty one percent of those over 65, along with a majority of all those over 45, voted against”. Regions with lower GDP per capita and a high proportion of lowly educated people, where the median age is over 65 and with strong net immigration have also shown more propensity to be apprehensive of the EU and immigration [31,32].

As ongoing research demonstrates, Brexit (like Trumpism) was not only a protest against socioeconomic inequalities occasioned by globalization, but also arguably a vote for some version of the past; “a nostalgic reaching back to the past in order to redeem the present” [32,33,35]. Both of these events also happened as a reaction against the establishment elite for their perceived cultural and political marginalization of ordinary people who hold traditional values. Thus, as Michel Bauwens and Vasilis Niaros note, “Trumpism and Brexit could be seen as reactions against the effects of neo-liberalism and its destruction of the middle class”. In the last few decades, the western world has been largely ruled by liberal (or at least, centre-right) parties whose values are essentially at variance with those of traditional, religious and conservative societies. Extensive research indicates that since about 1970, there has been a cultural shift to post-materialist and self-expression values among the younger birth cohorts and the better educated strata of affluent Western societies. According to Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, this cultural shift has fostered greater approval of social tolerance of diverse lifestyles, religions, and cultures, multiculturalism, international cooperation, democratic governance, and protection of fundamental freedoms and human rights. Social movements reflecting these values have brought policies such as environmental protection, same sex marriage, and gender equality in public life to the center (sic) of the political agenda, drawing attention away from the classic economic redistribution issues.

To heighten the conflict described above, Enoch [24] observes that these liberal values “were shoved down the throat of those left behind, without ever asking for their opinion, and at their expense” and with arrogant, patronizing, alienating attitudes by the elites. These ‘arrogant’ neoliberal elites in what has been described as, ‘liberal authoritarianism’, took these masses for granted and stifled their voice both intellectually or politically; hence the seeds of discord that would grow into abrasive cultural backlash had been sown [20,21,23,24]. The spread of these liberal progressive values in the West, especially in the USA and the UK, eventually stimulated a cultural backlash among people who felt threatened by the rapid change. Less educated and older white men, who had been the privileged majority culture in Western societies, to their chagrin soon found them being tagged ‘politically incorrect’ for holding their traditional values. This culture shift became unacceptable, hence the populist revolt [23].

On another cultural front, Western Europe had its fair share of turmoil with the immigration crisis that came mostly as fallout of the anomalous Iraqi and Syrian wars and before those the civil war in Libya. Refugees, either fleeing state-sponsored violence or Islamist jihad of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL or ISIS), came in droves through many routes into Western Europe and the threat of infiltration by ISIS terrorists became real when some of the new arrivals launched attacks in various European cities. To heighten the tension, the new refugees from predominantly Islamic-Sharia cultures experienced initial culture shocks to which some of them responded very badly. The European natives were also alarmed when some of the new arrivals were reported to have engaged in rape and sexual molestation acts among other indecent behaviour. In the midst of all these, the governments and liberal elites in the Western world seemed to have stood aloof to the plight of the people. They appeared to be more “concerned with the rights and welfare of distant others but indifferent to the struggles of proximate brothers and sisters”; promoting a world without borders, not mindful of its “destructive effects on the bounded solidarities of nation and community” [20]. The natives were outraged at the express welcoming of immigrants and refugees by these liberals who tended to favour and promote unbridled mixing and multiculturalism. In the USA, this populism escalated when Hilary Clinton characterized Trump supporters as “a basket of deplorables”; typical of the liberal condescending denouncing of ordinary people as racist and Islamophobic whenever they speak up, while expressly “speaking for minorities rather than the majority” [20]. Consequently, general disenchantment with government, fear of terrorism, and resentment towards foreigners increased. These incidents therefore compounded arguably hitherto benign anti-Muslim immigration sentiments across Europe which conflagrated, spilling over into the United States close to major elections. Siobhan Kattago notes that the ideas upon which the EU was founded (human rights, tolerance and the free movement of people) were stretched to their limits by these incidents: “ranging from hospitality to hostility, ‘refugees welcome’ to ‘close the borders’, asylum seekers from Syria and other war-torn countries”, etc. The clamour for closing the borders of Europe escalated and this boosted the resolve of the Brexiteers to take total advantage of Prime Minister David Cameron’s offer of a UK EU-Referendum in 2016. In the USA, candidate Trump promised to ban people from Muslim countries from entering his country if he became president. Donald Trump did become president and has been trying to enforce that ban, despite having to scale hordes of legal hurdles.

In all of these, populism (both of the left and the right) took centre stage and has been quickly hijacked by politicians who exploit it simply to win elections. Various issues and pseudo-ideologies also came to the fore including; alt-right (alternative right) nationalism, secularism, Islamism, Christianity or ‘identitarian’ Christianity, even neo- Marxism, etc. These ideologies and concepts may have been pushed to the fore not based on their primal salience to the lived experiences of the individual citizen in

the West, but based on their expedience as sites of resistance and escape routes from a feared imminent cultural infiltration or outright cultural transposition. They also address the fear of losing perceived social and economic advantages. In the core of these reactionary activisms resides populism which has been variously described as a pathological political phenomenon, a style, a syndrome and a doctrine [3,36].

The ambivalence and ambiguousness of the activism of recent populist movements in the western hemisphere are illuminated by their reactionary and anti-immigration stance. As Brubaker [20] observes, Trump and Euro-populists, like all populists everywhere, “claim to speak in the name of “the people”: “I am your voice”, said Trump at the culminating moment of his acceptance speech at the Republican convention”. Even Nigel Farage of UKIP positioned himself as the voice of liberation for people of the United Kingdom against the ‘tyranny of Brussels’ and has gone further to establish a radio talk-show after the Brexit vote to sustain his claim to that tag. Trump with his refusal to be ‘politically correct’ on the issues of concern to the stifled voices, quickly became the poster-child of resistance for the oppressed “forgotten men and women of our country”, and of course of other western societies. He openly backed Brexit and reciprocally, “UKIP leader Nigel Farage not only praised him but actually spoke at one of his febrile rallies”, even when other British politicians chose to distance themselves from Donald Trump [24].

CONCLUSION

The two stunning upsets, Brexit and Trumpism, could be said to have defined the national populist moment for both the United Kingdom and the United States. Brexit and the Brexiteers rode on the back of populism to drag the UK out of the European Union, while Trump, Trumpism and Trumpeteers also rode on the back of populism to upset the ante and take the US presidency in a most shocking campaign victory. Nationalist populism in both countries blossomed and operated in binaries of two dimensions: the vertical and the horizontal. Trumpism and European national populism (Brexit and others) managed to bring together the vertical and horizontal registers of populism by characterizing “the elite” – political, cultural, or economic – as both “outside” and “on top” in the ‘us-them’ polemics of socioeconomic order. These elite have been portrayed “not only as insensitive to the economic struggles of ordinary people, but also as indifferent or condescending towards their way of life”. In the vertical relationship, accord has been breached on the economic front, while the social contract has also been breached on the political and cultural fronts in the horizontal relationship. Hence, “the people” who are also the “insiders” revolted and rejected “the elite” who are also the “outsiders”. Thus, populism remains that essential fabric that its capacity for agency and deployment of that agency could never be over-estimated in contemporary political communication discourses.

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Digital Media and Educational Role Study Case of an Arabic E-Magazine

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ABSTRACT

ICT appear as primordial motor of changes related to Family concept and its fundamentals as well. These technological transformations started designing a new image of modern family far from the typical Arabic and Islamic schema implemented decencies ago. We witness a real restructuration of the family concept in globalized standards which are relatively away, from our Arabic and Islamic culture, as well as the values, ethics, and behaviors that should prevail in the Muslim community. The present paper advocates from the pivotal question: "What are the most important features of the Arab and Islamic culture that the E-magazine "Happy Family" wants to its audience to adhere to through its published articles?"

A content analysis of all articles published in the E-Magazine "Happy Family", will be able to determine the most important values and behaviors that the sender insist on their implementation and maintenance in the family environment in order to preserve the Arab and Muslim identity and preserve the spirit of the Muslim Family.

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Keywords: Communication; Information; Social media

BACKGROUND

Modern information and communication technologies have a tremendous effect on our society. They are appointed as the main cause of social disorder and human relationship amputation in many cases.

In order to preserve the stereotypical image of the Arab and Muslim family, a number of researchers and thinkers sought to instill the components of our family culture and spread out its pillars through new media, such as the Family Magazine entitled "Happy Family".

We need to ask the question about: What are the most important features of the Arab and Islamic culture that the E-magazine “Happy Family” wants its public to adhere to through its published articles? What are the most important educational messages that the newspaper calls readers to follow and abide by its principles to prevent the danger of media globalization and the disintegration of the Arab and Muslim civilization?

This research study encloses three main assumptions:

1. The variety of media material published through the E-Magazine cover a diversity of educational, ethical, and social topics, affecting the family, without raising any topics that exceed family sphere.
2. In order to attract the largest number of audiences, all age groups are targeted through the E-magazine.
3. The interest showed by cyber readers towards the E-Magazine content tends to be limited due to the competition in the cyber space because cultural and educational contents are always considered as non-attractive compared to advertisement.

OBJECTIVES

Identify the kind of Arab morals, traditions, rules and ethics posted and supported through the E-Magazine “Happy Family”, Analyzing the stereotypical image of the Arabic family that the sender is trying to convince his audience about its value and virtues, Measure out the Readers interest towards the E-Magazine content, through the space reserved for comments and the tracked numbers of viewers.

METHODOLOGY

We will proceed to a content analysis of all articles published in the E-Magazine “Happy Family”.

Magazine “Happy Family”

The E-Magazine contains nine main rubrics occupied prominent places in the home page. We also noticed some marginal elements in terms of size, such as “The site lens “: It contains pictures taken by the magazine owner, during his academic and educational activities. And “the versions of the writings””: It is about a promotional rubric, with sound albums offered for sale. The E-Magazine includes also an interactive rubric “participate with Us””: This space is reserved to a question directed to the audience, about the value of the paper book of in the age of electronic book.

Content analysis of the electronic magazine “happy family”

Front page design: The Banner occupying the top part of the Home page of the electronic magazine “happy family” is composed by a manned space decorated combining picture crags and thoughtful symbols that are consistent with the concept of a happy family in the imagination of the designer. This space is overshadowed by the green color, which according to the standard anthropologist that we adopt in the cinema studies, the color of an evocative Liberty symbolizes the heaven which is the symbol of the eternal happiness for Muslims [1].

Moreover, the lines and words came in white color, which is recognized from many semiotic studies perspective, as the color of the serenity, peace and tranquility [2]. We believe that the designer was totally right, when linking the scene with the evocative heading of “Happy Family”. It seems that he succeeded in summarizing the concept of happiness through the written lines; highlighted cottage, sun, young boys...etc. This helps to bring together a complete scene in the definition of a real pleasure from the magazine’s designer perspective. The sun symbolizes the lighting; the cottage is the house where we live in; and the children are a reference to an important source of happiness in life for Muslim Arab society, as the almighty after in the name of God the Merciful” money and boys are real sources of eternal happiness in the life of the world” «-» «أياحلا قتيــــز نونبلاو لاملا ايندلا» (verse 46 of Al Kahf) ملعا هلالو)Figure 1 and Table 1).

The E- Magazine “happy Family” includes 9 rubrics. Each rubric is composed by 5 press articles, except the rubric “family news” with 7.

The rubrics are composed by articles all written in 11 bold Typed in “Arab traditional font”.

The researcher has used the program Word Count in counting the words numbers and revealing the quality of boldface, where we have copied all the articles of the E-magazine, and pasting the pages in the word count.

In order to have a deeper idea about the nature of raised topics in the studied E-Magazine, we chose to proceed to a monographic description of all the articles included in “Happy Family” (47 units).

The rubric “Our News” has in its main page the headlines of an article covering the graduation of a new batch of Al-Nour Chair” as being his founder. Five links were archived in the interior pages [3,4].

The topics contained in the rubric “Our News” are:

“The graduation of a new batch of a Chair Nour”: The article is media coverage for the graduation ceremony. The article is accompanied by the graduate student’s picture.

No	Rubrics	No. of Articles	%	No. of Words	%
1	Our News	5	10.63	347	0.26
2	Family news	7	14.89	2040	1.54
3	By Al Mutawaa	5	10.63	1884	1.42
4	Happy Family	5	10.63	111103	84.17
5	Husbands and wives	5	10.63	3145	2.382
6	Parents	5	10.63	2200	1.666
7	Approaching to marriage	5	10.63	3381	2.56
8	Family budget	5	10.63	5446	4.12
9	Suspicious and responses	5	10.63	2440	1.84
Total		47	100	131986	100

The rubrics are composed by articles all written in 11 bold Typed in “Arab traditional font”.

Table 1: Content of “Happy Family” articles.



Figure 1: Content analysis of the E-Magazine articles.

Opening Conference of Sweden, on the “Religion is the treatment”: The article is speaking about the Electronic magazine owner, delivering a lecture about the mentioned above topic.

“First Meeting at schools: applying a global fun approach “: The article points a lecture by Dr. Jassim Al Mutawa, as the President of the Governing Council of library “global” about global education method.

“The education cycle”: an old announcement about a conference dating back to the year 2010.

“I want Security not Happiness”: A TV program add, untitled “happy family” by Dr. Jassim Al Mutawa.

We conclude that inside the rubric “Our News”, the writer has devoted the space entirely to the coverage of the activities of examined electronic magazine owner. We believe that it is alike promotional rubric rather than educational one.

The rubric “Family News” includes five articles addressing several issues of concern to the family:

Discussions on the health of the Child in the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood: It

contains coverage of the event. The news came shortly on the home page, (about 30 words) while internal page included the rest of the news. In this article, the writer tackled various issues related to the Council, but we noted we note the absence of pictures of current news. The writer just encapsulates the image of the “Logo” of the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood.

Hitting children helps them to succeed: The article summarizes the results of a study published in the newspaper “Daily Telegraph”, about the benefits of hitting children. Although the topic was of great importance in the field Family, the editor has tacked only the role of news reporter and did not dig in greater depth in the issue of hitting children and did not give an opinion from family, social and religious perspectives etc., work in distance in Saudi Arabia...women is the biggest beneficiary: Which is an old article to review the results of the research study issued by the council of the development of human resources in Saudi Arabia.

20 days in the desert to help persons with disabilities: A long article describing a UAE young man walk trip that lasted for about a month in the Empty Quarter desert for collecting donations for persons with disabilities. The news editor only lists the details of the young man trip without linking it to the deep significance of the initiative, which is the need for volunteering and cooperation, and passion to do good things to others.

Women’s skin is more wrinkling than men’s: an article summarizing the results of the of a medical research study made by a group of westerner’s doctors.

Warning of the growing of sexual harassment: A coverage of the symposium program dedicated to sexual harassment in Cairo, without going deeper in raising the subject from ethical, social and religious perspective.

Muslims in Britain: a reproduction of another article taken from the newspaper “Sunday Times” on a report prepared by the Open Society Institute in Britain, on the extent of the integration of Muslims in the Western society.

In the second rubric, we notice that the writer dedicated almost all the articles for the events coverage: conferences, international organization announcements...etc.

In the rubric “by Al Mutawaa”, are included four articles with a diversified subjects:

Omar Mokhtar is still alive: an article describes a trip by the writer in Libya during which he visited the

historic places which its name has been linked to the historic personality of “Omar Mokhtar”.

I asked my son who is the rich? : An article exploring the criterion of wealth and poverty, and declaring at the end, the writer’s fear of the erroneous understanding of the wealth by future generations.

Youth technology from Al Medina Al Monawara: A coverage of the meeting details with the young people of “King Abdul Aziz Library” and the writer in the city of Medina, where he gave a lecture on “Youth and modern Tools of communication”. This article dealt with the concept of technological intelligence and the question of its use to serve Islam and Muslims and the spread out its values in the world.

A State without the children: The publisher discussed the idea of reluctance on marriage, focusing on its implications for society, indicating that the correct approach is that we are guided by God Almighty to achieve succession to land through marriage.

More importantly how we consider dilemma when it comes? : The writer lists two tales about Suffering, and proposed to see sufferings as a way to paradise. According to the writer’s view, it is the best way to achieve happiness in life and after.

The rubric “Happy Family” also includes five diversified articles:

Prior agreement on the division of roles: A detailed-research article on principles of sharing house burdens.

Guide to prevent the deterioration of couples relationship: The article narrates the details of the “Guide to marital relations” in Brazil. The writer only displays information without linking it to the family’s reality in the Arab World.

10 Ways to Get the Quiet Life: A lecture listing 10 rules for family stability.

How can couples avoid the danger of jealousy: It is a lesson in the need to overcome doubts between couples and to maintain mutual respect for family stability.

A practical program for happy marital life: It is a short lesson about “how to deal within the family?”

So, we can summarize that this rubric was fully dedicated to raise couples issues from academic and

social researches perspective. The rubric doesn't include any topic related to sons or daughters despite the fact of its entitled (Happy Family). Only couples relationships particularities were object of focused.

The rubric "Husbands and wives" is composed of five shorts articles dedicated to women issues:
How to become a fine wife and win your loving heart husband? : It is a lesson on how to deal with the husband in a daily bases.

Blind point in the martial dialog: It is also a lesson in the importance of listening during the conversation between couples. The writer used several views of psychological and social western scientists, especially "John Gorhoul" who is specialized in the study of marital relations.

Problems of the past are poisoning the life of couples: In which the writer was concerned to a result of a study, carried out by US journal on the causes of daily marital disputes. At the end of the article, the writer stressed on the necessity of dialog.

How to turn marital violence to a quiet dialog? : This article focuses on the causes of family violence, its social roots, warns of resorting to beatings at the intensity of disagreement between couples.

Psychological touches in marital life: a critical view of the reality of family under the aggravation of differences. The writer tried to answer to a question posed at the very beginning: what should the husband do so as not to lose his wife?

This rubric is a continuity of the previous one as all the articles are talking about the couples daily problems and how to avoid misunderstandings.

The five articles included in the rubric "Parents" addressing important issues relative to the relationship between parents and children:

The deadly mistakes of marriage: The article addresses the divorce reasons and lists the reasons based on some academic researchers and experimental social studies results.

Our relationships in Family sphere....Does it changes after marriage?: The writer in this article deals with the reality of the relationship changes that occur at home between the couples freshly married. The article contains several evidences and examples of reality.

Five tips for marriage without problems: It is the shortest article in the magazine (71 words only), in which five points are listed to keep the host of family problems away

Dialog between Couples: A deep lesson on the importance of dialog between couples and the foundations on which must be based.

Understanding the partner is the basis of the successful marriage:

The article tackled the importance mutual understanding between husband and wife. Despite the fact that the rubric is dedicated to couples as parents, the relationship between husband and wife is always raised in many paragraphs if not entire articles.

“Family Budget” is a financial rubric in which the writer tackled five educational lectures about how to manage the family budget except the first article dedicated to health prevention:

The extravagancy in cleaning materials use is a danger: Through the article, the author warned readers about the disadvantages of the chemical substances in the cleaners or fresh air perfumes, and called for not extravagance in the purchase and use of materials all together due to its extreme danger for family members.

Family Budget: The writer called for the need to identify the family budget as a corrective element of family stability, and was exposed to many details, also engaged with examples of the Sunna of the Prophet in the good conduct of the special budget to the house. The article is one of the longest articles published in the examined electronic magazine (3206 words).

How to calculate the annual income of the family: It’s about a detailed lesson about how to determine the annual income.

Ways to measure the budget: The article gave answers to the question: how to optimize the family consumption. The text was relatively brief and non-in-depth like previous texts.

The family budget, the problem of expenditure, the need to save: The article was exposed to several examples of the problems experienced by some families as a result of mismanagement and financial regulations. It also contained a number of recommendations on the successful measure.

“Suspicious and responses” is the last rubric that the E-Magazine, allocated to talk about several topics of interest to women from religious and legitimacy perspectives.

They claimed that revealing is the right of women, and the veil is injustice: This article addresses the issue of religious ideological concern to Muslim women and the imposition of the veil.

veil is conservative and the religion is attainable: This article also addresses the issue of the veil, it was written in a manner of hajjaji and analyzing in which the writer was concern with the holy Koran and Sunna, and the writer explained the evidences between the facilitative citizen in the Koran, but he stressed on the necessity of commitment to veil because it was imposed by holy Koran and may not be dropped.

The suspicion that the legacy of the female is just half of the legacy of the male: The article says that the question of inheritance of women to half of the man is not a general position and steady base bequeath Islam for both males and females.

The understanding of “Hadith” that it is not authorized for women to fast and her husband is present, only with his permission: It is an article about the necessity of consulting the wife to the husband before the intention of fasting. The writer’s argumentation was based on the Koran and the Sunna.

The suspicion that the women is a distorted bone: In this article, the writer offers his understandings of the speech of the noble messenger peace be upon him, as this Hadith may mean “Women is like a bone that either you may break her down or and enjoy without any crookedness,” (Correct Al-bukhari).

To conclude this first step of content analysis based on a monographic approach that covered the totality of the 47 articles posted in the E-Magazine “Happy Family”, we can say that the content seemed to be diversified and rich in terms of treated topics: Relationship between children and parents, relationship between couples, the question of the legitimacy of the Muslim women’s hijab, the family budget management...etc.

The studied E-Magazine combined a mixture of short, medium and long articles (the first rubric “Our News” was consisting of 347 words all articles included, and the third rubric about “Happy Family” reached 111103 words). We believe that the writer is not aware about the characteristics of the online Journalism and doesn’t have enough expertise to produce for the virtual space (word wide web).

Writing scripts for online environment should be harmonious with cyber reader’s needs and demands. Good online articles are usually 300–500 words in length and mostly accompanied by an image. Some features can be longer, but it doesn’t have to appear as if it is the dominant style of writing in the E-

Magazine. Long articles must appear as exceptions. The cyber reader is always a quick visitor who scans the content in seconds to decide if the posted materials are attractive enough to be read. A short article easily accessed, with hypertext, interactivity and multimedia is a good tool for attraction in online Journalist.

Next step will be focused on the Journalistic formats used in the studied E-Magazine “Happy Family” (Table 2).

In reference to the table above, the E-Magazine content is almost divided in two categories: only 55.33% of the posted articles adhere to the journalistic formats: Short news, reports, opinion articles and investigations. The rest of the posted articles were presented with lecture format (44.67%).

29.78% of articles were journalistic reports. The news report is known as the form of a press located in the middle stage between the fast and short news, and the journalist investigation.

We note in the same context that the content forms published, reminds us of the E- Newspaper effective rules of writing, described in “the poynter”, (the integration of WED : Writing, Editing, and Design).

Rubrics	Non		Journalistic Formats			
	Lecture/ Lesson	Add.	Investigative article	Opinion article	Report	Short news
Our News	-	2			-	3
Family news	-				6	1
By Al Mutawaa	-				5	
Happy Family	4				1	
Husbands and wives	4				1	
Parents	3			1	1	
Approaching to marriage	4		1		-	
The family budget	4			1	-	
Suspicious and responses				5	-	
Total	19	2	1	7	14	4
	21		26			
%	40.42	4.25	2.13	14.89	29.78	8.52
	44.67		55.33			

Add.: advertisement.

Table 2: Journalistic formats used.

It is a direction of some Journalists, which indicates that the concept of electronic publication goes through the investment of the text that is being edited for publication in the printed media with the addition of the design and the integration of multimedia [5].

Thus, it becomes natural to read an article in electronic newspapers and magazines brings us to writing methods of written press including a lengthy articles and compound sentences and metaphors. The electronic newspapers become in this meaning as “News Bowl” in printed newspapers, limited to re-publishing these articles with strengthened linkages and create interactive element with the browser.

Although this trend has been exposed to criticism, especially with regard to the question of the elaboration, where many specialists in the field of information and communication sciences called to the need to be brief in the default context, many of the electronic journals and in particular specialized magazines are really depending on articles already published in printed newspapers. “Jonathan Dobb” said in this regard” that the main approach in the great majority of electronic newspapers is to provide printed materials, already published, plus other elements such as multimedia applications and connectivity referral through connections. The so-called REPACKAGE.”

From our perspective, we recognize that the electronic/cyber space is an environment that allows storage and saving of precious educational content, and thus we can go back to the information whenever we want. But the problem raised is the level of the long articles attraction in the first place and therefore to the extent of its effectiveness.

Picture usage in the E-magazine: In this part, we proceeded to a categorization of the accompanying images/pictures in the magazine. We obtained the result summarized in Table 3.

Despite the fact that the totality of the 47 posted articles is accompanied by photos, we noticed that the writer doesn’t pay a great attention to their quality and consistency. 78.72% of pictures used in the E-Magazine were symbolic (painting or old non-colored photos about something indirectly related to the topics).

We believe the writer’s total lack of awareness about the photos value and their inputs on the online journalistic environment. We need to emphasize that a story without a photograph is like a body without a heart. It provides evidence that the story actually happened and paints a whole new picture to the story. Pictures make it more real for the reader. As the Chinese proverb says, the pictures are worth a thousand words (Appendix 1).

The way people consume their information is changing dramatically. With the rise in mediums such as blogging, live-tweeting, and video streaming, the way we reach the cyber readers is not the same in printing area. And it’s no longer good enough to just report on the important news or write a well

furniture article. The writer has to make sure that his audience: stay on his page, share his article, care enough to comment and, most of all, remember what he said: all benefits that visual content can give nowadays, is the era of featured images, info graphics and in-article snapshots.

No	Picture	Number	%
1	Writer's picture	3	6.38
2	City	4	8.51
3	Logos	1	2.12
4	Muslims in a Mosque	1	2.12
5	Old woman	1	2.12
6	Symbolic picture*	37	78.72

*Painting related to the topic treated in the article.

Table 3: Journalistic picture used

According to Zach Kitchke, only 20% of what the audience read from the text actually sticks. However, if the writer put that information into an image, suddenly the percentage of information takes a huge leap to 80% [6].

Cyber reader's level of interest in the E-Magazine

In order to measure the level of interest of the studied E- Magazine readers, we focused our next step on the tracked number of readings of each article included. Also, we tried to collect the comments if any from all the posted material. Our goal is to detect elements that can guide us to the real level of attraction that the studied magazine have and the degree of its popularity among the online exposed materials posted from everywhere (Table 4).

According to the Tab numbers above, we can say that the majority of readers were interested by husband and wives issues (24.10%), followed by family financial aspects (21.40%).

At this level, we have to add that the size of the readings of the article entitled "how to become a fine wife and win your loving heart husband?" exceeded eighty thousand readings (Appendix 2). It occupies the first place in the readings number in the magazine.

Nevertheless, the readers' interest remains limited in the absence of comments. (0 comments registered for all the posted articles). Besides, the tracked numbers for the readings do not necessarily mean that the reader really finishes the redaction of all and each one of the exposed articles. Reading the headlines or just a small paragraph is very possible.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to answer the question about “What are the most important features of the Arab and Islamic culture that the E-magazine “Happy Family” wants its audience to adhere to through the published articles?”

Based to the analysis content, we can say that many features were raised through the 47 articles posted in the E-Magazine; some of them lead to universal virtues like love, mutual respect, compassion, peace and mercy. We found many articles inviting readers to hold on these features:

- Honoring parents and taking care of them even after marriage,
- Solving family problem through dialogue,
- Good management of family budget,
- Mutual respect between husbands and wives,

Rubrics	No. of Readings*	%	No. of Comments	%
Our News	35480	5.19	00	00
Family news	14498	2.12	00	00
by Al Mutawaa	66758	9.77	00	00
Happy Family	3391	0.05	00	00
Husbands and wives	164519	24.10	00	00
Parents	74543	10.91	00	00
Approaching to marriage	134400	19.681	00	00
The family budget	146189	21.40	00	00
Suspensions and responses	43114	6.31	00	00
Total	682892	100	00	00

*Recordings of number of reading for each article of the magazine done between September 28-30, 2016

Table 4: The proportions of the cyber reader’s interest per each rubric

- We also pointed some topics specific for Arab and Muslims people, inviting Arabic and Muslims to be committed to their religious principals and Arabic habits and traditions like:
- Women inheritance in Islam
- Women veil in Islam
- Arab and Muslim integration in western society
- Adhering to authenticity.

The studied E-Magazine incorporated also subjects with wider than family interest like the article describing a trip in Tripoli, and the one dedicated to warning of chemicals when buying cleaning materials.

So, in order to preserve high standards happy family, the studied E-Magazine incorporated a set of spiritual principles and features, some of them are specific to the Arab and Muslims cyber readers but a great numbers are universal and general that can be valid for all families over the world.

That is why; we relatively confirm the validity of our first hypothesis, concerning the diversity of media content posted through the studied E-Magazine “Happy Family”. The publisher tried to spread knowledge about educational, ethical, social and interpersonal communicational issues, from family perspective. Nevertheless, we pointed the presence of general topics exceeding the family sphere.

Concerning the targeted audience based on family structure, we can assure that the writer succeeded on targeting almost all the age groups composing Family: adults (parents), Young peoples (sons and daughters). Only small kids haven’t really been pointed with specific rubric or articles.

In the other hand, we noticed a gender distribution since the E-Magazine incorporated many articles treating topics relative to women in terms of aesthetics and behavior.

Finally, although the big number of articles reading tracked during our analysis, the interest showed by cyber readers towards the E-Magazine content tends to be limited due to the absolute absence of comments.

We believe that the nature of educational subjects treated in the E-Magazine, in addition to the length of a big number of its articles, made it difficult to interact specially with the absence of attractive pictures and images. We also have to admit that cultural and educational topics are always considered as non-attractive compared to advertisement.

This limited audience interest affects directly the efficiency of the studied E-Magazine. It reduces its role in the consolidation of educational foundations and morals in Arabic and Muslim families. This last interpretation drives us to ask the question about the identity of the ideal “communication bowl “for family Media.

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“Fake News” is a Fake Notion

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As a journalism Professor I often discuss the meaning and purpose of journalism with my students. Recently, the notion of “Fake News” has managed to sneak into our conversations as students have sought clarification. Many students seem puzzled and confused when discussing the term. They want to know what such a term is supposed to mean in light of their study and practice of journalism. In addition to my own students, I recently taught a group of journalism students from China. They were also concerned by the term and wondered how controls on journalism in their country could dare be questioned by Americans when we have “Fake News” in our country.

As I tell my students, wake up! “Fake News” is a FAKE notion.

The notion of “Fake News” was forced on America and the world by a presidential candidate (now President) who used and uses it as a verbal preemptive device designed to lessen and even diminish facts/ truth, which he considers to be detrimental to himself and/or his cause. Under such a notion, truth and facts are supposed to wither away and become replaced by “alternative fact.” Under this notion, flip/flop then flop/flip are standard practices. Right is wrong and wrong is right. Yes is no, then no is yes, then no again.

Some say that journalism is the first draft of history.

Journalism (like history) is supposed to seek truth, nothing else.

Journalism, at least in America, is supposed to seek truth and provide that truth to society. Journalism in America is also supposed to be a watchdog for society, which keeps check of government, big business, etc. In turn, the truth provided by journalism should facilitate a better society.

The founding fathers of the United States understood the value of the press as a facilitator of a free society. Therefore, they made freedom of the press a prominent part of the First Amendment of the Constitution. They understood that the press, in an attempt to seek and provide truth, might be unpopular at times, but nonetheless needed.

According to President George Washington, “Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.”

Benjamin Franklin noted, “If all printers were determined not to print anything till they were sure it would offend nobody, there would be very little printed.”

President Thomas Jefferson commented, “When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.” He also noted, “The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them.” Jefferson believed, “The press is the best instrument for enlightening the mind of man, and improving him as a rational, moral and social being.”

The United States now faces a President who belittles and demonizes the press (journalism) through his use of the fake term called “Fake News.”

As the story goes, if you knowingly let a snake into your house, and it bites and kills your family, you have no one to blame but yourself. Wake up America! Wake up journalists! “Fake News” is a FAKE notion.

Freedom of Press and Broadcasting Media in England and Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

Freedom of Press and Broadcasting Media is not alike. All indexes regarding press freedom distinctly show the differences between these two countries. Due to economic growth and social perspective, they are not same. But if we keep the keyword "Democracy" in line, both countries are moving in the same direction. Both are practicing democratic government. Journalistic approach is a way to measure a countries' democratic state.

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Keywords: Press; Freedom; Bangladesh; South ASIA; England; Europe

INTRODUCTION

Journalism is an interactive, creative and a very large scaled profession who deals with people, soil, law, ethics, adventures and what not. A profession where seeking answers with the skill of asking questions, hunger for information and quick adaptation in a world where news runs faster than time. Journalism is the most accountable and a so sure way to face, observe and questioning the democracy.

Professionalism with a clear ethical stand drives a fair democracy. Journalists do collect, interpret and test a news what makes a bridge to the source, government and audience [1].

Journalists are liable only to them. Unbiased hunger for truth, in-depth information about an event and trustworthy ethical stand, assures the audience relying on them. So this is not unpredictable that government or groups with dishonest intentions feel insecure to journalists. Journalists can be a saviour in one sense as they raise awareness to the vast number of people with their words or photographs or documents. Besides, it could not be negligible that dishonest journalists can be a threat in a same way to the same group. Taking bribe and lowering to power could be a stumble to ruin the impression of the

watchdogs of the society. The countries where freedom of speech violates on a daily basis is very critical for journalists to do their work. There news publishing against the government can draw an end to a journalist's professionalism. A bare-knuckle from the ruling party may cease the legislative rights in these cases. However, a fearless and truthful press can impede all wrongdoing of a government.

England, world's most famous country for their strong democracy, upholds their freedom of the press for over 300 years. Though in recent days, they may face some barriers as their government imposes some new laws. Though they stand 38th position in world press freedom index which is way more advanced than Bangladesh who holds 144th [2]. Bangladesh is a country where the relationship between government and press is very complex. After 2007 election, ruling party gradually absorbs press freedom as well as people's freedom of speech. In 2014, they introduced a new broadcasting act where government, political parties and administrative units are being put out of any journalistic criticism. Already most of the media owned by the opposition parties are being shut down.

This study briefly describes the current situation of England's press freedom, both print and broadcast media in the aspect of the incidents from last few years. For a comparison, Bangladeshi print and broadcast media rules in respected fields are also taken on the account. The study undergoes on similar fields from both the countries- freedom of the press.

CONTEXT OF PRESS FREEDOM

Freedom does not mean to run boundlessly. At the early stage of human civilisation, only the leaders of a clan did have right to speak. After years and ages, human civilisation improvises. Philosophers react. Rebels revolts. Democracy takes place. The idea of country evolves. Today, each human soul is important as they have right to contribute a country's moral and productive building up directly. And people elect who governs them. And with that origination, journalists to make the whole process free and fair. They act like the eye of a society. Their thought-provoking opinions chain a government; rephrase the pathway, the goal, the ideology of the society.

A free press is a primary requirement. If we take the political side on the account, freedom of expression is the key and lifeline of a democratic system. In third world countries, where the education system is not that up to the mark, it is tough to motivate and engage the public in bigger aspect. Press has the power to reach out to the furthest corner of a land. Free, fair, educated press can be the most experienced teacher of a nation. On the other side, if the press continues to fight against their own freedom of expression, there is a great possibility that press might undergo a self-restriction and thus chained thysself to survive. Which opens a wide door for a government to bring fascism to their people. If we take

a look at the press freedom index 2016 (Figure 1), we can see four levels of press freedom's presence worldwide.

The Ofcom regulates broadcasting media in England under its broadcasting code. These rules reflect the Communication Act 2003. BBC also regulates Ofcom from 3rd April 2017. This is because to set a parameter for the audience, thus they depend on programs and news they watch and hear blindfolded. Ofcom ensures high quality of standard and thought-provoking programs for the British audience. They provide strict regulatory under charter and agreement of the programs to broadcast within ethical boundary and accuracy and the black mark indicates us that there is no freedom of the press at all. The red coloured area is not also satisfactory. Yellow coloured countries have press freedom.



This study discusses two countries, England and Bangladesh-who stand distinctly separate level and point in the world freedom of the press index. It is actually difficult to measure the situation of a country's freedom of expression and press freedom level if an unfriendly ruling runs there. We only mark the place as black or red, but cannot go in depth and see how deep the problem beneath Impartiality [3].

The Ofcom provides three steps of codes. Firstly, broadcasting code, of which has ten sections including crime, religion, fairness, privacy, commercial references and so on. Secondly, cross promotion code where the legislative background of the coeds, principals, rules and guidance are given as an adjunct. Third is On-demand program service rules where administrative and editorial rules are briefly discussed.

ENGLISH MEDIA AND HER REGULATIONS

England stands on 38th (4 places behind than previous year) position in 2016 at the Press freedom index provides by Reporters without Borders.

In England, both press and the government respects the rights within the legal framework in practice. However, there are few laws that compress press freedom, are on the table. Without any proven link to any specific terrorist act, the 2006 Terrorism Act criminalises speech that is considered to encourage terrorism. In August 2015, police seized a journalist's laptop as an earlier terrorist act from 2000 who had been contacting with Islamic State in Syria [4].

In November 2015, law enforcement team has got investigatory power over telecommunication companies after passed a bill by the government.

At the same year, International Press Standard Organisation launched an arbitration scheme, under what, they release affiliated publisher's annual statement, which includes the information of editorial standards and complaints handling records. IPSO has given a clear rule for the editors to practice. This 16 clauses code is written and administrated by the Editors' Code The committee which is enforced by IPSO. Like Ofcom's broadcasting codes, IPSO also emphasises on accuracy, privacy, discrimination and more [5].

Private media organisations have independence from any kind of political pressure or harassments. The BBC, whose governance and funding is under scrutiny since 2015 is also independent on the editorial side.

The National Union of Journalists is conducting a set of codes for the UK and Irish journalists since 1936. They are obligating 12 key principals for their members where truthfulness, privacy concern and avoid discrimination is being prioritised [6].

In 2011, now defunct News of the World, hacked thousands of people's phone. Which includes normal people to celebrity, ministers to the family of the murderers. Then Prime Minister David Cameron set up a public investigation which is led by Judge Lord Leveson. This investigation was mostly funded by former formula one boss Max Moley where culture, behaviour and ethics of the press have undergone an examination [7].

After hearing from high-profile witnesses, this investigation recommended to continue the self-regulation of the press but with new press standards govern by a new body according to new regulations backed by the legislation. This inquiry focused on the press, not the broadcasters who already regulate by Ofcom [8].

Following that, in 2013, the then main political party leaders, David Cameron, Nick Clegg and Ed Miliband, agreed to set up a new press watchdog by Royal Charter.

Theresa May's government triggered Section 40 of the Crime and Courts Act 2013. Under this enforcement, if an allegation is brought against a newspaper, they have to pay all legal costs even if they win. By this law, rich and powerful people can have a door to threat newspapers from pulling stories as the analysts opinioned [9].

Analysts claim that The MP 'scandal, Rotherham sex grooming, the murder of Stephen Lawrence - like investigations would never be possible if this section triggered then.

MEDIA AND PRESS IN ENGLAND: RECENT BANGLADESHI MEDIA AND HER REGULATIONS INCIDENTS

Bangladesh is standing in 144th place in the Press Freedom index given by "Reporters without Borders". Bangladeshi journalist government relation has not been an easy going since their independence in 1971. Media maintains an intimate relationship with the main political parties-Bangladesh Nationalist Party and the Awami League. As a result, Bangladesh journalists' union is not a single organisation. They are acting in separate groups- Bangladesh Federal Journalists union who are imitating the current opposition party and Dhaka Journalists Union who are obliged to the ruling party.

Media ban, journalists' harassment and media shut down are very common happenings in Bangladesh. In last one decade, four channels have shut down by the government only because of broadcasting news of government's crackdown.

Bangladesh government has given a new broadcasting policy in August 2014. With 7 chapters and clauses within it, the new policy has faced protest and criticism from media personnel and senior citizens of Bangladesh. The main opposition party has denominated this policy as "regressive and intended to gag media" [10,11].

Regarding the policy, liberation war and holding its spirit emphasised most. Any statement or scene of the national defence and law enforcement agencies cannot be shown or broadcast by this new code of conduct. Government's officials are above of any kind of news or criticism. Religious, cultural and any political defamation has fallen under strict prohibition [12].

In third chapter article 3.2.1 says, no way a channel can broadcast any anti-state elements or programs. Yet, there is no such explanation of which program can be treated as such.

Article 3.2.2 imposes a restriction on baffling or false statement broadcasting, but there is no guideline under which media can identify or judge a statement. So most of the cases, the government uses this clause to back opposition's words.

Article 3.2.3 describes that government's approved program as the speech of President or the prime minister, emergency declaration of the weather forecast or health, official press notes must be broadcast with high priority. It is not feasible to give pressure on private media channels to broadcast president or prime minister's speech or official press notes. The government owns three channels for that.

Article 3.6.7 is accused of making confusion on broadcasting programs from local side and foreign. It restricts local media not to broadcast programs that are not keeping and maintaining local cultural spirits but at the same time, there are no restrictions on the foreign programs. There is no clear definition of mature content or privacy limits. Maintaining native cultural values seems lack edge without a proper guideline.

Article 4.1.1 has ceased the independence of the language, style and message of advertisement and programs.

Article 5.1.5 barred on broadcasting any program that mocks law enforcement agencies. 5.1.7 Prohibits broadcasting news or program that goes against any friend countries.

An independent and fair broadcasting commission needs to be formed, says article 6.1.1, but there are no specific guideline or outline or time limit for that.

MEDIA AND PRESS IN BANGLADESH: RECENT THREATS ON PRESS

Since liberation, Bangladesh faces a tension between political parties. As of every sector is being politicised, media, judiciary, university are not out of that. Each government comes with abusive laws against opposition and tries to make their ruling era illegally extended. Two main political parties- Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Bangladesh Awami League place themselves on the opposite pole of ideology and acts.

News channel ban, journalists hassle and arrest, print and broadcast media shut down, women journalists' harassment, death threat, bribery, the too much politically biased opinion given by the journalists are regular in Bangladesh. Beside of that, lots of online portals have formed in recent years who don't even own proper name or license or policy or even qualified journalists. They are setting up to fulfil political agendas, incendiary writings, violent photographs and videos against their political opposition. This culture becomes frightfully outbound when supporters from the political parties spread this news and on the other hand, general people are becoming allergic to journalists and political parties. Healthy democracy thus dying day by day.

On 29 August 2002, Ekushey TV, which was formed at the time of Awami league government was banned for more than four years by then-ruling party BNP for broadcasting biased news. Ekushey TV was then-leading and popular TV channel in Bangladesh which was formed by former BBC journalist Simon Dring. His work permit was cancelled and forced to sell his share in ETV after BNP government takes place, in early 2000.

On 17 April 2006, An elderly photojournalist Zahirul Haque was beaten by Police at the Chittagong stadium where Australia versus Bangladesh cricket match was on the grass (Figure 2).

Police accused Zahirul of entering the stadium without permission.

Nadia Sharmeen, a former reporter at Ekattor TV, was attacked by Hefazot e Islam supporter while covering a rally and protest. Hefazot had set forth earlier that no women could cover their news.

From 2010 to 2016, it was the worst time for media to survive. Mahmudur Rahman, editor of "Amar Desh" newspaper was being arrested from his office and kept in jail for more than thousand days for continuous publishing of anti-government reports. Amar Desh is still closed (Figure 3).

In 2013, the government shut down Diganta TV who was charged with reporting on governments' crackdown. Islamic TV, Channel One is also being shut down for different charges who were owned by the opposition party.

Shawkat Mahmud, president of the Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists was accused and arrested for arson strike on a bus during a protest running by the oppositions.

British-Bangladeshi journalist and former editor of Jayjaydin, Shafiq Rehman was arrested on a charge of an alleged plot to kidnap prime minister's son (Figure 4).

On March 2017, Basundhara group owned newspaper "Kalerkantha" fallen under criticism of the people of Bangladesh to draw a falsified report against North South University students. They claimed NSU student protest against Basundhara group as Islamic Extremist's attack.



Figure 2: Zahirul Haque beaten by Police.



Figure 3: Mahmudur Rahman arrested and taken to Jail.



Figure 4: Shafiq Rehman arrested for plotting against Prime Minister Family.

CONCLUSION

England is a country where true democracy practices intensely. Government and journalists know their boundary of ethical and investigative proceedings. Political leaders try to drag the bridle of the voice of the journalists in some cases, but there is always room for legal actions and legislation. But in a developing country, where corruption and hunger for power strikes with intend to target, applying freedom of speech seems impossible then. Two groups of the journalists have made the situation complex there. There is no authentic and reliable spokesperson in press industry. When one group raising voice against something, opposition denies forcefully. Privacy and discrimination are another awfully broken oath in Bangladesh. Whoever holds money and power, is safe. Normal people do not have any representative in the press sector in that sense. Praising political parties and power, it goes in vain to contribute to the society even journalists have realization. Without freedom of the press, this unhealthy practice of arbitrarily use of words or even silence would bring withering impact on democracy and country on later days.

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Low Wage Crisis: Impacts on Bangladeshi Garment Sector Workers

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ABSTRACT

Bangladesh is the second largest garments exporter worldwide. Because of this success in RMG sector is cheap labor. Bangladeshi labors earn only 68 USD per month. This paper discusses about the problems they are facing due to low wages.

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Keywords: Low Wage; Garments; Bangladesh; Social issue

INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh stands after China in the garments exporting taking a lead over Vietnam, Turkey, Cambodia, USA and India. Though it is a developing country, Bangladesh has employed modern technologies and available and cheap men power in this industry which ensures export quality in cheap rates, enabling to win bids against the competitors from other countries. This makes Bangladesh one of the leading exporters worldwide to sell to the richest buyers in terms of brands and countries.

Bangladesh has established more than 10 times garments factory by number in last 32 years, who is responsible for increasing export percentage from 3.89 to 82. Two key factors have been identified which have played vital roles in this growth of the Ready-Made Garments (RMG) industry in Bangladesh — cheap labour and an opportunity to export under Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA) quota system [1]. This success continues even after MFA quota system diminishes in early 2005 [2]. However, for the last decade, productivity scale is falling gradually. That low productivity was offset by extremely low Worker costs –at \$0.22 per hour in 2008, they were the lowest in the world [3]. After Rana Plaza collapsed on 24 April 2013, social workers and garments workers held a strike for compensation and a better wage. Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Exporters Association

(BGMEA) creates new wage board then, where \$68 per month set as low wage, which is actually more than double from the past but still very poor compared to other countries in the market (Figure 1). But Bangladeshi garments owners are not up for abiding the laws in most of the cases [4].

There are three steps in the way of production to export. At the lower point, garments owners make their production with cheap labours, sold to a third party buyer for a high profit. Third-party buyers do the same while exporting to the brands of US and EU. Therefore, the majority of the profit goes to the owners, the third parties and the brands who basically are a reseller in this system and governments through taxes. The relentless demands for cheap cost products in the west persuades garments owners to increase producing in order to become richer, but the workers are not being benefitted. Economist Anu Muhammad analysed the behind story of profit sharing in a column in 2006, before the readers.

Another problem is getting late compensation or in a very small amount. Bangladesh faces major and minor disasters in the garments industry on a continuous basis. Affected garment factory do not reopen on time which can help allocating workers or pay any compensation. This paper focuses on the noteworthy impacts of effects to the worker's' life due to low wage. Reader around the world will understand and learn on how Bangladeshi RMG workers are living beneath unspeakable misery while fighting against the poverty. As RMG sector exports globally, global leaders will acknowledge the situation and they put pressure on Bangladeshi garments owners and governments to ensure proper wage distribution, enforcing labour law and decrease gender discriminations. On that way, the history and evolution of Bangladeshi RMG industry and related statistics; the methodology of this work and introduces several standard metrics which were used to analyse the data. Findings and causes as impacts; remarks and concluding comments.

BACKGROUND

Bangladesh, once an agriculture-based country turned gradually to industrialisation for the last four decades. In 1960, a tailoring outfit shop opened called “Riaz Store” at the old Dhaka in Bangladesh.

At first, it aimed to meet up internal demands. Later in 1973, it is renamed after “Riaz Garments” before exporting 10,000 pieces of men t-shirt to the Europe. That is the maiden export for a Bangladeshi garment to the west. In the late 70s. The apparel industry has grown up and started flourishing in this country by the Trading Corporation of Bangladesh (TCB) [5]. RMG sector is run by young and enthusiastic entrepreneurs and with competitive vibes. And they gradually make it a totally export-oriented sector in the late 90's. The number of garments factory increases from 384 to 4328 in last 32 years (1984-2016). And at the same time period, the percentage of exporting garments increases 3.89%

to 82% [6]. So now, the major earnings from the export sector are from garments sector specially RMG sectors. Bangladesh exports majority of its garment to the EU and USA (Figure 2), especially on small and less expensive goods. Primark, H&M, Tesco, Asda, M&S and many other famous international brands cover a wider range of their below 5-pound shirt and t-shirt demands from Bangladesh [7].

MFA opens good and wide options to the Low Developing Countries' (LCD) economies. But the MFA quota system rejects on January 1, 2005. Specialists claimed this rejection as a great loss for the LCDs. But Bangladesh has faced afterword's shove successfully and keep gaining towards the leading role of exporting countries. On that journey, Bangladesh has faced and successfully overcome the world economic crisis in 2008 like Wal-Mart effect and the China effect [8].



Figure 1: Minimum wage in Apparel Industry

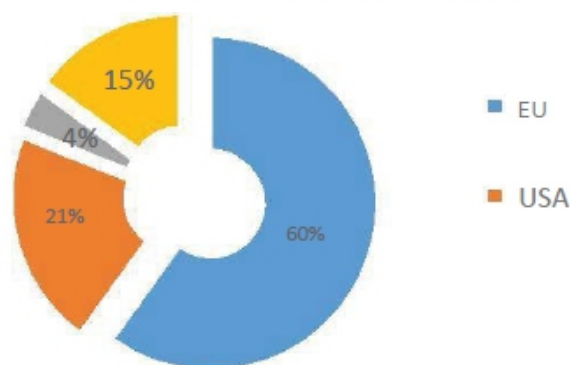


Figure 2: Bangladeshi garment export index.

In between 2000 to 2006, China and India significantly improve as the largest primary exporters in the apparel world. Moreover, they significantly improve their employee performance by confirming a strong owner-employee bonding and imposing a strict workers law in their respected field [9]. Unlike

them, Bangladesh is struggling with it and fails to establish a favourable environment. The Bangladeshi garment export industry for quite some time produced at low productivity levels, hampered in particular by poor infrastructure [10]. Two of the Centuries biggest disasters in garments industry happens in Bangladesh- fire at Tasreen garments in 2012 which cost around 200 lives and collops in eight stories building Rana Plaza in 2013 which take 1134 lives. Walmart refuses to pay the payment to their second largest producer Tasreen garments even after three years [11]. And that puts a bad effect on workers as they don't get any compensation from the Tasreen owner. After the Rana Plaza tragedy, Bangladesh government has signed an agreement on 20 November 2013 with a donor trust fund run by international labour organization to aim to raise Some US\$40 million but less than the US\$18 million has been collected [12]. So when Bangladesh's per capita income hits to \$1465 [13] and so the profits in the garments industry, it affects none (or some cases vice versa) the low-wage job sectors. Because regarding the increase of per capita income, prices of necessary goods are going high, which is getting outreached by "yet the same" earning workers. Due to the bad infrastructure, Minor disaster and problems are happening on a continuous basis [14]. More than 68 percent garment factory do not have their own first aid facilities. 58% workers are out of the facilities of any sick leave and in case of maternity leave, the percentage is higher [15]. Women take the lead in this sector with above 80 percent workplace over men, especially because this improves the idea of being financially independent. Unfortunately, they are more discriminated in Bangladesh on the basis of position and salary. Seniority and gender discrimination are back firing the industry onwards.

This study implodes the problems caused by poor finance.

METHODOLOGY

This study conveys a survey which conducts direct interviews with the 50 workers. Though 80% of the workers in the industry are women, though the ratio of male and female worker has been kept equal in this survey. That is because most of the women worker is working in the same position which is mostly lower grades of the garments industry work cycle. To draw a comparison among the grades, it is important to ensure the participation from the upper grades in a good number which is mostly held by men even though they are only 20% regarding the whole industry. Ten grades ranging from merchandiser to sweeper have been taken into account from the industry. This survey designed to make a clear conception of the impacts happening in their personal life and professional life as well as the cause of low wage. Beside of that, information has frequently taken and used directly from several relevant journals, books, company profile and BGMEA website which are taken as primary sources. And to make a clear conception and idea about theoretical knowledge, some secondary sources are taken under supervision which is mostly journals, websites and books.

Facts and situations: a collide reality in advance According to the World Bank calculation, a person with a \$1.90 earning per day may exceed poverty line this study shows that most of the worker has a family with at least of 5 members. Following that and to exactitude the equation, they should have earned $5*30*1.9= \$285$ per month.

This study has prepared a living cost table which shows the least amount of money one needs to run a family incompetence with the current price rates in Bangladesh (Table 1).

From above table, it is disclosed that \$314 is the least they need to sustain. The highest rank taken under in survey is a merchandiser, who earns \$288 per month. So it can assume easily about the lower rank. After analysing data from the survey, several major parts of life seems affected widely which need to be discussed in brief.

FOOD

Dhaka University Institute of Nutrition and Food Science calculates that 10 hours' work can cost 3354 calorie and 2406 calorie for men and women respectively. To fulfil this calorie by taking balanced diet, one should need 57 percent carbohydrates, 30 percent fat and 13 percent portion of his/her daily meal. Vitamin is another necessary element in food chart to prevent diseases.

Numbeo, a famous online database based on user-contributed data shows that for fulfilling 2400 calories of food demand with Asian food types, one needs \$87.13 per month. So a 5 members family would have needed \$435.65 per month. According to this survey, each family can spend only \$168 per month.

ACCOMMODATION

Garments industry is mostly Dhaka based (Figure 3). So people from all over the country gather there. To fulfil the accommodation demand, many small slums are set up all over the city by concentrating where industries are located (Figure 3).

When people come from other districts, they bring their family with them. Now the problem is the size of the family and the size of the accommodations compared with the size of the slums. Bangladesh is not quite familiar with the nuclear family. They live with their parents and wife and 2/3 children, in some cases, the number is bigger. A family (Small family is consist of 2-4 members and joint family normally has 8-13 members) can afford only one big room (or hardly two for joint families) and shared toilet and kitchen at the slums. House rent is normally \$20-70 per month. Though living cost is very low in these slams the living condition is unhygienic.

Purpose	Cost in-BDT(USD)
Food	90(approx. per day)*5*30=13500 (168.22)
House rent + facilities (2 rooms flat)	5000 (62.31)
Transport	1000 (12.46)
Education Cost	2000 (24.92)
Medical	200*5=1000 (12.46)
Daily Essential Products	500 (6.23)
Shoes/Sandals	200 (2.49)
Mobile cost	400 (4.98)
Dress(4 set in a year)	1000 (12.46)
Emergency	1000 (12.46)
Total	25600 (314.01)

Table 1: Least monthly budget for a family (5 members).

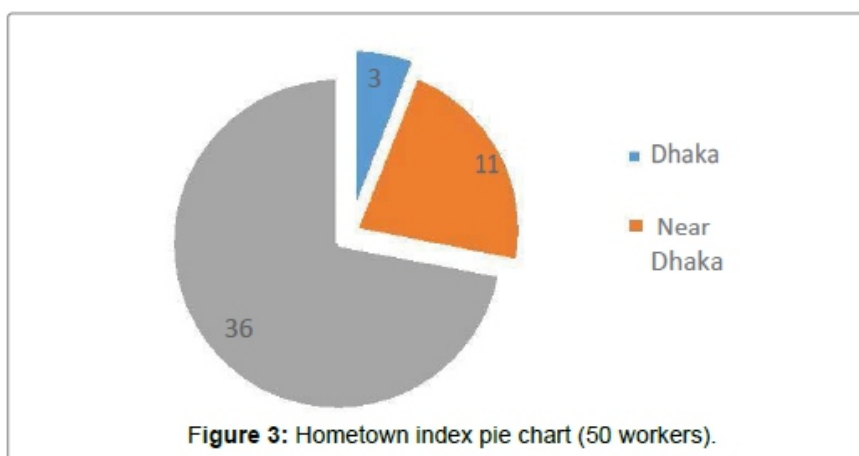


Figure 3: Hometown index pie chart (50 workers).

SAVINGS

Most of the workers are not satisfied with their earnings as survey reports. 70% of them are not satisfied and only 5% are happy with their earning. One big reason behind this dissatisfaction is they cannot save money at the end of the month. Below chart shows the outcome and imbalance of the income and savings from the survey report, where I have taken 50 workers from 10 different ranks. The survey shows that only 3 group among 10 have satisfactory earnings and savings, whereas rest of them are not up for any savings but for fulfilling primary demands (Figure 4).

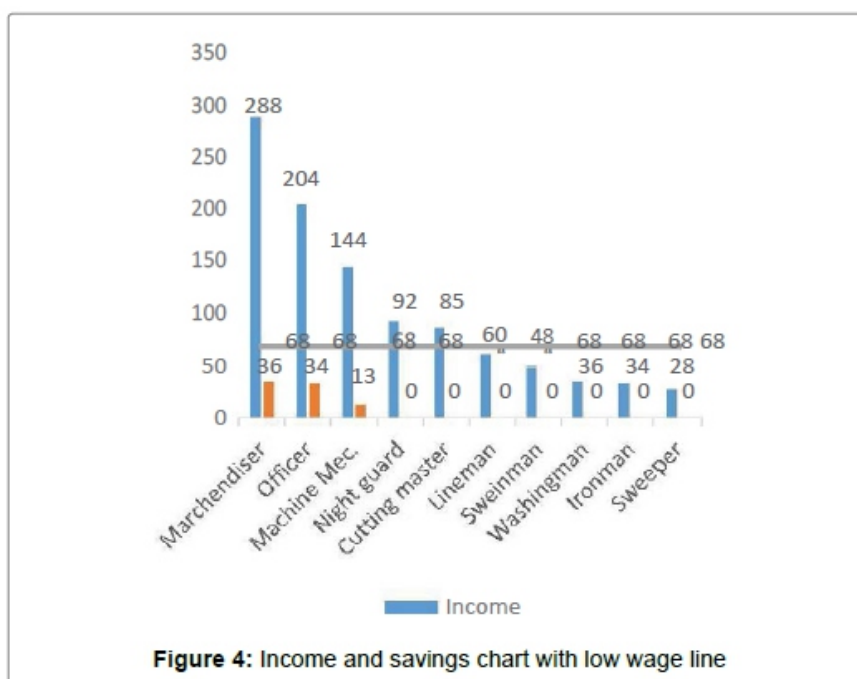
As a result, workers do not have any bank account or way of saving in most of the cases. Saving is not a possible outcome there. Although they are the majority of this industry. About half of the workers, especially women take loans from some NGO's with a high interest. It helps them to start a new business or savings for their daughters' dowry at the marriage.

EDUCATION OF THE WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Garments workers are usually come from rural areas for seeking jobs in town or city. As their primary target is to earn for living, they are not conscious about getting the proper education for themselves and their children. Most of the garments worker are women, they are facing discrimination while

expressing their eagerness to study. Majority of the workers can only write their name on a mandatory basis because their garments workstations want so. Bangladeshi Education system is not free. Some NGO's are trying to give free education to the old and children, but it is insufficient to cover a wider range. Another reason for discouraging education is easy to access to garments job. Parents push their children to go to work at a very young age. They do not want to give priority to education over being financially benefited.

However, situations are changing in a positive way in recent years as study shows optimism. 87% of the children of the workers are now going for primary education. Though only 30 percent completed school and 8 percent go for higher studies.



Security and environment at the workstations

In Bangladeshi perspective or in the south Asian atmosphere, working at night is very insecure especially for women. As garments industry consists of 80% female worker in Bangladesh, security stands as a bigger issue. Usually, according to law, overtime can be extended to 8 pm. But most of the garments workers work till 2-3am morning.

Women harassment in the workstation is another insecure matter. 40% of whom I interviewed are sexually harassed and 90% are verbally abused at several times by the immediate manager or supervisor. Verbal abuse is very common here. Women harassment drives women to suicide in many cases. Due to ramshackle law and order situation, it is very hard to draw a line between regular happening an accident. As reflects in the survey, only 16% are satisfied with their work environment.

CONCLUSION

In Bangladesh, there are all facilities available for a better production in garments industry. Considerably high availability of worker in comparative low wages makes garments industry export-oriented (RMG sector is fully export-oriented). It is very good for Bangladeshi economy that even though it is only developing a country, but it holds the second position in the world market of garments export. But with the proper enforcing of the law to create a good environment can help things much improved and secured. Here production happens on social basis, but profit goes divides among few group. A proper distribution of profit and strong policy can turn this fast-growing industry into an exemplary sector of using human asset ideally. Workstation environment is upgrading gradually. But still, they do not reach an ambitious planning skilled management like China and India. And to solve these issues of proper distribution of profit and law enforcement, importer or buyer countries can participate and take a high standard. Bangladesh can negotiate with the buyers and garments owners to create an ideal and healthy distribution onward. Beside of that, social awareness needs to grow up in a wider range from the grassroots to high society. Ensuring free education, medical services and averting price hike boundlessly can be a good step from the government. Garments sector then become a model sector for all other sectors inside Bangladesh and for other countries as well.

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