THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE QUESTION OF
CULTURAL IMPERIALISM IN THE THIRD WORLD
AND THE IMPORT OF POPULAR MEDIA PROGRAMMES.

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim
Centre for Mass Communication Research
University of Leicester

1991
Abstract

The Relationship between the Question of Cultural Imperialism in the Third World and the Import of Popular Media Programmes

by

Mohamed Sayed Ibrahim
Centre for Mass Communication Research
Leicester University

This study, as the title suggests, attempts to shed some light on the Cultural Imperialism debate, paying special reference to the question of the increasing tendency in many parts of the Third World to import popular drama programmes, particularly from the United States. This increasing tendency is, in fact, one of the main factors which has led to renewed interest in this debate on an international level.

The study focuses on Egypt as a study case, which represents most of the characteristics of the situation in the Third World. The study attempts to provide empirical evidence to the Cultural debate by using two approaches: The first, to obtain a detailed picture of the extent and nature of the world of drama production, foreign as well as local, portrayed on Egyptian prime-time television and radio. The second, to obtain a similar picture of the conditions which have led to the increase in the level of foreign drama import in Egypt, the reaction of the audience to such programmes, how they perceive the world of the drama they watch, how they perceive the world around them and how the media relate to them generally, i.e. their values, attitudes, pattern of consumption etc. and what use if any do they make of media programmes in general and foreign production, in particular. The data, on both levels, has been collected through the application of quantitative as well as qualitative methods. While a sample of the audience was studied through the use of Survey and Discussion Group methods, a sample of drama programmes was analyzed through the use of Content as well as Structural Analysis methods.

The object of this exercise is to show both the similarity and difference between local and foreign drama production. It also aims to show whether or not messages purveyed through these programmes are congruent with the cultural outlook of the audience. In so doing, this could possibly help to assess the role played by imported media programmes with regard to the question of "destruction" or otherwise of the indigenous cultures of the Third World and their role in developing and maintaining new values and ideas among the audience. In other words, it could provide the empirical basis necessary when arguing for or against the call for cultural dissociation of the Third World from the World Cultural market.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the people who work at the Centre for Mass Communication Research who provided me with advice and encouragement during my work on this study.

I am particularly indebted to Professor Peter Golding, who was my supervisor and who was a constant source of advice, guidance and constructive criticism. It would not be an exaggeration to say that without Professor Golding, this work would never have come to light.

Thanks are also due to: Dr Graham Mytton, the head of the Research Department, BBC External Services, for the financial support which made this research possible and to Mr J. Beckett, Application Programmer at the Computer Centre, University of Leicester, for his valuable advice and practical help on aspects of the computing and data analysis.
CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER AND TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. PART ONE: Theoretical Review:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Cultural Imperialism Theory</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Cultural Imperialism Theory and the Question of Cultural Dissociation</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Aims and Methods of the Study</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Mass Media in Egypt: A Historical Assessment</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter and Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. PART TWO: The Empirical Aspects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Audience Study:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Radio and Television Audience: A Quantitative Approach</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessing the Relationship between the Egyptian Media and their Audience: A Special Reference to Drama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Content Study</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Drama Content Analysis: A Systematic Quantitative Analysis of a Sample of Radio and Television Drama Programmes</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. A Structural Reading of the Drama: A Qualitative Approach: A Complementary Approach to the Study of Drama Content</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Summary and Conclusions</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter and Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Appendices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Survey Coding Schedule</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Survey Coding Guidelines</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Drama Coding Schedule</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Characters Coding Schedule</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Drama Guidelines</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Synopses of Drama Programmes Included in the Sample</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. A List of countries Importing Egyptian Films</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

It seems that the only way to make headway, at least partially, in the on-going debate relating to the concept of "Cultural Imperialism", designed and practised by the powerful countries of the West, is by producing sufficient empirical evidence to support or refute either side of this argument. Inherent in this debate is the assumption that the industrial countries are trying to perpetuate and reinforce the status quo in the world today, with its unbalanced economic order. This in turn underlines two important features of the international structure. One is the planned scheme followed by the powerful countries, particularly in the West, in their relation with countries of the Third World. The other is that the Third World countries are forced by and large, to be incorporated into a subordinate relationship with the rich parts of the world.

In theory, it is perhaps logical to argue that just as capitalism operates inside individual countries invariably at the expense of a part of society, which endures hardship and poverty, capitalism similarly operates on a world level, but at the expense of the Third World. In a single capitalist country the system largely operates on the dichotomous relationship between those who own the means of production and those who own their ability to work for a wage or a salary. This relationship operates under the influence of other market forces. Capitalism, from this perspective, is a system which favours the few and not the majority. Its supporters would contend that the system allows to leave the ring open for every individual to fight for his social survival and mobility. In reality, however, the result tends to be the defeat of the weaker, for the competition is fierce. While it is possible for anyone to compete in a free market, an economic power base is required to ensure expansion. Once this stage alone has been reached free competition soon disappears. Within the Capitalist cultural sphere it has been argued, though not conclusively, that the media, the main means of cultural
production in the industrial world, purvey messages which help to create an air of legitimisation to the dominant ideology, the ideology of those who own the means of production. (This view is based on the assumption that, in the industrial societies, those who own the means of material production, are invariably those who own the means of cultural production and naturally use the latter to help to further their interests by maintaining the status quo.)

Undoubtedly, the relationship between ownership and control of the media is not simple or clear-cut, especially since media messages pass through various processes, which influence the way they are interpreted by their intended audience. The communication process does not take place in isolation of the social milieu in which all parties live. However, the fact still remains that in the industrialised countries, despite all the claims made about the freedom of speech enjoyed by people in these societies, entries into the sphere of cultural production are made very difficult for particular groups, who have opposing ideas to the dominant ideology. The recent ban in Britain on interviews with the Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, despite all the justifications given for such a ban, can be seen as a case in point. Restricting entry into the cultural sphere has not only been implemented through political means, but also through the fact that the economic base required for cultural production has ensured that access is only open to those who can afford it. Invariably groups with opposing ideas are not in a position to meet such requirements.

The main reason for sketching out the outline of this Western debate, is the close link between the operation of capitalism in the internal as well as international markets. Taking this on a broader world level, the picture remains the same but on a grander scale. Thus we find that the dominant powers in the world are the main producers of material as well as cultural products. Most Third World countries depend on the importation of media material and other goods from the
industrialised countries. The Third World, which might parallel the opposing groups within industrial societies, seems unable to enter into the sphere of cultural production at the world stage, due mainly to economic reasons. The importation of cultural material takes place side by side with economic aid and trade between the Third World and the industrialised countries. It is often argued that the fact that it is very expensive to produce media material, encourages the Third World to resort to importation.

However, the Third World is discouraged from producing its own cultural material, not only because of economic reasons but also because of political pressure. A large number of Third World countries are considered to be governed by regimes, who can be described as Western orientated and would naturally favour Western cultural production. The opponents of cultural importation are concerned about the harmful effects that this would have on the indigenous cultures of the Third World. A thorough examination of all aspects of the argument against cultural importation, coupled with the views of those in favour of it, is given in the first part of this study. However, it suffices here to say that there are great similarities between the debate about the role of the media within the industrial societies and the debate about the "harmful" effects of cultural importation on the Third World cultural "outlook". If the former is seen in terms of helping to maintain the status quo, the latter is seen in terms of maintaining and enhancing the perpetual dependency of the Third World on Western countries.

It has to be said that the international structure is organised mainly on capitalist principles, whereby the "free market" is the dynamic force, which is dominated by the big Western powers. The international market was built on and grew out of national market forces in operation within capitalist countries. Hence the reason why the similarities between the forces operating within the two markets
are so strong and perhaps so obvious.

But nowhere are the similarities between both these major debates so evident, as in their inconclusiveness one way or another. Clearly, the complexity of the issues involved, particularly in the cultural sphere, and the lack of adequate empirical evidence renders it difficult to settle either of these debates. Hence the interest in this study, which attempts to shed some light on the question of media importation and the question of Cultural Imperialism, by assessing some of the media content consumed in Egypt and comparing it to the views and attitudes of those who use these programmes. Such an assessment and comparison are carried out against a thorough examination of some aspects of the cultural "outlook" of Egypt. In fact Egypt was chosen as a case study for the simple reason that, it provides a good example of the Third World countries. In the last twenty years or so, Egypt has increasingly become dependent on Western economic assistance, particularly from the USA. It has become one of the very few countries in the world which receives the highest level of economic aid from the United States. Its close association with the West has been strengthened at a time when the West has made great expansion in the field of communication technology, which has led to a sharp increase in the level of Western media material, imported into Egypt. Egypt also provides an interesting case to study, given that it belongs to a part of the world, which some may claim has a different and perhaps strong culture. So, if that is the case, could such a culture stand the impact of foreign cultural "invasion" as it is often argued by some of the advocates of intercultural contacts? Could it also be the case that such contacts are of immense benefit for the indigenous cultures and that only the unwanted aspects of such cultures are discarded in the process? Or is the reality that the cultures of the Third World are greatly influenced if not harmed, by the cultural importation of products of different social milieus, which are at different stages of development? Central to this argument is the view that the outcome of cultural contacts is more determined
by economic conditions, than by the intrinsic qualities of the indigenous cultures. Clearly, if the latter case is true it would support the argument that the dominant culture, in any epoch, is that of the dominant power, be it within one society or at an international level.

Egypt was also chosen as a case study for the interest and knowledge, which the student has about the country's historical, political, economic, social and cultural aspects, which represent an important part of this study, particularly as it is carried out within a holistic approach to the study of the media. Naturally, this knowledge was of immense value for the conduct of the fieldwork, which represents the backbone of this study. Lack of adequate empirical evidence, as mentioned earlier, is one of the major features characterising the whole question of Cultural Imperialism.

It should be pointed out that this study concentrates mainly on cultural contacts through the mass media, namely television and radio. This should not be interpreted as neglecting other means of cultural production. It is true that very little attention has been given to them in this study, but this is partly because the electronic media have become the most important means, which reach large sectors of any population and across national boundaries. In fact, it was the new development in the electronic field of communication which has given more heat to the simmering debate about foreign cultural influence, as illustrated in the following section of this study.

The study is divided into two major sections: one is theoretical, the other is empirical. The theoretical part examines all the major issues relevant to the cultural debate generally and to the Cultural Imperialism Theory in particular. It also examines the Egyptian mass communication system and the Egyptian milieu in its various aspects. One of the main aims of this part is to provide an
assessment of the Imperialism Theory, in order to define the theoretical focus of the study and to pave the way for a closer reappraisal of the Theory itself and of the whole cultural debate throughout the study. This part also aims to portray the main features which contribute to the make up of what is considered to be Egypt's "culture". The analysis in this part is conceived within the full acceptance of the difficulties of defining the term culture and of seeing it as a continuously changing feature of any society. Yet the intention here is to provide a means of assessing the relationship between the imported foreign cultural material and the cultural "landscape" of Egyptian society.

As for the empirical part, it involves a study of the audience through the survey and discussion groups methods. The scale of the survey and the groups has been confined for various reasons referred to in the section entitled "Aims And Methods", to 203 cases and 8 groups. All were drawn randomly from different parts of Egypt, rural as well as urban. Every case in the survey was interviewed personally by the student, through a very extensively structured questionnaire. The discussions within each group were also guided by the student, which helped to ensure a greater degree of accuracy in the information gathered. This part also involves a content and structural analysis of a sample of prime-time radio and television drama, Arabic as well as foreign production. The concentration on drama programmes was based on the common knowledge that they are the most popular programmes in Egypt as well as in many other parts of the world. While the content analysis concentrates on revealing the obvious and the quantifiable features of the drama, the structural approach attempts to reveal the underlying meaning of the drama, the less obvious aspects of the programmes.

This study follows a holistic approach, not only in the perception of the role of the media in society and in the way of assessing that role, but also in the methods of gathering the essential data for such a purpose. It is hoped that this exercise of
applying a comprehensive approach, such as this, will be able to provide a true picture of a complicated area such as the cultural debate. A complete outline of the research methods and the main aims of the study are provided in a separate section of this work.
A. Part One

C.H.A.P.T.E.R. One
A REVIEW OF THE CULTURAL IMPERIALISM THEORY

The concept of cultural imperialism, which implies domination in the cultural sphere by the powerful countries, i.e., the United States over smaller countries, the so-called Third World, has occupied center stage among academics for more than two decades. Central to this theory is the concern generated by the high level of flow of cultural material from the West to the Third World in particular. However, the actual export of media contents is probably the most visible form of media imperialism" (Boyd Barrett, 1977, p. 127). It is widely accepted that the term "culture" is so broad that it engulfs patterns of behavior, artifacts, beliefs and values, underlying assumptions which prescribe ways of perceiving, thinking and evaluating the world, self, and others. (Schein, 1985), which goes far beyond media messages. Cultural influence implied by the theory passes through different channels, including the mass media. But the centrality of the media messages comes as a result of increased intercultural contacts through the modern means of communication, as Mowlana points out:

"Coupled with social and psychological factors, progress in communication and transportation has helped to lessen cultural isolation". (Cultures No 36, p.47)

Clearly the impact of the so-called communication revolution is perceived in a positive light. It is seen as a means of overcoming the geographical barriers between different cultures. Although Mowlana's remark does not go as far as to see the impact as creating a "global village", yet it subscribes to the positive views expressed towards modern means of communications. However, these views represent one side of the perception of the communication revolution, which characterizes this age. The term "Cultural Imperialism" itself emerged in the
wake of the international expansion in the field of electronic communication, in the late 60's and early 70's, by Western capitalist powers, headed by the United States. Hence the term should be "Media Imperialism" to reflect the growing concern over the American media expansion (Lee, 84). However, the field of communication covers the whole spectrum of information flow, which has become an important element in the operations of the multi-nationals, which play an essential role in the functioning of business worldwide:

("Transnational Corporation, the chief organisers of the world business system, have become virtually dependant upon information flow").

(Hamelink, 1988, p. ix)

This clearly implies that the flow of information, which includes all types of information, occurs in such a way as to consolidate the operations of the multi-national companies. However, to assess the tenets of the theory relevant to this study, some theoretical limits have to be laid down.

(Considering the sheer scope and diversity governing the question of cultural domination, this study would confine itself to the analysis in some depth of the cultural influence through the mass media, as formulated by the theorists of the Cultural Imperialism Theory.)

The Emergence of the Theory

This theory was developed at the time of the emergence of the Dependency Theory, which came about as a result of the failure of the "orthodox" approaches to development which prevailed in the 50's and 60's. The dependency approach brought into the development equation the effects of the imbalance in
international relations, between the strong economies of the world on the one hand and the weaker economies on the other. The central argument to this approach is confined to the detrimental effect of these unbalanced relations on the development process within the smaller countries. No independent development could take place in the Third World countries while these countries are incorporated in a world market system, which operates to their disadvantage. The commercial logic of the market, ensures that the interests of the powerful parties are served, at the expense of the interests of the weaker side. Thus Third World countries are logged into a system which ensures their continuous dependency on the powerful Western countries.

The Cultural Theory has also emerged as a response to the disillusionment with all the developmental policies and activities, which the Third World countries had to adopt to no avail. If the Dependency Theory centred, for the most part, on the need for dissociating the Third World from the unbalanced world market, the Cultural Theory centred on the need for the Third World countries to apply some form of cultural protection or even cultural dissociation. The main argument of this theory is that development has to be an independent and integral process, which does not concentrate only on economic growth, but one which focuses on "global and rationally connected development including culture" (Prince, 1979, p 60). The term "global" is used to refer to an integral development process.

Similar to the dependency approach, the Imperialism Theory implies that cultural importation leads to the incorporation of the Third World into a universal cultural system, which favours the culture of the powerful countries at the expense of the eradication of various "traditional" Third World cultures. Clearly this argument draws on Marxist analysis, which take the dominant ideas of a society as those of the dominant class, thereby determining its historical moment. (Mattelart, Communication in a Dependant Society", 1978, p 17).
However, in practice, this theory draws on the experience of some Third World countries, particularly of South America, which have been "swamped" with Western cultural products at the expense of the "eradication of their national cultural identity" (Prince, Ibid, 1979, p 58) and the stagnation of the development process which left many parts of the Third World in an even "lesser" developed state.

Models of Development

Since it is clear that the "Cultural Imperialism Theory" is a response, to a great extent, to the dilemma facing the so-called underdeveloped world, it is important to provide a summary of the major themes which underlie the various development approaches, so as to help in assessing their weaknesses in relation to the Imperialism Theory.

It seems that concern with the whole issue of development has appeared as a response to the new political and economic changes which have taken place in the world in the wake of the Second World War. The United States emerged as the major world power replacing the colonial centres, but applying different means of materialising that power. Development models, therefore, appeared as a means of aiding the smaller countries, most of which were under colonial rule. However, in the last thirty years or so, the sociological field has witnessed the emergence of at least three major approaches to development. Golding has defined these three main approaches in terms of the "index approach, theories of differentiation and theories of exogenously induced change" (1974, p 10). It seems that every decade witnessed the emergence of one theory. While these three previous approaches prevailed in the fifties and sixties, the late 70's witnessed the emergence of the Self-reliant approach. The first three approaches saw development in terms of economic growth, a "modernisation" process and
"diffusion" of various Western innovations. The last approach, on the other hand, saw the development in terms of an internal process which responds to people's actual needs, irrespective of what took place in the West (Rogers 1976, McAnany, 1980).

In fact the last approach receives greater support from various Third World countries, reflected by the interests, concern and encouragement expressed in many conferences held by a number of International Forums. The old approaches proved their inadequacy by failing to bring about the expected results. Firstly, an increase in economic activity led to the improvement in the level of GNP, but there was no real improvement in the quality of life for the poorer masses of the Third World. In the process, industrialisation was introduced, as Hartmann points out, at the expense of agricultural expansion, which formed the backbone of many countries of the Third World (Ibid, 1980).

Secondly, the distinction inherent in these approaches between societies, in terms of traditional versus modern, showed a total misconception resulting from the perception of underdevelopment as being a static stage and that the Third World reflected only one type of society, irrespective of the different historical experiences of the various countries involved. It also showed an element of ethnocentrism resulting from the perception of Western societies as being modern, universal and an end-state that the Third World countries should hurry to catch up with. Thirdly, diffusion of innovations proved to be counter productive, particularly in the area of technical innovation. Seymour sums up some aspects of the impact of imported technology in various Third World countries by referring to:
"the adverse impact of technology which is beginning to make itself evident in the conflicting needs for the countries to introduce machines and the factory ethos against the dislocation of the labour force often with inadequate training plans and inadequate facilities for the imported machinery".

(1978, p 86).

In addition to the question of cultural "invasion" through the introduction of technological innovations into the Third World, it is argued that "technology is not neutral". New innovations were developed within different social and cultural realities" (Prince, Ibid, p58) to meet different needs and which reflect certain choices made by these societies. Boyd-Barrett, speaking of the invention of the means of communication, points out that:

"the shape of communication vehicles was the result of 'strategic choices' made by Western countries and each came as a result of commercial choices".

(Ibid, 1977, p120).

Hence, the means of mass communication, including satellites, were allowed financially and politically to develop, so as to fulfil the commercial needs of having access to as wide an audience as possible and in a very short space of time. Many would argue that not all technical innovations are counter productive and that the Third World countries make their own "strategic choices", when they choose to adopt certain Western innovations. Nowhere is this made clearer than in the adoption of the electronic mass media and the different roles they came to play in the development process. The initial introduction of the mass media was instigated by the strong belief in their own potential in speeding up the wheel of development. Although the perception of the role of the media in development
has shifted somewhat to reflect the changes presented in development theories, their continued adoption and expansion is still motivated by their perceived importance to the development process. Many Third World countries either have their own satellite or make use of satellite services available. In fact, "the role of the media in development corresponded very closely", as Golding points out, "to the different development approaches" (Ibid, p 74), which led the media to occupy centre stage in most developing countries.

The Media and Development

Clearly, there is no other Western innovation that has been more associated with the development process of the Third World than the electronic media. Perhaps this would partly explain the importance given to foreign media material as a foreign cultural product within the Cultural Imperialism Theory. Almost all Third World countries diverted considerable resources to the establishment of their own mass media infrastructures (Tunstall, 1977). Obviously, this was achieved under the supervision and with the help from the West, in particular the United States, which provided technical assistance and training of professionals (Wells, 1972). Initially, the mass media came to be central to development when the level of development was measured by, among other factors, the level of exposure to the media (Golding, Ibid, 1974). UNESCO has established certain level of media exposure as a means of measuring development. Within this old approach the media were seen as the "magic multiplier" which could convey developmental messages across the nation, and as Boyd-Barratt points out, they could "help in breaking down traditional values, consolidating national identity and the dissemination of skills" (1982, p 185). This important role played by the media was perceived within the first theory of development. According to that theory, development was seen in terms of economic improvement along Western lines. Hence, it required the introduction of internal social changes, whereby the
media were seen as effective tools. This central media role echoed their powerful role, perceived within communication research in the West throughout the 50's and early 60's. The central concern for research was to measure the effect of the media on their audience, who were perceived as 'atomised' individuals.

The changes in development approaches, which considered underdeveloped countries to be less modern, led to changes in the role of the mass media in development. Development came to be seen again as a way towards economic improvement, but through the introduction of outside factors such as "know-how". Consequently the media came to be essential in helping to diffuse new innovations. Although the media remained important, they came to be seen in a less powerful light. This was also echoed in communication research, by the emergence of the two-step flow model whereby media messages were transported from the medium to the opinion leader, before they reached the everyday audience. However, the media's importance was reduced as a result of the emergence of the Self-reliant approach, which led to the perception of the media as playing a contributory role, side by side with traditional means of communication. If the old approaches to development saw the process of improving the economic conditions of the underdeveloped countries in terms of changes brought about by internal or external forces, the Self-reliant approach saw development in a wider context than in purely economic terms; one which could be achieved through an independent process, largely determined by internal conditions and needs, and one which could make use of whatever means available internally or externally to meet social needs (Golding, Ibid, 1974).

This change was echoed in the communication research theory, which saw the media within a social milieu and the communication process as a social process and not a linear operation. But the change in the role played by the media in the development process has led to the emergence of a Western style media, which is:
"devoted almost entirely to consumerism (sales and entertainment)"

(Wells, Ibid, p 117).

The media, particularly television, has become more a means of entertainment than of education, which has led in turn to the opening of doors for the importation of foreign media material to fill available transmission time, designed on a Western schedule (Tunstall, Ibid, 1977). In addition to this, the rapid advance in communication technology has led the way to the emergence of critical views with regard to the impact of foreign cultural "invasion" (Wells, 1972) through entertainment and advertisements, which in turn have culminated with the emergence of the "Cultural Imperialism Theory".

Tenets of the Cultural Imperialism Theory

Whether this Theory is considered within its broadest sense, cultural imperialism, incorporating the importation of all products of foreign culture/s into the culture in which these products are being consumed, or within its narrowest sense, media imperialism, which is concerned only with cultural products that are transmitted through the media, particularly television ie news, advertisements and drama of various kinds, the main tenets of the Theory remain almost unchanged. Central to these tenets is the condition in which Third World cultures find themselves in, in relation to the culture of Western countries, where they are under threat of extinction and to the detriment of the well being of the people who formed these cultures over centuries in many cases. It is argued that the indigenous cultures of the Third World countries are gradually disappearing, which has contributed directly to the underdevelopment of these countries by increasing their dependency on the West. Reducing or removing external influences within Third World countries is an important prerequisite in the self-reliant approach to
development. One of the most prominent exponents of the Imperialism Theory, H. Schiller, calls for the protection of:

"the cultural integrity of weak societies whose national, regional, local or tribal heritages are beginning to be menaced with extinction".


This danger seems to have emerged as a result of the influence of the importation of cultural products from the West, particularly through the mass media, which "forces the Third World cultures to synchronise with this invading culture" (Hamelink, 1988, p 5). It is clear from Schiller's remark that one of the main underlying assumptions of this Theory is that Third World countries, as referred to previously, are perceived as weak economically as well as culturally, for there is fear that their cultures will not be able to survive these 'foreign cultural attacks'.

The other important assumptions of the Imperialism Theory is that cultural products of any kind bring with them a whole new set of values and ideas, which are part of the cultural milieu in which these products were first conceived and then developed. This assumption in fact echoes what was referred to earlier, that technology is not neutral. A society does not adopt or absorb a certain product without doing likewise to the culture associated with that product. Alan Wells in his empirical study of South American society, concludes that the mass media in South America were introduced through private hands, to fulfil commercial interests and to become a means for encouraging "consumerism", at a time when the development process in that part of the world required "producerism". More importantly, he argues that this influence was apparent even when the power of consumption among the majority of people was not strong. He illustrates this
point by arguing that:

"Although only an elite few can actually consume in the Western manner, the desire to do so is so widespread, both because of these outside influences and an imitation of the Westernised domestic elite."  

(Ibid, 1972, p44).

No doubt these conditions apply mainly to societies such as South America, which adopt systems of communication closely resemble those of the United States whereby all major networks have commercial links or interests which extend beyond public broadcasting (Ibid, 1972, p 117). However, this is not always the case in many Third World countries, particularly those who were under colonial rule. Yet, Wells' empirical evidence shows very clearly that the nature of American cultural products in general is one which is motivated largely by the commercial spirit of market creation, attracting large audience, through packaging and advertisement and the maximisation of profits. Wells is not alone in observing the mutual relations of interests between media and commercial organisations. It is widely accepted that they both seek to enter the world market and diversify their commercial activity. The cultural production of media organisations, therefore, reflects this commercial orientation, since it is designed in such a way as to satisfy created demands:

"Television programmes are designed carefully in the same sense as other commodities to satisfy artificially simulated wants".  


In so doing, this robs the cultural activity of these means of communication from any genuine reflection of the true aspects of the source culture/s. Production is
therefore confined to the reflection of the 'business class' culture, for almost every class or a group of people has its own distinctive culture. It should be pointed out that these views influence the attitude towards the role of the mass media within Western societies, in so far as they are seen as helping to legitimise the status quo within these societies through the prominence they give to the dominant culture, which is, to a great extent, a "business culture". It is argued that the media helps to create, what L. Wirth terms "social censorium", which promotes cohesion among people and leads the subordinate groups in society to accept the status quo, through the reproduction of the dominant ideology, which "fills a practical function: it confers a certain coherence and a relative unity on the system" (Mattlart, Ibid, 1978, p.17). This argument, which clearly cannot be exclusively proven, is being extended to the international context, where the means of communication are perceived as "participants" in the maintenance of the international structure heavily favouring the Western economies. Since capital has been transnationalised, to ensure its expansion, it has become essential that the world order is stabilised and maintained. There is a strong parallel between the continued functioning of the system within the national capitalist centres and that of the international system with its present structure.

The evidence drawn from the conditions that exist in South American countries also points to specific cultural values, which imported cultural artifacts bring with them into the "host" culture. The operations of the multi-national cooperations do not, as Schiller argues, only rely on information, but they also require the establishment of subsidiaries in the smaller countries, which bring with them the values of what is termed as "enterprise culture" ie. work ethics, consumption, managerial code and mercantile language (Ibid, 1976). However, the spread of Western culture did not result only from commercial motives, but also, as the Cultural Imperialist theorists point out, resulted from other motives, particularly to achieve some degree of world hegemony to facilitate further economic
expansion and world dominance. Hamelink refers to the growing importance of creating cultural influence for Western domination to the extent that:

"cultural influence is now a central aspect of the military, political and economic expansion of the Western Industrial states".

(Ibid, 1988, p5).

Hence, the more Western culture is spread, the more the Western world's domination is enhanced. This view of world cultural "interaction" gains great support from the continued link between development in communication and the realization of the American military and commercial interests, as Schiller argues that:

"Each new electronic development widens the perimeter of American influence and the indivisibility of military and commercial activity which operates to promote even greater expansion"


It may be concluded, therefore, that the means of communication were not invented to do just that which is implied by the term itself. That is to communicate and to create greater intercultural contacts, as some saw the age of the communication revolution as a means of bringing people of the world together and of promoting understanding and creating Macluhan's idealistic vision of a "global village" (Mowlana, Ibid, p 41). But they were intended for serving military and commercial interests. Even the invention of satellites, which caused major concern among most Third World countries, came about, as Matlart points out, "as a fall out of technology originally conceived for military purposes" (Ibid, 1979, p15). The cultural threat to Third World countries, as perceived by the
Cultural Imperialism theorists, is the more dangerous because it helps to enhance the power and the position of the Western world, than just the actual disappearance of Third World cultures as such. If the dominant culture in a society is associated with the dominant class, then it follows that the dominant world culture is that associated with the dominant world powers. The dominance of a culture ensures the perpetual dominance of the maker of such culture, on whatever level.

Hence, the term imperialism is incorporated into this theory. According to Lenin, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, which began with the expansion of capital and the invasion of the world market. Historically speaking, colonialism has given rise to imperialism in the late 19th century Europe at the hands of the Western colonial centres. Thus imperialism is associated with the domination of these centres in economic terms. It has to be said that colonialism began as a means of creating markets as well as political balance. Since the Second World War, imperialism continued to operate, but under different conditions, where political and military domination was no longer required and where the United States resumed the role used to be played by the colonial centres in exercising its World dominance. The term imperialism seemed for most of the theory's founders an apt interpretation given that 'cultural domination' was recognised as "an unassailed bastion of the old order" and "represented an extension of the battleground of anti-imperialism since the late 60's". (Schiller, 1978, p 35).

More importantly, the term imperialism seemed also apt because it managed to capture the nature of current world cultural order, which was perceived along the economic order lines. While in the economic front, the Western power used the Third World as a source of their raw material, a "dumping ground" for surplus products and a fertile sphere for profitable investment at the expense of the impoverishment of Third World economies. The cultural order came to follow a
linear pattern, from the centre to the periphery as Hamelink indicates:

"The process of cultural synchronisation implies that a particular type of cultural development in the metropolitan countries is persuasively communicated to the receiving countries..... and goes massively in one direction and has basically a synchronic mode".

(Ibid, 1988, p 5).

Thus, cultural-flow is seen not only to follow one direction, but also to force the receiving culture into a limited choice, either to adopt or to absorb the invading culture, (Boyd-Barratt, 1977, p. 119). At the same time the emitter cultures enjoy wide choice in exercising their cultural enterprise in a manner that is similar to the wide choices available in the economic sphere. While the dominators have easy access to resources - military, economic and informational, the dominated have only "their own will for independence and self-determination" (Schiller, Ibid, 1978, p35). It has been argued by the Cultural Imperialism theorists that cultural import of any kind, whether imposed or invited is harmful to the host nations because it "compromises the autonomy of the Third World over the question of allocation of resources" (Hamelink, Ibid, 1988, p 7). Decisions, therefore, concerning development plans would be made for the Third World from outside. More specifically, the effects of this cultural invasion, implied by the theory, covers a very wide spectrum of life. It affects taste, ideology, way of life, language, behaviour patterns, problems and expectations (Pasqual, 1979, p 64-65). It also determines to a large extent "the cultural outlook and social direction of the new nations for generations to come" (Schiller, Ibid, 69, p 110). It is implicit in the Theory's various assumptions, the idea that such a cultural invasion on an unprecedented scale, would foster a good and tempting image of the source of this invading culture, namely the United States, in the hearts and minds of the consuming nations (Tunstall, Ibid, 1977).
The very close link between the economic and cultural world orders, drawn by the Cultural Imperialism Theory, reflects the rise in the importance of cultural structure in the integral development approach, which was formulated just before the emergence of the Cultural Imperialism Theory. This link was also echoed in the demand made by the Third World for a new world economic order and a new world information order, which were based on some of the arguments and concerns expressed by the Cultural Imperialism Theory. In addition to the link established between the cultural as well as the economic sphere, implicit in the Imperialism Theory a call for a new Cultural World Order.

New World Economic and Information Order

It is very difficult to talk about the Cultural Imperialism Theory without referring to the call for new world economic and information order. Both are calls for redressing the balance in existing world order which favour the West. Both originated as a direct result to the continued failure of Third World countries to make any headway in their developmental activities. Both are political expressions to theories formulated with the intention of looking at the question of development from a holistic viewpoint. The Dependency Theory, advocated by theorists such as Frank, Sweezy and Hayter, argues that the poverty of the Third World is a direct result of its integration into the world market. Thus underdevelopment is viewed as "not simply a failure to develop but as an active process of exploitation (Hartmann, 1980). The call for a New World Economic Order is a call made by Third World countries as a response to this theory, through the United Nations and its various agencies, "to break their independence on Western trade". It aims to give the Third World complete control of its own resources, increasing its exports to the West, increasing the level of transfer of advanced technology and in imposing strict controls over multi-national corporations (Meyer, 1988, p 4).
The call for a New World Information Order was made public for the first time in the non-aligned conference in Algeria in 1973, which echoed some of the concern expressed through the Cultural Imperialism Theory, namely that imperialism is not confined solely to the political and economic spheres, but also to the cultural and social fields (Schiller, Ibid, 1978, p 36). Briefly therefore, the New Information/Communication Order aims to change the linear direction of the flow of information and to reduce the hegemony on news-flow exercised by the big four Western news agencies. The new order attempts to give more coverage to developmental news rather than concentrates on "spot news" in the Western style (Meyer, Ibid, 1988) and promotes regional cooperation in exchange for news and information. However, despite all the conferences, recommendations and reports concerning the World Information Order, no concrete results have yet emerged, with the exception of a feeling of greater awareness and concern in the Third World, which was translated into governmental plans to promote traditional cultures and of opening new departments in colleges and universities for the studies of the media and the production of national media cadres.

It is clear that the Imperialism Theory differs from the concept behind the call for a New World Economic Order and a New World Information Order, in two major aspects. One is that the theory is not associated with direct political demands. The second is that the theory seems to put the first steps towards change in the hands of the Third World countries themselves, who have to either apply cultural protection measures or to cut themselves off world cultural contacts altogether.

Critique

There is no doubt that the Cultural Imperialism Theory has made a major contribution to the study of the sociology of development and to the field of international relations. But close examination of the tenets to this Theory will
reveal some hidden weaknesses which ought to be highlighted. The discussion here will be confined to the general criticism of the theory and will not involve the question of its perception of the nature of culture or the call by some of its advocates towards cultural dissociation, along the same lines as those of economic dissociation. These aspects will be dealt with in the next chapter.

One of the most obvious criticisms which can be levelled at this Theory is that it is more of an assumption based on rhetoric rather than on real empirical evidence. Clearly, the difficulties involved with the term culture makes it very difficult to obtain empirical evidence. Coupled with this is the fact that perhaps the time has not yet come for empirical studies to bear fruit, particularly since the Cultural Imperialism Theory did not emerge in its original form until the last two decades. However, most of the old surveys and studies undertaken by UNESCO, regarding the state of the media systems in the Third World, are the most celebrated examples. The most recent of studies, Meyer 1988, which concentrated on the most obvious aspects of foreign cultural influence through the mass media, is another example. By and large these studies have been confined to measuring the level of presence of foreign media programmes in comparison to home-produced material. Very few studies, if any at all, have endeavoured to analyze the content of these programmes and more importantly, the level of their consumption and the use made of them by the receiving audience.

Although the Cultural Imperialism Theory does not confine itself solely to the cultural influence through the mass media, it does remain apparently evident that such an influence is central to this Theory, which perceives the world as being dominated by "messages made in America and radiated across the globe", as Schiller points out:
"Made in America messages; imagery, lifestyle and information techniques are being internationally circulated and equally important globally imitated.

(Ibid, 76, p 3).

Despite the fact that the media messages are not the only source of foreign cultural contacts, they are nevertheless an important means of giving wide access to foreign culture across classes, ages and locations. Moreover, the call for New World Information Order, outlined earlier, addressed the issue of the mass media and aimed in particular at correcting the imbalance in news flow across the globe. Most empirical studies as mentioned above, show that information/news flow in one direction and a large proportion of all information/news being transmitted across the globe, are governed by the four big Western news agencies. In Meyer's recent study, it was found that 56 to 76% of all identifiable sources from a sample of newspapers, taken from a number of Third World countries, were attributable to these four news agencies (Ibid, 1988, p 83). Furthermore, the study showed that these Western news agencies concentrated mainly on "spot news" whilst information emitted by non-aligned news services displayed a greater interest in developmental news (Ibid, p 53). These findings, together with others from similar studies, confirm the concern expressed by Third World countries and perhaps were a contributing factor as to one of the motives behind their demand for a change in the world information order. The most important motive behind such a call seems to be the frustrated attempts on the part of most Third World countries, to improve conditions following prescriptions laid down within the "orthodox" theories of development. These theories endeavoured to change the conditions in the Third World by directing almost all efforts towards changing some of the internal conditions of its countries.
It is almost two decades since the Third World has shown any concerted effort, be it at conferences level, to change the world order, at the economic as well as the information level, without any real and significant progress. This may be partly due to fierce opposition encountered from the West, particularly from the United States, who even withdrew from UNESCO, taking Great Britain along with it, in a bid to force the organisation against the adoption of the Third World's cause, in particular regarding the New World Information Order.

Others, such as Hamelink, argue that the failure of the Third World to change the present situation lies in the fact that:

"the problem has been removed from its context, namely the existing political and economic dependency relations and the destruction of the cultural autonomy of many nations".

(Ibid, 1988, p. 83)

This situation clearly highlights the limitations of the call for a New World Information Order. It aims mainly to reform part of the existing world structure rather than to change it. Moreover, the opponents of the call for a new order contend that it aims to restrict the free flow of information and to provide a cover for some Third World countries. Although it is easy to refute this argument, for it defends the vested interests of the West in the current world information order, it points to the difficulties facing the implementation of the new order.

However, the perception of the structure of the world 's cultural relations, whether within the framework of the call for New World Information Order or within the Cultural Imperialism Theory, has far too many contradictions to be able to bring any real changes to the current situation. Central to this, is the uni-directional flow of the world communication order. Regarding news flow, which stands at
the heart of the New World Information Order, although most empirical studies undertaken show a strong reliance on Western news agencies (Meyer, Ibid, 1988), yet they also show these agencies to be "mere go-betweens for the national news agencies" of the Third World countries (Tunstall, Ibid, 1977, p 45). The underlying implication of this is that the Third World and perhaps the whole world adopt similar media systems in format and content to those of the West, and to the American in particular. This should not come as any surprise for it was America who pioneered the modern means of communication and who helped many Third World countries to build their own national media. Even the non-aligned countries news pool, which was formed to counterbalance the reliance on Western agencies, had to rely on America's technical assistance and training of staff in the initial period (Meyer, Ibid, 1988). In other words, American means were used to counter American influence, which was bound to create a vicious circle.

American presence is not only felt within the area of news gathering and distribution, but also in the areas of drama as well as other media programmes. But this does not necessarily mean that the world media order is structured according to manipulative plans, on the part of the United States. This could well mean, as Tunstall puts it, that:

"the world by adopting American media formats, has in practice become hooked on American style media, whether these are homemade or imported".


This situation also persuades some Third World countries to buy American programmes to satisfy the media's insatiable appetite for production. Such programmes are on offer in the market along with other products and in
competition with similar material from other countries. It follows that each country would buy the material which suits it best. Naturally there are certain conditions and factors which influence the choice of each country. For example, the "cost of production explains why so many underdeveloped countries resort to canned American programmes" (Mowlana, Ibid, 1986, p 57).

The Cultural Imperialist Theorists, on the other hand, argue that the logic of the market and the heavy concentration of production companies leads inevitably to American monopolisation of the media market. This cannot be easily disputed for, as Boyd-Barratt puts it, "there is no evidence to suggest that foreign film companies are playing a role in the United States markets" (Ibid, 1977, p 127). Yet the Imperialism Theorists seem to give little or no regard to the possibility of state intervention, which often lessens the chances of having an uninterrupted unidirectional media flow. Many Third World countries have their own communication and information policies which determine the use of foreign media material.

"Even poorer countries can and sometimes do take measures to reduce the impact of foreign media influence".


Certainly, the latest development in communication technology, and communication satellite in particular, might make this process more difficult, but it does remain in the realm of possibility. State control can be materialised, for example, through restricting the opportunities for obtaining the required receivers or through a national receiving station, which receives direct satellite transmission, before it is supplied to domestic receivers.
The possibility of intervention by national governments also throws great doubt upon the Cultural Imperialism Theorist's claim, that the imbalance in cultural flow helps to create a good image for the producer countries. Moreover, as Tunstall argues "this cannot always be true for there are some foreign regimes who used various Hollywood films to discredit the United States" (Ibid, 1977, p 272). All information received from Iran in recent years shows that most of the slogans used by the leaders of the Iranian revolution to capture popular support were anti-American, despite the process of "Westernisation" of Iran during the rule of the Shah. While taking into consideration the specific political, economic, social, cultural, and religious structure of Iran, this evidence indicates that "unless a nation has control over the distribution process, its messages may be ineffectual" (Mowlana, Ibid, 1986, p 10). Foreign messages usually have to go through various barriers, national governments, national media agencies and finally the local social milieu, before they finally reach the consumer (Ibid, 1986).

Embedded in the Cultural Imperialism Theory is the concern for the unidirectional flow of world culture and the assumption that this will automatically be detrimental to receiving countries. This is primarily due to the fact that dominant foreign cultural production, namely media programmes, reflect mainly Western conservative ideology. Apart from the exaggerated influence of the media inherent in this perception, most recent historical experiences of the Third World since the time of their independence, do not show that the situation within these countries has remained stable. The argument here would be similar to that concerning the role of the media within the Western industrialised societies. Many argue that media in Western societies primarily help to maintain the status quo. Although it is very difficult to confirm or refute such a view, it is reasonable to assume that imported foreign media could have a similar role within Third World countries. However, all evidence indicates that there is almost no
country in the Third World which has escaped profound changes of some kind or other in the form of military coups or revolutions, which might cast doubt over the idea of cultural impact because, as Boyd-Barratt argues:

"if reactionary Western media content does have a political impact, it would seem prima facie that such an impact is curiously ineffective in diverting popular discontent, rebellion, revolution in many countries subject to such content".


Although it can be argued that the Cultural Imperialism Theory is concerned with the wider cultural impact on the masses of the Third World and not only on the military or the political elite, who often play a leading role in these political changes, Barratt's point remains valid. Any political changes usually affect the whole or at least a great part of society, which have a profound internal social impact and in many cases enjoy popular support. Furthermore, there is great doubt as to whether the media or other cultural sources can indeed play a role on a national basis in supporting certain political regimes unless the internal social milieu favours such support.

Neglecting the role played by the internal social milieu within the countries of the Third World seems to be a distinct feature of the Cultural Imperialism Theory and a major source of criticism. The Theory distinguishes between 'aggressors' and 'victims' but ignores the internal class struggle and the diversity of cultural life. It also perceives ideology as a model of values imposed from outside upon the nation as a whole (Sarti, Ibid, 1981). The Theory considers the Third World as one static entity, ie passive, unable to defend itself and only capable of absorbing or at best adopting that which it is subjected to. There is no doubt that imported foreign culture has a role to play in influencing the social formation of the Third
World, but it does seem that it has been given more weight than it deserves, with the inevitable consequence of overshadowing other important forces at play. Sometimes this has led, intentionally or otherwise, to a vicious circle in which the question of development is located and to the protection of the interests of certain groups and classes within certain Third World countries.

This point of view is echoed by Osvaldo Capriles, quoted by Mattlart, when he attacks the call for a New World Economic Order and New World Information Order by suggesting that:

"the impassioned defence of a new economic order, a new information order, a new technological order, is often a convenient mask for maintaining an unchanged internal situation".

(Ibid, 1983, p 135)

For example, a new information order aimed at giving the Third World countries more power to control the flow of information could lead to the suppression of the real and true reflection of what is taking place in these countries. In this situation the main side which is bound in the end to benefit is the ruling elite. Historical experience over the last three decades in the Third World shows, that developmental activity did not bring about the expected changes partly because the benefits remained confined to small sections of society. Hence it is common to find some Third World countries to have a higher GNP level and a low level of distribution, creating wider social gaps than that seen in certain Western societies.

Focusing too much attention on foreign cultural influence can also lead to the misconception of both the problem and its proposed solutions. Some advocates of Cultural Imperialism, Hamelink in particular, go as far as to call for cultural dissociation between the Third World and the West. This is seen as a means of
eradicating the dangers of foreign cultural invasion and protecting the cultures of the Third World. Such a call seems to see no positive aspects to the current cultural flow in the world at all and fails to recognise that within the Third World there are various cultures. This lends itself to the question of which culture they are actually trying to protect and whether it is surely not the case that cultural dissociation would deny the Third World valuable benefits and in so doing prove to be a self defeating exercise. An answer to these questions demands a closer inspection of the whole debate regarding the evolution and interaction between different cultures. This shall be the subject of the following section.

In spite of all these shortcomings inherent in the Cultural Imperialism Theory, it does remain an important contribution to the study of underdevelopment. It has drawn attention to the role that could be played by foreign culture in hindering the development process in the Third World. It was mentioned earlier that it is difficult to provide empirical evidence to support this Theory, but this should not be enough reason to reject it, particularly since it is very difficult to single out individual signs of cultural invasion. Culture is a whole way of life and it can only be seen as such. Any casual observation of any high street in any capital city in the Third World, would detect many obvious signs of Western influence or imitation. This alone is not sufficient to indicate the presence of foreign culture, which is harmful to national development. One of the ways of providing more evidence would be to study why such a culture is prevalent in the first place and how people of all classes relate to it, taking into account the relationship between that culture and the dominant culture within each country. It is the aim of this study therefore, to examine the extent of foreign cultural influence through the media in Egypt and in so doing shed more light on the subject.
C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Two
THE CULTURAL IMPERIALISM THEORY AND
THE QUESTION OF CULTURAL DISSOCIATION

The Cultural Imperialism Theory should be assessed from a purely "cultural" standpoint, analyzing the nature of cultures, so as to reveal its weaknesses as well as its strength. This would greatly help when assessing some of the suggested solutions to counter the impact of foreign cultural invasion, particularly the call for cultural dissociation. The importance of such an approach is enhanced by the historical fact that the nature of cultures has been the subject of fierce and continuous debate for more than a century throughout most of the world. The Cultural Imperialism Theory has heightened that debate even further, by widening its context, from within nations to inter-nations. It has also located the "developmental equation" in an international cultural context, rather than being confined to the economic sphere. One of the most important contributory factors in the unsettlement of the cultural debate in general, has been the "unbelievable elasticity and malleability" of the term culture (D Paul Shafer, 1980, p 37), which has made it a term that means different things to different people at different historical periods. Thus it is essential to try and provide a workable definition of culture within this study, based upon the perception of culture by a number of well known writers, as well as by the Cultural Imperialist Theorists, before the assessment of the theory itself moves any further.

Towards a definition of culture

Clearly the term "culture" is one of the most difficult of terms to define. One of the main reasons for this is that, as Raymond Williams puts it, "the development of the world cultures is a record of a number of important and continuing reactions to these changes in our social, economic and political life" (1961, p 16). In other words, the meaning of the term culture represents, or to be more precise,
the scope of what the term culture represents, is a continually changing one to accommodate the changes that take place in any society.

However, there are two main distinct definitions of culture which are in use and which can readily be identified, though with the risk of simplification. The first definition is narrow and views culture as representing the general state of intellectual development in a society as a whole, including the general body of the art. Hence, the term "cultured man" is used to refer usually to somebody with knowledge on various subjects. It also indicates that a person is "socially adjusted or refined or civilised" in comparison to the "uncultured" person who is seen as a "cultural deviant or a misfit" (Ayisi, 1972, p 4).

The second definition is broader and sees culture as not representing one aspect of human activity but as a "whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual" (Williams, Ibid, 1981, p 16). This definition is the recent of the two and it is the one most frequently used, when any reference is made to the term culture, particularly in sociological works. It is usually used to refer to the social experience of all sections of society, including any national traditions which are inherited from previous generations.

Historically speaking, the emergence of this definition, particularly in the early part of nineteenth century Europe, is seen to be the result of the social change which took place in the West in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. This change was associated with the emergence of political democracy and with the emergence of the working class, who could not be identified with a "culture" that was only seen in terms of the production of intellectual and imaginative work, as Williams puts it:
"Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, it has been difficult for any observer to feel that the core of intellectual and imaginative work could be safely entrusted to or identified with any existing social or economic class".


It is argued that the close association between "the arts and creativity" in general is due to the fact that those areas of human "excellence" are seen by almost all nations to be the very "lifeblood of culture" which have also demonstrated a remarkable persistence throughout history" (Paul Shafer, Ibid, 1980, p 37). This view seems to ignore the very close association between this part of "culture", in its broadest sense and the elite class or what Marx called the "dominant class", which helped to ensure the survival of such "culture" from generation to generation. However, continual cultural heritage does not always require close association with certain classes. Hence some rural communities in various parts of the world inherit ways and means of dealing with their environment, which are not associated with the dominant class. Culture, as Williams says, "is wider than the area of class" it is as wide as a "language" (Ibid, p308), in the sense that every class or group of people has its own culture. Associated with the widening of perception of "culture" and the emergence of mass production, was the emergence of "mass culture". This term is used to distinguish between "high" and "low" culture and is used to refer to a culture which has been produced for "mass consumption" and one which encourages escapism, fantasy and which propagates the ruling class ideology, particularly in industrial societies (Bela Kopecuzi, 1980, p 139).

The widening of the area covered by the term "culture" has naturally led to the widening of perception of the role of culture in society. "Culture" became no longer a reflection or a record of intellectual production representing the way
groups of intellectuals see and deal with their environment. Instead, it has become a term representing "the reaction to and handling of the environment by groups of people" (J Goodlad, A Sociology of Popular drama, 1971, p 3). Hence the emergence of many different cultures in the world which reflect different ways of life and different means of approaching and dealing with differing environments, adopted by different groups of people. This makes "culture" a term which embraces all aspects of, as Piddington puts it:

"the sum total of the material and intellectual equipment whereby they (people) satisfy their biological and social needs and adopt themselves to their environment"

(1950, p 3).

According to this perception of "culture" it is reasonable to assume that the culture of a nation or a group of people has a practical as well as moral function. It is not only a source of national pride or national identification, but is also a means of survival which is particular to a given group of people.

The perception of culture within the Cultural Imperialism Theory

The Cultural Imperialism Theorists perceive culture in its broadest sense, as a whole way of life, which includes the system of belief, language, the means of carrying out various tasks and the patterns of social interaction between particular groups (Hamelink, Ibid, 1988, p1) This definition of culture will be the working definition, which will be adopted in all empirical work conducted within this study.

One of the most important characteristics of culture, within this theory, is that it is a "unique" feature of a society because it reflects its reaction to its "unique
"cultures are the crucial conditions of human survival and reflect varying ways in which human beings adopt to their own specific and often unique environment".


Implicit in this definition of culture is the recognition of the multiplicity of cultures within one country. Hence, the concern expressed by the Cultural Imperialism Theorists over the impact of "cultural synchronisation" of Third World cultures, seems reasonable. If the "uni-directional" flow is left unchanged, the world will not only be robbed of its varied cultures, but also it will impose on Third World countries ways of dealing with their environment which are not always the best means available. Thus if, for example, new technology is imported into the Third World, it would not inevitably produce the same results as it does in the West. Furthermore, it will in turn lead to the introduction of foreign culture which is associated with foreign inventions. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that Western inventions do not always bring success as they are produced within a different cultural context to meet specific Western needs.

Cultural Imperialism Theorists acknowledge the historical fact that cultural interactions between different cultures has been taking place throughout history, It is in effect an acknowledgment of the importance of such interactions as a source of enrichment to the involving cultures and more importantly they are in the interest of continued survival of these cultures, as Hamelink explains:
"with few exceptions, the cultural history of human kind is not characterised by one way traffic in cultural confrontation, to be sure there have been noticeable and decisive exceptions, as is clear from the destruction of the Aztec and Inca cultures or the Brahim kingdom of Champa".


However, the present cultural interactions are different. They are more dangerous because they take a uni-directional course. From Hamelink's point of view, history proves the fact that most past cultural interactions did not result in the destruction of any culture, mainly because these interactions were conducted, as he argues, on a mutual basis - a two way flow. This should be compared to the present cultural interactions which will lead to the destruction of native cultures and Third World cultural dependency on the West. The one way flow would force national cultures into "synchronisation with foreign cultural system" which will "profoundly affect" these societies' "long term independent development"(Ibid, 1988, p5). One of the main reasons for this is that the adopted culture would not be a local response to the local environment, as the most accepted definition of culture suggests. In other words, Cultural Imperialism, like the Dependency Theory, is embedded in the self-reliant approach to development. Foreign cultural invasion is not just discouraged because it is Western or reactionary. More importantly, it is discouraged because it would deprive the people of the Third World from having full autonomy over decisions relating to the allocation of their limited resources to meet their real and important developmental needs.

To illustrate this point, it may be appropriate to refer to the introduction of colour television in many Third World countries, among them Egypt, which had colour transmission almost 10 years after the introduction of black and white television,
before even black and white had reached most of the population. It was indeed introduced even while there was a shortage in more essential services such as the supply of pure water or the building of an efficient sewage system. The other example, which could be cited as indicative of the mis-allocation of resources in the Third World, can clearly be found in the area of military spending. This area swallows up a huge part of national resources to acquire arms, which are mainly used for military coups or regional conflicts, most of which are harmful to the interests and needs of the people of the Third World.

Clearly, the Cultural Imperialism Theory has identified the main characteristics of the world cultural flow. It has also identified the possible harm which will be inflicted on the cultures of the Third World and hence on their drive to achieve an independent development. As for the possible answer to this problem, or a suggested course of action for the Third World, Cultural Imperialism Theorists have emphasised the urgency to bring about changes to the World Information Order. There was a response by the governments of the Third World, which was translated into a concerted call for a New World Information Order. However, some theorists see the demand for a new order as falling short of what is required. This is mainly due to the fact that it cannot meet the needs required to extricate the Third World from a dependency structure. What is needed is a total cultural dissociation, as Hamelink puts it:

"without cultural dissociation, all proposals for cultural emancipation are bound to remain new wine in old vessels"


Although these views are not completely shared by all Theorists of Cultural Imperialism, mainly because of their impracticability, they all agree on the need for cultural independence of the Third World. Schiller, for example, in his
introduction to Hamelink's book, 1988, expresses his full support for Hamelink's call for cultural dissociation, but with the opinion that such a move would not be successful without economic dissociation, both of which remain in the realm of theorisation.

Cultural critique

In addition to the criticism directed at the Cultural Imperialism Theory in general, as outlined in the previous chapter, there are also serious conceptual problems, which the Theory suffers from, on the cultural level. Firstly, the assumptions made by this Theory, concerning the threat to national cultures and the possible means of remedying the situation, namely cultural dissociation, seems to be perceived within the view of "culture" as a static feature of societies. This implies that it can easily be removed and replaced by another, irrespective of the wish or the support of the people concerned, as Boyd-Barratt states:

"It is by no means generally accepted that capitalist expansion everywhere or even typically destroyed viable patterns of desirable or indigenous forms of development".


Such a view of culture seems to be a revival, in reverse order, of the old model of development, which saw the development process in terms of "modernism" versus "traditionalism". The Cultural Imperialism Theory views the question of cultural flow in terms of conflict between two types of cultures, "invader" and "host", which have to be kept as far apart as possible. "Cultures" as outlined earlier in this chapter, are in constant change and have always been in contact with one another, for this is a major source of cultural development and enrichment, as S. Arutiuner points out:
"There are two ways in which innovation can be introduced into an ethnic culture: by the independent creation of a new element and the borrowing of an existing element from another culture".

(1978, p90).

History provides a number of examples, which incidently few Cultural Imperialist Theorists care to admit, regarding the encounters between different cultures. The "Roman and Greek cultures have influenced other European cultures". Most African cultures have been influenced by Western cultures (Ayisi, Ibid, 1972, p4). The most obvious example for the past interactions between different cultures, is the spread of similar usage of certain words in more than one culture, or the adoption of certain drinks or cuisine by more than one culture, which are far apart geographically.

The argument set out by Cultural Imperialist Theorists is that the uni-directional flow of the current world cultural interaction will lead to the destruction of Third World cultures, while most of the past interactions used to be conducted on a mutual basis, which ensured their survival, is not completely true. There are many examples of cultures of which no traces can be found in many parts of the world, despite the fact that they enjoyed a fair amount of power. Ancient Egyptian culture is the most immediate example of a culture that comes to mind in this respect. Apart from the monuments that stand in Egypt, for example, as a reminder of its ancient culture, there is little else that is apparent in present Egyptian culture which can be traced back to ancient culture. Often cultural encounters have resulted either in some radical changes or "aculturisations". Although there is no way of giving a hard rule as to which culture emerges as the dominant culture, historical experience shows that:
"what actually happens when two cultures meet must depend upon the respective stages of development"


However, it was mostly through argument and persuasion that either culture, the "host" or the "invader", adopted to the other. In some cases the "invading" culture was supported by military force, which ensured the spreading of that culture only, but this inevitably faded away once the military presence was removed (Ibid, 1981). But whenever there are two cultures at a similar stage of development, no long term influence is left on either culture. In other words, the outcome of any cultural encounter is usually decided by conditions of the cultures involved in such an encounter, as S Arutiumner points out:

"the absorption of universal urban culture depends on the ethnic condition of each country".


Furthermore, the process of cultural absorption, adoption or rejection, has usually come about primarily as a result of consent rather than coercion. Not all cultural encounters are associated with the use of force and not all cultural influences brought by force have succeeded in wiping out the native cultures.

Despite the importance of local conditions of the "host" culture on its resistance, adoption, absorption or even influencing the invading culture, the Theorists of Cultural Imperialism seem to perceive the Third World as one entity. This is ahistorical perception, given that it ignores the different historical experiences and the wide variety of cultures, that reflect different stages of development, which characterise the Third World. It is just as ahistorical an approach as the old models of development, which considered any non-Western country as backward.
and any non-Western culture as ultimately being weak and its people readily willing to have it replaced. If it is accepted that culture is a reflection of the way of life of a group of people, then it is natural to assume that changing it would require a great deal of persuasion and more importantly, it would require acceptance on a great scale. Otherwise the new changes would remain exclusive to a small section of the population as is often the case in many Third World countries.

It is true that a section of the population, closely connected to foreign power, will continue to be a source of foreign cultural influence, as Hamelink argues, within each country. Its influence would remain limited to groups of the population who are closely in contact with it. Hence one would still find people, particularly in the rural areas of many Third World countries, preserving their traditional cultural outlook represented by their traditional costume. The Cultural Imperialism Theorists seem to give little or no regard for the people of the Third World. They are perceived as easy prey to Western culture as though they were passive, inert and unable to decide for themselves. Similarly, as Boyd-Barratt points out, these Theorists give no regard to the role played by the state in reducing the influence of foreign culture, through the media in particular (Ibid, 1977, p 119). This neglect seems to have resulted from the assumption that media systems applied in some Third World countries, namely South America, are also adopted by the rest of the Third World, where market forces are dominant.

Central to the criticism levelled at the Imperialism Theory is the apparent misconceived idea that part of a culture is representative of the culture of a whole nation. The Theory emphasises the danger of Western cultural invasion without clearly solving the question of which Western culture is dangerous. It is generally accepted that the culture of a nation or of a region, is a collection of subcultures (Ziolkowski, Ibid, 1979, p 20). Similarly the cultural theorists call for
the need for cultural protection or "dissociation", between the Third World and the West, without solving the problem of having to decide which culture is to be protected. In addition to the various cultures within the Third World, there are also many cultures within single countries or regions of the Third World. In the last three decades or so, since the beginning of the emergence of development models, the cultures of the rural areas of the Third World were under attack in an attempt to urbanise their population. Was it not the case that many African countries for example, have adopted English or French as their official language to create some kind of national solidarity between the various ethnic groups, more than it was a cultural adoption which was forced upon the people of Africa. Finally, the Cultural Imperialism Theory is not only subject to criticism because of these inadequate conceptions, as outlined above, in its diagnosis of the ills of the current World cultural system, but also because of the extremity of the cure recommended.

It should be pointed out that not all cultural Theorists advocate cultural dissociation. However, the majority of them call for the cultural protection of the Third World. This would not only isolate the Third World culturally, but would serve as a basis for a selective assimilation of world cultures (Schiller, 1976, p87). Whether the suggestion for the Third World is to apply some "cultural protection" along the lines of trade protection or to totally dissociate itself from Western culture, this would nevertheless be difficult to achieve and would entail a great deal of loss for the Third World. Apart from the fact that such a suggestion seems to be contrary to the law of cultural nature, where cultures develop through contacts, it will also deny the Third World cultures the opportunity of meeting with other cultures and exchanging benefits, as was the case in the past. C Dalfen raises this point when he discusses the relationship between cultural values and communication, by stating that:
"The appropriate response to the American challenge is not to erect artificial barriers, but rather to learn to master the medium (television) so that it can compete on the cultural level and convey the values of other nations as effectively as it conveys American ones".

(Ibid, 1979, p114).

So it seems that shutting out the Third World from interacting culturally would deprive it from having the opportunity to be introduced to different cultures, to compare and naturally adopt what suits it best. It has to be admitted that some aspects of foreign culture are not in the best interests of the Third World, but as an Egyptian professor of philosophy puts it:

"American culture is not only disco music, violent drama and cheap press. It has also produced very good artifacts such as Himongourai's novels, Oden's poetry and Ilia Kazan films that should be incorporated into Egyptian culture in the same way as Western civilisation incorporated aspects of Islamic civilisation in old times"

(Fouad Zakaria, Article in Al Ahram newspaper, 18th September 1987)

Although this professor seems to confine culture to the "imaginative" production, the main theme of his article is a warning against the blind dismissal of everything Western as a type of cultural invasion. Certainly, cultural protection would help to allow only the aspects of foreign culture which are conducive to the development process. But the biggest problem with this, as with most theories of development, is that the decisions concerning what is to be allowed and what is not are made centrally in societies, which generally do not enjoy systems that
allow people to participate fully in the decision making process. Protection therefore would give prominence to certain types of cultures, which would deprive the Third World from cultural diversity. It seems that whatever intervention is allowed, particularly while the class structure within Third World countries is maintained, would result in cultural loss. There can be no doubt that the inter-cultural media influence has made some positive contribution to social change in many Third World countries (Boyd-Barratt, Ibid, 1982, p185). It is reasonable to argue that it is high time that the population of the Third World should take the initiative and decide for itself, just as people in the West are given this opportunity. Despite all the theories relating to the role played by the media in creating social consensus and helping to legitimise the status quo in the Western World, there are more opportunities for various cultures, other than the dominant, to be reproduced and communicated. This raises the question, which would have to be asked, "Why only deprive the Third World?"

Apart from all these problems associated with the Imperialism Theory, there exists yet another due to the fact that it is based primarily on theoretical assumptions which require empirical verification. A number of empirical studies were carried out and have brought mixed results. The latest of such studies was carried out by Meyer, was published in 1988 and provided much needed evidence to support and refute the Imperialism Theory. But the support that it gives does not go beyond the support provided by numerous surveys conducted by UNESCO over the past decade and a half. They have provided ample evidence showing that the flow of media programmes is imperialistic in nature, flows from the centre to the periphery. Yet the findings of that study indicate that there is little or no evidence to support the other important aspects of the Theory. It was found that there is no significant correlation between media imports and other indicators of Westernisation ie. increase in imported consumer goods, number of students educated in the West or the increase in spending on luxury goods. The
consumption of foreign media programmes, according to the study, does not seem to have most of the harmful effects outlined in the Imperialism Theory. Although evidence from that study provides little support to the theory, it is worth pointing out that that study as well as other previous surveys, tend to be based mainly upon quantitative data and statistics. It is argued that such means are insufficient when studying unquantifiable phenomena as wide as culture. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that statistics and tables regarding Third World countries are not always reliable, together with the fact that they do not provide a true picture of the level of distribution among various classes. The level of spending on consumer goods might be very high in some countries, but it does not necessarily mean that the population as a whole can be described as consumption orientated. Similarly, statistics might show a very high presence of foreign media programmes but do not tell us a great deal about their consumption i.e. level of exposure to type of audience and the use made of these programmes. In fact most of these studies concentrate mainly on studying the level of cultural flow through the media, on an international level, and their findings have shown the obvious imbalance in this flow. But such findings do not provide sufficient evidence to fully support the claims made by the Cultural Imperialism Theory. They do not explore the other important aspects of the communication process, namely audience and content. Hence, the present study aims to tackle these more difficult aspects of cultural flow, using quantitative as well as qualitative methods.

The difficulty of carrying out an audience study arises mainly from the sheer scope which this entails, the inadequacy of relying on quantitative methods and the lack of any cause-and-effect relationship between the media and the audience. However, this study tries to overcome some of these difficulties by scaling down the size of the audience through the study of a selected sample from a Third World country such as Egypt, and taking this as a study case. The use of a survey
method coupled with discussion groups. Above all, the study is theoretically based on the assumption that the media does not work in isolation of other social forces which engulf production as well as consumption of media programmes. Therefore, the study entails an analytical examination of the political, economic, social and cultural structure of Egypt since the beginning of the second half of this century, namely after the 1952 military revolution, which brought profound changes to the Egyptian social milieu. The main purpose of analyzing a sample of the content of some media programmes, in addition to the analysis of the cultural and ideological milieu of media messages in Egypt, is to provide a basis for comparing audience views, attitudes and ways of life in respect to ideas and images transmitted through the media, from foreign as well as home sources. The following chapter aims to outline in considerable length all the previously mentioned aspects of the study as well as a study of the content.
C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Three
AIMS AND METHODS

The aim of this study is twofold: one is to obtain a detailed picture of the extent and nature of the drama, foreign as well as local, portrayed on Egyptian prime-time television and radio. The other is to obtain a similar picture of the conditions which encouraged the importing of foreign drama into Egypt, what the audience think of this drama, how they perceive the world about them and how the media relate to them, i.e. their values, attitudes, patterns of consumption etc. and what use if any, they make of the media programmes in general and foreign production in particular. The object of this exercise is to highlight the differences and the similarities between local and foreign drama and to show whether the messages purveyed through these programmes are congruent with the cultural outlook of the audience. This may help to assess the role played by imported media material in the "destruction" or otherwise of the indigenous cultures of the Third World and their role in the development and maintenance of new values and ideas among the audience.

While much of the debate about the cultural influence of foreign media has centred on studies, concentrating mainly on the area of news and based largely on statistical evidence, which shows the level of media imported by various countries in the Third World, (most of these studies were carried out by UNESCO), it is an underlying assumption of the present study that television and radio drama may have even more implications and ideological purposes than news. Furthermore, various audience research carried out in Egypt or by the BBC External Service, have shown that millions of people watch or listen to drama daily. It is probably the most popular form of media in the country. Thus it is clear that drama is the most obvious, though perhaps neglected form of cultural production with great social significance. It is also not surprising that the bulk of imported media material is in the area of entertainment generally and drama in particular. Despite
the popularity and the social importance of drama, so far little has been done to systematically analyze the extent and the nature of the drama portrayed on the media in the Third World, foreign or local. Although the Cultural Imperialist theorists have concentrated on the impact of foreign media material on the many cultures of the Third World, yet they also claim that local production in many Third World countries follows Western format, which is equally harmful. Hence this study analyzes a sample of foreign as well as home-produced drama shown on Egyptian television. It is the underlying ideological messages of drama generally and television drama in particular, as well as how people relate to drama they watch, that forms the basis of the present study. The central aim of the study is to provide some answers to the following set of questions:

1. The nature of foreign drama available in the Egyptian media, in the overall prime-time programming and the source of their production?

2. What are the underlying messages of these dramas, themes and subjects?

3. What are the most popular programmes among the Egyptian audience?

4. Why do people take such interest in drama generally?

5. What kind of people attend to foreign drama and why?

6. What kind of drama is most popular with the audience and how does it relate to them?

7. Are there any similarities between the values, attitudes which the audience hold and those portrayed throughout the drama?
8. Does exposure to foreign drama foster a positive attitude towards the country where the drama is originated?

9. How far is the cultural outlook of the audience similar to that in the West?

If this study provides some adequate answers to these questions posed, it is hoped that these answers will help to assess the implication of cultural importation. However, some of the questions which the study attempts to answer, have been the subject of previous studies. This study would provide further confirmation or contradiction to the findings of these studies. Clearly any amount of evidence would be greatly welcomed, especially at a time when there is a growing concern among different quarters within the industrial countries and more importantly among many intellectuals, academics and politicians in the Third World, caused by the threat posed by the development in communication technology, namely direct broadcasting through satellite. Such a development will not only renew interests and concern in the impact that this will have on the development process in the Third World, but it will also increase the difficulties facing many underdeveloped countries in their attempt to deal with the question of cultural invasion.

Samples

1. Drama Production

A. Content Analysis:

Originally it was planned that the sample to be analyzed in this study, would consist of drama transmitted on Egyptian radio and television, over a period of one month. Drama was defined as serials, series, single plays and feature films. The sample was planned to include all drama programmes broadcast on the radio
between 5 pm and 10 pm on the central station, the most widely listened to station. On television it would include all drama programmes broadcast between 6.30 pm and 12 pm on Channel 1 and 2. However, in view of some unexpected financial difficulties, particularly since this study was self sponsored except for some assistance provided by the External Service of the BBC, it was decided to reduce the sample to two weeks, one complete week and one composite week. All the "single" drama programmes, broadcast within the time limit and over this period, were either recorded on cassettes or video-taped. The term "single" refers to any drama which is complete in one episode i.e. series and feature films. In addition to that the sample also included as many episodes as was possible of three television serials, two Arabic and one foreign, which were shown, in full or in part, during the time of recording.

The total hours recorded were 62.30 hours of broadcasting divided as follows: 18.30 hours of foreign television drama, 20 hours of Arabic television drama and 24 of radio drama. These figures might give a false picture of the level of foreign drama on Egyptian television. One of the major problems in selecting a sample of Egyptian drama generally, is that most television production is in serial form, which is made up of a number of episodes, broadcast daily over a period of between 15 to 20 days.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BREAKDOWN OF THE NUMBER OF HOURS RECORDED
Clearly, the main intention here was to select a sample which could be as representative as possible of the drama shown on Egyptian television. Therefore, the decision to include in the sample as many episodes as possible from each serial selected, was taken to allow for any meaningful analysis of each story. However, it was only possible to include a small number of television serials, which cannot be seen as an adequate sample of the whole range of serials shown, particularly of Arabic production. In the case of radio, the sample included two Arabic serials in addition to the "single" drama broadcast over the two-week period. Ideally a more adequate sample should cover at least a three month period of Arabic serials. But one very obvious characteristic of Arabic production is the overwhelming amount of repeats, and in fact the sample included a serial of this sort.

The sample was made up of 138 programmes- a programme refers to an episode of a serial, a series, to a single play or to a feature film- divided as follows: 115 Arabic and 23 foreign. Many programmes of the Arabic production were radio drama, 85, due to the inclusion of as many episodes as possible from the 60 that made up the two serials included in the sample. In fact, the presence of foreign drama in the sample almost matches that of Arabic television production. In terms of hours of programmes recorded, as shown from statistics above, Arabic radio drama was marginally more than Arabic television drama. The main reason for this was the fact that the duration of programmes on the radio were shorter than that on television. Most radio episodes lasted for between 15-17 minutes, while television lasted for between 35-45 minutes. The sample included only one foreign serial mainly because most foreign production was made up of series and single plays.
## BREAKDOWN OF PROGRAMMESRecorded

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analytical Procedure:**

Content analysis was designed to provide a more systematic and reliable description of the content than is likely to be gained from general impressions provided usually in literary criticism. Each drama was analyzed by coding it according to a number of relevant characteristics. The unit of analysis was each programme and the main character/s in each. The programmes were defined by their discrete time slot as listed in the programme schedule, which appears in the Egyptian television magazine. Thus every episode of an Arabic serial was considered as a programme. The characters were limited to four for each programme and were defined as the main characters relating directly to the plot of the story in each episode.

The main aim of this part of the study was to provide a picture of the general content of the drama recorded. Such a picture was to portray the general outlook of the world of the drama. This was seen as a vital element in the process of uncovering the cultural and ideological structure of the drama. Thus the drama coding schedule was designed to reveal these aspects of the content of the drama. It was based on the schedule used by Paul Hartmann in his study of radio drama.
in the Philippines in 1977 and also that used by Anders Hansen in his study of the portrayal of Alcohol on British television in 1984, with some adjustments to suit the requirement of this study. The analysis covered the underlying themes, subject matter, origins, resolution of the dramatic problems, and motives and characteristics of the main characters in each drama. In view of the fact that financial resources available to this study was very limited, it was not possible to employ independent coders, so as to enhance the reliability of such a process. However, the coding was ensured of a high degree of reliability, being developed from schedules used in previous studies. Furthermore, the coding schedule was tested and modified several times before coding started with the help of a number of friends and acquaintances.

The coding schedule was also designed to enlist subsidiary information such as the date and place of the dramatic action. The adoption of such a coding schedule, in the first place, was based on the assumption that Egyptian drama is meant to be developmental, and tries to raise audience’s social awareness, as referred to in the declared policies of the media in Egypt (Aly, S, 1984). This developmental orientation also guides media expansion inside Egypt, where local media services aim to present people with the achievements as well as the problems in their locality, so as to encourage people to participate in finding solutions to these problems (Egyptian Television, Statistical Department Publication, 1987).

B. Structural Analysis:

The sample was also subjected to qualitative analysis based on the binary opposition concept originated by Saussure and Barthes. It mainly provides a way of relating the text of the programmes into their cultural context. A very detailed outline of this approach is given in the introduction to the section dealing with
this part of the study. Only part of the sample was analyzed in this way for it involved a detailed reading of the whole text of each drama. The analysis covered two Arabic serials, one radio and one television, and two foreign dramas, one serial and one single episode of a series. The analysis of the serials included the reading of as many episodes as was possible. In Arabic drama, this meant the reading of all the episodes in order to be in a position to fully understand the story of the drama and fully identify its ideological outlook.

Clearly, the main purpose of this exercise was to identify how elements of the story are related to each other to form the underlying message, the cultural meaning of what the drama is trying to convey. Within this method of analysis, an attempt was made to see whether a foreign way of life was being conveyed and if so, was this way being offered as a better alternative to the cultural heritage of the country. This process also tried to assess whether the indigenous "culture" was seen as "regressive" and whether there was a need for a new replacement which would help to speed up the development of the country. This qualitative analysis was meant also to show what kind of images were being given of foreign countries, namely those countries which are the source of foreign production. This section is concluded with a brief comparison between the ideological content of Arabic drama on the one hand and foreign drama on the other.

2. Audience Study

A. Survey Method:

Originally the audience study was meant to include a random sample of just two hundred respondents between the ages of 18 and 60, drawn equally from urban as well as rural areas. It was also meant to select half the sample from Shobra or Bolak in Cairo, where the urban "proletariat" is concentrated and from the "rich"
area of Zamalik in the same city. The other half was to be selected from two
villages, one in the north and one in the south. The selection of villages was not
made before travelling to Egypt, but there were various conditions laid down as a
criterion for selection. Firstly that they should have an electricity supply in all or
in part to ensure television exposure. Secondly that they ought to be within the
range of television transmission with its two main channels, for the second
channel cannot be received in all parts of Egypt. Thirdly that they should be as
far away from urban influence as possible, especially Cairo. Lastly, that they
should have a high level of television and radio sets. This was subject to the
possibility of finding reliable information in Egypt concerning the areas chosen.

The idea of dividing the sample equally between areas, irrespective of the overall
distinction of Egyptian population, was based on the fact that the main purpose
was to obtain an in-depth look at the audience. Hence the breakdown of the
sample along statistical lines was not a major concern. Obviously, if it was
financially possible, one would have liked to have enlarged the sample to over a
thousand or so cases. Perhaps this small-scale project will prepare the way for a
future grand-scale study. The reason for including two rural communities in the
framework of the sample, was to get a wider picture of the rural community in
Egypt. It was an important consideration given that almost 60% of the population
live in rural areas and are frequent users of the media and also to allow for any
differences between the rural areas of the north and those of the south. The
differences between these two areas can be found at all levels, at the political,
economic and social level, which could enrich the findings of the study.

Although this plan sounded feasible as well as reasonable on paper, in reality it
was much more difficult to stick to the plan. Just as there were financial
difficulties encountered in the study of drama, similar difficulties were faced in
the study of the audience. To extend the frame of the sample would have
involved widespread travelling and employment of interviewees, who would not have only increased the cost of the study, but would have also further interfered, to some extent, with the way data was collected. Certainly, there are means of reducing such interference, but these were beyond the means of this study. Moreover, financial considerations were not the only difficulties encountered in this part of the study, but there were other political and bureaucratic problems.

In order to carry out a survey in Egypt, in a proper way, official permission is required. Three months was spent following up application forms from office to office. Finally, provisional permission was granted to carry out the survey. In the meantime, it was decided that the survey should start without permission, which meant that the scale of the sampling frame had to be reduced. The reason being that all the interviews had to be carried out by the student, except for a few interviews with some female respondents. Furthermore, the student had to rely on friends and acquaintances to obtain easy access to the areas being sampled, particularly the rural areas. Thus the sample had to be drawn from the poor urban areas of Boulak and Kafer el Gabal and from the rich urban area of Zamalik. All of these areas are in Cairo. The rural community was taken from a village in the south of Egypt called Badiny, which lies about 250 km south of Cairo. The areas in Cairo are very much representative of the picture in many overcrowded capitals of the Third World. The poorer areas are adjacent to the rich, a bridge is the dividing line between Zamalik and Boulak, yet they differ enormously.

As for the village, although it was chosen for its easy access, it met most of the requirements laid out for selecting rural communities. What is even more important and an added characteristic of this village is that it is isolated geographically from the nearest provincial town by a lake, which makes access to and from it that much more difficult. There is no footbridge over the lake except for a small boat that the villagers and visitors have to operate themselves in a very
primitive manner. This boat is used to ferry people, goods and also animals. The only requirement that this village did not meet was the number of radio and television sets it had. But it should be mentioned that the absence of any reliable statistics about ownership of radio and television in Egypt makes it difficult to apply this criterion to any village. However, one of the most noticeable characteristics of this village is its closely built community, which influences the level and manner of media exposure. Almost all respondents in that village had regular access to radio and television. Not only is television viewed regularly without actually owning a television set, but also radio is listened to by many people who all gather in front of one household or at the local shop.

Although the make-up of the sample had been affected by these difficulties, it was possible to keep the number of respondents to 203. The sample was biased in favour of the males, 73% of whom were males and only 27% were female. This is due to the fact that it was difficult to interview women, particularly in the rural areas. Unlike the original plan, only 35% of the sample was drawn from the rural community, 50% was drawn from poor urban areas and the rest from the rich urban areas. The largest percentage of the sample was the young, aged between 21 and 29 and the second largest was between the ages of 30 to 39. The sample was not divided equally between the different age groups, for it seemed unnecessary in view of the small size of the sample and the fact that the largest group in the Egyptian population as a whole, is the middle group which is supposedly the most active group in most nations.
BREAKDOWN OF THE SAMPLE IN TERMS OF SEX AND AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich Urban</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BREAKDOWN OF THE SAMPLE IN TERMS OF AGE GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-29</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-65</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of educational levels, the sample was completely biased in favour of the educated groups as follows: 16.3% of those questioned were illiterate, 8.4% were only able to read and write, 8.4% had finished elementary school, 33.5% had finished secondary school, 31.5% had finished higher education and 2% had finished their postgraduate studies. It might seem strange for an outsider that a random sample from an underdeveloped country, such as Egypt, should be biased in favour of the semi-educated and the educated groups. But the reasons for this are due to the increase in the number of people, who have finished some level of education, particularly after the military revolution of 1952. Since that revolution,
Primary education became compulsory and education generally became available to all classes, almost free of charge, at all levels. However, illiteracy in Egypt remains very high, particularly in the rural areas and among women.

**BREAKDOWN OF THE SAMPLE IN TERMS OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read And Write</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished Elementary School</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished Secondary School</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished Higher Education</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished P.G. Studies</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite restrictions imposed on the selection of the sample, caused by the problems faced during fieldwork, this survey gathered a great deal of valuable information. But this does not mean that overcoming these problems in future studies would not result in even more reliable and valuable data, than that which has already been obtained. The only aspect of the survey which was not greatly harmed by these restrictions, was the response rate. It was generally very high except among women. Perhaps the high response rate was partly due to the fact that a "snow-balling" method was employed, which operated on the basis that friends and acquaintances were involved in the initial introduction. Very few people, namely men, refused primarily out of fear of being involved in politics, but when assured they responded positively. The survey was carried out in the wake of the police riot, which took place in Cairo in October 1986 when tension was still in the air. The sample was drawn at random, taking households as units.
of sampling, taking every other house. Originally it was planned to take every fifth house as a way of obtaining as wide a sample as possible. But, in view of the previously mentioned restrictions, it was decided to change this plan in order to reduce the chance of being stopped for breaking the law.

In order to be able to assess the nature of the sample according to class, it was decided to include a question about income in the questionnaire. But in view of the fact that such a question was generally avoided, the assessment had to rely on appearance as well as the level of ownership of each respondent.

**BREAKDOWN OF THE SAMPLE IN TERMS OF OWNERSHIP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flat</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television B/W</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour TV.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing Machine</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from the aforementioned problems, there were also various technical problems related to the understanding of the questions asked. Although the questionnaire was tested in a pilot study before the actual interviews commenced, some respondents failed to understand some of the questions put to them. In these cases, the questions were repeated and if this did not work they were rephrased in such a way as to keep to the original meaning of the question. It was easier to overcome this problem to a great extent mainly because almost all the
interviews were conducted by the student himself. But one can imagine how difficult such a problem would have been had the interviews been conducted by hired interviewees. There is great risk when rephrasing a question, of changing the meaning in such a way as to induce certain answers. It has to be said that this problem arose mainly among the illiterates and the people from rural areas in particular. However, in the light of this experience it can be concluded that a questionnaire should be written in a language which takes into account the language differences between various communities within the same country. This could well mean designing separate questionnaires for each community and also employing people from each community to conduct the interviews in order to safe-guard against any misunderstanding on both sides.

The other technical problem encountered during the course of this survey, was the difficulty of interviewing respondents without being interrupted. This problem occurred mainly in the rural areas, where interviews are not a common occurrence. On entering a village, a group of young people and children would gather around, thus making it all the more difficult to conduct most interviews in private. Obviously they did not mean to interfere, but their mere presence was sufficient to prevent some respondents from giving their true opinions. In some cases while a respondent was arranging his or her thoughts, they would interfere by giving clues as a way of helping the respondents. To give an example of this interference, when the question "what kind of drama do you like?" was posed, the respondent would reply with "what do you mean". But before the interviewee had time to rephrase the question, the surrounding audience would help out and inject ideas and views, which the respondent perhaps had not otherwise had in mind. Everything possible was done to avoid this type of interference either by stopping the interview, by asking the audience to be silent or by trying to escape from them altogether. Furthermore, any answer which was clearly induced by outside interference, was usually coded as an "I don't know" answer. In the light
of this experience, any future study of this nature, which involves rural communities, would benefit greatly by using more qualitative methods such as participant observation or discussion groups. The latter method was employed in this study and proved useful, though it had its shortcomings, as will be explained later.

The questionnaire was structured in such a way as to cover such areas as media use, foreign media use, drama use, foreign orientations and social attitudes. The questions were designed with the aim of revealing what the audience usually do with the media generally and with drama particularly. It also aimed at providing further confirmation of the most popular programmes, local as well as foreign, a more accurate picture of how people viewed the world in which they live in and any signs of Western orientations in their minds. Such information was seen as very important for providing a meaningful comparison between the world of the audience and that of the drama they watch or listen to. Although the financial difficulties imposed some restrictions on this study, the reliability of the survey was not harmed. In addition to the fact that a large part of the questionnaire was based on schedules used in previous studies which generated valuable information, it was possible to stage a pilot study, be it on a small scale, before the actual interviewing started. Such a study helped greatly in the redesigning of some questions, the addition or omission of others. Unlike the drama coding process, the accuracy of the information gathered through the survey was greatly enhanced by the fact that the whole process was carried out by one and the same person, the student himself.
B. Discussion Groups:

The qualitative means of gathering data in this part of the study was achieved through the formation of small groups engaged in guided discussions regarding topics, which appeared in the previously mentioned questionnaire. The main aim of this method was to allow people to talk, free from all inhibitions usually associated with formal interviews, about the mass media and how dramas in particular, related to their lives. The main aim was to provide in-depth information which would, in conjunction with the information obtained through the survey, present a more detailed and reliable picture relating to the questions, central to this study.

Certainly this method is a very appropriate tool for gathering data, particularly if such data is not of a quantifiable nature and is basically an account of what people think and feel about the media and the role it plays in their daily lives. Most importantly, discussion groups seemed to be an appropriate method because media consumption does not happen to isolated individuals, but rather to individuals within social groups, either families, peer groups, working groups or neighbours. Obviously, this phenomenon is not exclusive to the Egyptian audience but applies to almost every other society which has access to the electronic media. The most particular aspect of the media in Egypt, however, and perhaps in many other Third World countries, is that media exposure, especially through television, occurs within more than one family, friends or neighbours, due to the economic difficulty in obtaining a television set by each household. Many of those interviewed did not own a television set, yet they did watch it regularly. Usually in the poorer areas the household with the television acted as a public cinema or theatre for those living nearby. In the village chosen for this study, this phenomenon was clearly apparent.
Similar to the drama analysis and the survey, this part of the study also ran into difficulties, which led to a change in plans. Originally, it was planned to organise twenty four groups to cover, as far as possible, the rural as well as urban areas of Egypt. Eight groups were to be drawn from rural communities selected on the basis of the level of media distribution; a further eight groups from the urban areas represented by Cairo and if possible by the city of El Menya or Asuit in the south and the city of Tanta in the north. It was also planned to devote the rest of the groups to the other part of the population, those who spent very little time watching and listening to the media and in particular to dramas. Each group was to consist of no less than five people to reduce the risk of having the discussion dominated by one person.

Clearly it was an ambitious, though adequate plan, which required considerable financial resources. It would have had to involve a great deal of travelling and accommodation expenses, which was beyond the financial resources of this study. Additionally, and also similar to the survey, official permission would have had to be obtained which would have been more complex than the survey itself, for there is a lack of any research tradition of this sort in Egypt. One had to rely instead on relatives and friends to form groups, which meant that the number of groups was less than that originally been planned. The other difficulty was that people were reluctant to participate fully in the discussion, particularly so in the rural areas. Thus each group was mostly made up of people from approximately the same age, sex and socio-economic background.

Against this field experience, it was only possible to form eight groups. Four of the groups were drawn from poor urban areas and four were drawn from rural areas, the same areas where the survey was conducted. Groups were formed among neighbours and not among families, despite the fact that the latter was more accessible. One of the reasons for this, as referred to earlier, was due to the
fact that media exposure in Egypt does not occur within a single family. Secondly, members of the same family often experienced great social pressure which, as Morley points out, hindered them from expressing their true opinions (Ibid, 1986). It is more so in Egypt than in a Western society such as Britain, where the family imposes greater social pressure in the former than in the latter. Discussions among these groups were guided by the student with a view to obtain information about the reasons behind the exposure to the media, the use people make of the media and their general attitude towards various issues similar to those raised in the questionnaire. All discussions were recorded and fully transcribed and then the general themes were summarised. All interviews lasted between one to one and a half hours in a single session. The use of a recorder had frightened some potential participants, particularly those from rural areas. In some cases the recorder was used discreetly by an assistant as a way of encouraging participation. However the use of a recorder also generated an air of formality to the discussions, which encouraged some people to take up a great deal of time. In such cases, there was systematic intervention to bring in other people in the group, so as to prevent any individual participant from dominating the discussion.

**General Assessment of the Research Methods**

It is very difficult to exaggerate the value of applying complementary research methods such as these used in this study. They helped to generate information about quantifiable and unquantifiable aspects of media use in Egypt. While the survey tried to provide answers to the questions of when, what and where, discussion groups tried to provide answers to the questions of why and how. Similarly, quantitative content analysis tried to provide a picture of what drama is about, while structural analysis tried to explore the cultural base of the drama. However, there were some shortcomings to the way they were used in this
study which ought to be overcome in future studies. Most of these shortcomings were generated from the most common cause, the lack of adequate funds, which led to the reduction of the size of the sample. It is true that the size of the sample does not always correlate with the reliability of the findings. Yet, widening the sample in this study would provide more adequate representation of the audience as well as of the content of programmes. Lack of adequate funds also led to the exclusion of the use of independent coders and the expansion of the piloting of both, the questionnaire and the drama coding schedule. However, the study made use of schema applied in previous studies in the same area with some modifications to suit the aims of this study.

The modifications were introduced in the light of the central concern of this study, and the piloting of both the questionnaire and the content coding schedule, led to further refinement before the actual work took place. One of the most important means of providing accurate information throughout this study was the fact that the actual coding processes were not carried out during interviewing nor during first time viewing of programmes. This principle was, in fact, adopted in order to avoid the difficulties of applying schema that were structured beforehand. Although the classifications applied in this study drew on schema used to study similar material, there were some difficulties in applying some of them directly to the material gathered in this study. In order to overcome some of these difficulties, most if not all the questions and classifications were of the open type, which allowed for the inclusion of new categories to suit the material being coded. Some of the classifications, which were added to the original schema, were formed through audience responses during the survey as well as group discussions. They were adopted as they were uttered to encapsulate what they actually represented. The questionnaire and the drama coding schedule were accompanied by a guide providing definitions of all the classifications adopted. Obviously, not all the classifications were difficult to apply, especially "factual"
information, but others were excluded from the original schema, for they were not of great significance to this study.

There is no doubt that it is very difficult to codify any material with maximum degree of accuracy, particularly if it was of the qualitative nature such as feelings and "fictional" programmes. However, the experience of this study show that applying rigid classifications to such material is not always productive. The lesson to be learned from this study and which can be of great benefit to future research is to use open questions and classifications, to adopt delayed coding processes, and if the financial resources allow, widen the sample and use independent coders.

The use of complementary methods in this study had helped to overcome some of the problems associated with the social conditions found in most under-developed countries, particularly when applying methods designed in the West. Based on this experience, one can safely say that the survey method is not by itself sufficient or highly reliable in an under-developed country such as Egypt. It has to be used in conjunction with other qualitative methods, participant observations or discussion groups. Surveys put people in such societies under artificial conditions which affect their understanding of the questions as well as the answers. It was referred earlier to how these conditions could interfere with the reliability of such a method and the possible measures that can be implemented to reduce such interference. However, any future studies should make use of extending the sample and more importantly of ensuring that information gathered is valid. This obviously requires a strict monitoring process, large scale piloting and the recruitment and training of local interviewees.

This study has shown that qualitative methods are appropriate methods of
research in the less developed countries. However, quantitative methods are not alone in being inadequate means to be used in an underdeveloped society. One of the main lessons to be learned from this experience is that discussion groups are not altogether a totally convenient method to use, particularly among rural and the less educated communities. Often, people are not used to voicing their views in public or even in front of their friends. This problem could certainly be overcome by, for example, introducing an element of informality to encourage these people to contribute to the discussion. The groups should be made up of people who are more or less of the same educational level. Above all, the interviewer should familiarise himself with the community to be studied, before the discussions take place. Alternatively, local people should be trained to conduct the discussions, which could encourage participation as well as avoid any possible misunderstanding.

**Personal Interviews**

In addition to the study of the content and the audience, the student also conducted a number of personal interviews with people who were in position to influence or control the distribution of cultural material, namely drama, within Egypt. The interviews were aimed at generating first hand information to provide an adequate guide for the study and answers to questions relating to the area of control, distribution and media policies in Egypt. All interviews were recorded and a list of all the people interviewed is given at the end of the bibliography section.
C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Four
EGYPTIAN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL
AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE

In the last thirty years or so, Egypt’s social, economic, political and cultural structure has, according to many observers, undergone considerable and profound changes. The most important catalyst responsible for setting about these changes has been the military takeover and the successful overthrow of the monarchy in a bloodless coup in 1952. This transformation was the natural result of internal as well as external pressures. It is essential to emphasise that since that change this pressure has been very much in evidence, irrespective of the political orientations of the regimes.

Up until the eve of that political change, which took place on 23 July 1952, Egypt was still very much an absolute monarchy. It allowed the King, for the most part, absolute power through a well manipulated parliament. Most political parties, which took part in the political process at the time, were by and large drawn from the minority bourgeois class. Consequently, they represented the interests of their class, which were mainly to get into office and to win royal consent. The oppressed majority who constituted more than three quarters of the whole population and whose toil on the land made most of the nation’s wealth, were left to suffer silently in their poverty (M Hussein, 1973, p25).

Neither the King nor the political parties had a free hand in running the country. It was the colonialist power, the British, who dictated all government’s policies in such a way as to benefit their economy at the expense of Egypt’s economic and political under-development. The British interfered many times to replace, although unrepresentative, one elected government with another, whenever they felt that the government of the time was standing in the way of their own interests. Egypt became effectively a British colony just before the turn of the
century, on the pretext that the Egyptian monarchy was not capable of running the country and that it had incurred huge foreign debts. The British military occupation of Egypt continued until the "revolution" of 1952, which led to the overthrow of the monarchy and the removal of foreign troops from the country.

The economic structure of Egypt was also tailored to fit the interests of the colonisers as well as a small group of the local elite, namely the big landowners and the big merchants. Egypt's economy became dependant upon its agricultural exports, which formed the main sector of its economy. It was cotton that incorporated Egypt into the world economic system as Patrick Clawson points out:

"The internationalisation of capital, not any condition internal to Egypt, was the principle factor behind the growth of cotton production".

(Khamsin, No.9, 1981, p.80)

Clawson sees external pressure as playing a prominent role in forcing Egypt's economy into submission. Clearly the external influence is of paramount importance, but its effect is reinforced or reduced by the internal conditions of the dependant country. As it would be shown later, the political independence of Egypt during the fifties and early sixties, reduced the external influence to some extent. It gave the country a certain degree of freedom to make its own decisions concerning development plans. The new leadership, for example, embarked on an ambitious programme to build the High Dam, to protect the country from floods and to provide a major source of energy, even after promises of Western financial help had been withdrawn. It is true that political independence did not provide Egypt with total economic independence, but at least gave it some room to manoeuvre within the existing international structure.
Cotton was the cash-crop produced to feed the Lancashire Textile industry in Britain and, as Nasser says in his philosophy of the revolution, which ensured that Egypt was a market for British manufactured goods. Egypt became, like the rest of the so called Third World, a source of raw material to the Western industrialised countries and a market for their products. As a result, Egypt was tied up to the World market to such an extent that the fluctuation in the price of cotton caused by the world economic crisis in the thirties and during the two world wars, had a tremendous impact on its economy. It affected its balance of payments and plunged the country into massive foreign debt. It was mentioned before that it was the foreign debt which provoked the British occupation of Egypt in the first place. Although it was mainly a pretext, it nevertheless provided a moral justification for the "benevolent" British invasion. Such invasion was explained, as J Marlow describes it, in terms of:

"Conquerors, a master race, to put the Egyptian house in order and to govern a people who had proved unable to govern themselves".

(1966, p 11)

Dependency on agriculture, as the principle sector of the economy, led to the concentration of the population and the wealth in the rural areas. In addition to the large oppressed class "which suffered the brunt of the oppression and exploitation", a part of the bourgeois, who obtained their status by owning a great deal of land, also lived and concentrated their wealth in the rural areas. Their political influence and their insistence on maintaining investment in acquiring more land, only served to hinder industrial development. The liberal section of the bourgeois, who were less traditional in spite of being landowners, directed some of their wealth into investment in small industrial projects. They also tended to live mainly in the urban areas. The intermediary class, the national bourgeois, were similarly divided into two main sections: the first was comprised
of the not so well-off peasants, but who owned small plots of land and lived in the rural areas. The second group was comprised of a mixture of small merchants, the intellectuals and army officers, who lived in the urban areas (M Hussein, Ibid, 1973). This class used to enjoy a somewhat higher standard of living in comparison to the poorer classes. The latter formed the vast majority of the population.

Clearly, the lowest standard of living was that endured by the masses, who formed the lower classes and whose economic activities were confined to farming the land, in return for a wage or in many cases for food. The intermediary class had a better life in terms of consumption power. They aspired to the upper classes, but their advance was halted as a result of the powerful bourgeois, who had financial as well as political power. They often applied political influence as a safety valve, ensuring their perpetual accumulation of wealth and maintaining the status quo. Most of this class was made up of Egyptians, but only a small section formed what is referred to as "comprado bourgeois", who were of foreign origins.

The Revolt

It was against the aforementioned political, social and above all, economic conditions that the military, represented by the Free Officers, revolted in 1952. The movement seemed to have channelled the popular discontent, which had been gathering momentum long after the first World War. Such discontent was a motivating force, which led to the abortive nationalist revolt of 1919. This unsuccessful revolt achieved some marginal concessions, on the part of the Palace and the British, and was considered as the natural introduction which paved the way for the Free Officers' movement to seize power and overthrow the monarchy. It was also the corruption among the ruling class and the way the British hated
and maltreated the Egyptians, which triggered the Officers' action (D Lerner, 1958, p249). Egyptians were not only at the bottom of the political structure, but were also at the lower economic level. Foreign nationals occupied the top social ladder, as Robert Tingor showed in his survey of all Companies' Directors, only less than 20% were of Egyptian origin (1982, p25). Hence the popular slogans of all the movements and revolts, which entered the political stage in Egypt well before the turn of the century, was "leave Egypt to the Egyptians".

In recent years there has been continuing debate about the nature of the 1952 "revolution" and whether it could be considered a socialist revolution, particularly in comparison to the present system which was led by Sadat in the early 1970's. S. Ibrahim, in his analysis of the present economic system, labels the period just before Sadat took office in the late 60's as "stagnation" period and Sadats' era as "socialist retreat" (1982, p375-435). Others, like P Clawson see Nasser's era as a further capitalist stage in the development of capitalism in Egypt. (Ibid, p77-117).

There is no doubt that the economic and social class of the Free Officers, led by Nasser, provides some indication as to the nature and objectives of this movement. But this alone cannot be a sufficient measure or an adequate criterion for making a fair judgment of such a movement. Only an examination of their philosophy in theory as well as in practice which can lead to a sound understanding of the nature of the regime which was established in Egypt between 1952 to 1970, the year in which Nasser died.

One of the most important objectives of the Officers, as M Rodinson puts it, was to achieve "national independence and modernisation" (1968, p 87). This aim, in fact, was adopted a few years after the takeover. The Revolutionary Officers, as Sadat, who was incidentally one of them, admits in his "Search of Identity", had no clear ideology or programme. The only factor which they had in common,
was the wish to rid Egypt of foreign occupation and to give power to the Egyptian people. They, as most revolutionary leaders, initially intended to go back to their barracks once they "purged the Egyptian political life and established a healthy democratic system". But subsequent events showed them consolidating their position. More importantly they abolished the democratic system, which was operating before they came to power, by eliminating all opposition forces from the Egyptian political scene. The only voice that was allowed to be heard was that of the revolution and its supporters. A move which was justified on the grounds that other forces were corrupt, but was seen by many to be a first step taken to build a dictatorial regime.

Despite the fact that the Free Officers adopted a "zig-zag" policy, they managed to dress their movement in a socialist uniform, especially during the 60's. The changes that were brought to bear on the political, economic, cultural and social structures in Egypt were carried out with socialism in mind. They were introduced under the socialist banner, symbolized by a Charter which many described as socialist in substance. The source of confusion about the true nature of the revolution springs from the fact that some of its policies were socialist, in theory at least. The socialist outlook was enhanced by the emergence of a new alliance between Egypt and the Soviet Union, a country which symbolised socialism throughout the world. Obviously, this was achieved at the expense of a worsening relationship between Egypt and the West, namely the United States. But the outcome of the changes brought about by the revolution internally could not be described as clear-cut socialism, as would become evident if we examined each aspect of the structure of the Egyptian society, and the changes they underwent immediately after the revolution in particular.
Political Change

One of the main features of the Egyptian political scene before the revolution, as mentioned earlier, was the corruption which prevailed on a grand scale. It was the revolution's main intention to eradicate this situation. Thus the King was ousted peacefully and subsequently the political parties were dissolved. The political vacuum was filled by what eventually became known as the "Socialist Arab Union". A single party which was meant to accommodate all sections of society and which represented the interests of all people (Ilya Harik, 1974).

The only class which was eliminated along with the political parties was the professionals, who cooperated with the King and the British representatives. The Free Officers could not trust any of this class to incorporate them into the new system (D Lerner, Ibid, 1958). The Officers were of the opinion that a new professional class had to be built to replace the old one. Naturally, the only source which the Free Officers could turn to was the army. It provided them with the cadre to run the business of the state and which in turn led to the increase in military domination of the country.

However, the new class which eventually replaced the old seemed to have ended up in a similar position. All political as well as economic power was concentrated in its hands. It was this new government elite, as G Abdel Khalik and Robert Tingor say, which later during Sadat's economic liberalisation, helped to establish many private commercial enterprises (Ibid, 1982), out of the wealth and influence they built up while in power. The Officers' main purpose of establishing a single party system, was to safeguard against the widening of gaps between the classes. It was meant also to open the door to the lower classes to participate in the decision making process. But the result was disappointing, the masses, as Nasser admitted, did not respond to the new changes nor to the
mobilisation attempt (D Lerner, Ibid, 1958). The party was structured in a pyramidal way, which ensured that power remained in the hands of the army officers (I Harik, Ibid, 1974). The peasants and workers who were allocated 50% of the seats in the single party, the most celebrated signs of the socialist reforms introduced by the revolution, played more of a symbolic role rather than taking an active part in the decision making process. The leaders of the revolution justified such a structure on the basis that the peasants and the workers needed leadership to direct them. The Free Officers and their newly created elite class were in the position to provide just such leadership.

**Economic Change**

There is no doubt that economic conditions play a vital role in determining the survival or the collapse of a certain political system, particularly in the Third World. The Free Officers were quick to realise the importance of gaining the support of the "have-nots". One of the most important measures taken by the revolution, with this realisation in mind, to alleviate poverty on the landless farmers, was the Land Reform Programme. This Programme was one of the main measures applied by the revolution, as outlined by its Charter, which gave the new regime its socialist character. Before this Programme, the economic inequality was such that 2,000 owners held 19% of the total cultivated land, while 2 million held only 13%. After the Land Reform was introduced, which denied the individual the ownership of more than 50 feddans (a feddan is just under an acre) and provided small plots of land, with little in return, to the landless farmers, the number of landowners rose from 2.8 million to 3.1 million between 1952 and 1965 (Quarterly Economic Review, 1975, Annual Supplement, p 9).

However, it is certain that this Programme had benefited a number of those living almost below the poverty line. Those who owned nothing more than their ability
to work for their physical survival. As Radwan says, the number of families living below the poverty level, sustaining food, housing and clothing requirements, had declined from 35% in 1958/59 to 26.8% in 1964/65 (Agrarian Reform and Rural poverty, Egypt, 1977). But it is also true that the benefits of the Reform covered only 9% of the rural population. Even for the majority of them it was not to last for very long because of the "stagnation" period that the country entered into in the mid 60's. The overall impact of the reform, as G Abdel Khalik and Robert Tingor say, "was that the countryside no longer contained the great extremes of wealth and poverty which characterised the rural sector before the revolution". At the same time "over 40% of the population was unable to support itself at a minimally acceptable level in the mid 70's" (Ibid, 1982, p 5).

A number of analysts considered this land reform to be no more than a means of destroying big landowners in the rural areas, who enjoyed enormous political influence over the decision making process. They were an obstacle standing in the way of development of the industrial sector in the Egyptian economy. They were able to block attempts to direct part of the national wealth towards financing sizeable industrial projects, preferring to concentrate their wealth on accumulating more land. This meant that the revolution's main aim of "modernisation", by way of industrialisation, was to fail if this influential group was to remain intact. However, the Reform Programme enabled the military leaders to establish a "class base" among the deprived classes in Egyptian society. All those who directly benefited from the new changes, naturally, became ardent supporters of the revolution. These analysts draw their conclusions from the way the regime neglected the agricultural sector and devoted a large percentage of the national wealth to industries which were highly subsidised. The revolutionary leadership's aim was to follow the path of industrial development, which was borne long before the revolution.
The establishment of Bank Messer, after the First World War with state capital, is a clear indication of the previous government's attempt to encouraging import-substitute industries. They were mainly geared towards providing consumer goods (P Clawson, Ibid, p 77-117, and S Radwan, 1974, p 244). This orientation towards industrialisation flourished as a response to the decline in the price of cotton on the world market and the decline in profit which was expected to be generated by industries producing consumer goods. Clearly, this attitude was based on the idea that industrialisation was to be the road to a better life and that it would meet the growing needs of the growing urban population. At the beginning, the return on investment in industrial sector was so great, in the sense that it reduced the country's economic dependence. By the end of the Second World War the local industries satisfied 86% of domestic needs for consumer goods. But expansion did not continue as a result of foreign interference in directing investment, the rapid growth in population and the fluctuations in world commodity prices (Radwan, Ibid, 1974, p 246). Dependence on agricultural exports remained high until the revolution. After the revolution, industry was expanded to achieve greater economic independence, but "dependency was not drastically reduced". Industrial production showed an increase in the early 60's, but from then onwards it started to decline, causing great loss and enormous economic difficulties. The country became more dependant on the outside world to provide raw material as well as capital.

The need for capital became more urgent because of the collapse in agricultural production following the Land Reform Programme. While the expansion in the ownership of land led to divergence in the type of agricultural produce, it also led to a reduction in the overall level of production of a single crop. The failure to build strong industries, to make up for lost agricultural revenue, was reflected in the living standards of the peasants as well as workers. Lack of investment in agriculture made it difficult for small farmers to make real improvement in their
income. The workers socialist gains, i.e. limited working hours, sharing in management and increase in minimum pay, which were achieved in the early 60’s had to be taken away in the austerity period which followed. Ironically, 48% of the workforce still engaged in agricultural activity, while 14% in industry, according to the 1976 Population Census. This must reflect the limited level of success that the revolution's industrial programme had on Egyptian society.

The other measure which Nasser's regime implemented, which was also seen as a socialist measure, was the Nationalisation Programme in the early 60's. All private industrial and commercial enterprises, owned by individuals or foreign bodies, were transferred to state ownership to deny individuals the opportunity to make profit at the expense of the nation's wealth. It was a measure which showed the great concern that the government gave to the eradication of class differences. Yet critics argue that this step was inevitable due to the lack of public saving, the increase in the level of consumption and the increase in foreign debt. The new regime was encouraged to take such a drastic step by the popular support it received from the nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956. It is true that nationalisation of industries and services was accompanied by some improvement in working conditions; less working hours, increased wages and worker participation in management. The economy, however, remained capitalist in nature and nationalisation only shifted the ownership from individuals to the state. The mode of production remained incorporated into the world economic system. Production remained for profit and not for meeting domestic needs. Strangely enough, the workers' gains were later to be condemned, for they were blamed for the decline in productivity and the collapse of major industries. Nationalisation failed also to eradicate the gap between different classes. It was mentioned earlier that a new elite class was established, which exploited the new circumstances to accumulate huge wealth. The lack of success of these measures was due to the fact that they were introduced, as G Abdel Khalik and Robert
Tingor say, by "a powerful autocratic state that had little popular input". This should also provide some explanation for the absence of any real resistance to the later reversal away from the egalitarian measures, under Sadat (Ibid, 1982, p 8).

The only real measure taken by Nasser which helped to attract wider public support was the introduction of food subsidies. It guaranteed against the inequity in income distribution and the poverty trap. It is not surprising that Sadat maintained the subsidies on food and essential commodities which are still in force today. Under strong pressure from the IMF, some of the subsidies on non-essential food products were gradually removed. The pressure is continuing by the IMF to have all subsidies removed, but is being faced with resistance from the political leadership for fear of social unrest, as it did in 1977. The subsidies constituted 2% of public expenditure in 1962/63 and rose to 30% in 1975/76 (Ibid, p 13), thus increasing pressure from the IMF. The popular food riots in January 1977 which were provoked by the government's acceptance of the IMF request for the removal of various food subsidies, is a strong reminder of how the government buys the silence of the masses. In the wake of this riot, the government responded by appointing a new cabinet and maintaining the subsidies on essentials. This response brought back calm to the major cities of Egypt, after days of continuous disturbance, that led military tanks to roll into the streets of Cairo to enforce the imposition of curfews for the first time since 1952.

Cultural Change

In the period before the revolution, Egypt was relatively open to all kinds of cultural output and contacts, foreign as well as home produce. Consumption of such production, particularly in the area of media material, was confined to the educated minority who could make use of the existing inaccessible means of
communication, namely the press. Radio remained inaccessible to the majority of the population until the military took over in 1952 which encouraged the spread of transistors. In other aspects of cultural life, foreign presence, particularly the presence of the British was felt in the major Egyptian cities. The education system was influenced greatly by the British and greater emphasis was given to the learning of the English language, which was used as a medium of teaching in most secondary schools and universities. However, when Nasser came to power, foreign presence greatly declined. Art and literature became an important means of communicating the revolution's message and philosophy to the masses. The government did not seek to force writers and artists to advocate its policies, but most of them made a positive contribution to the cultural development of the country under the new leadership (Derek Hopwood, 1982, p 141). However, those who criticised the revolution were either imprisoned or banned from writing altogether.

Egyptian "romanticism" had its heyday before the revolution, but the change in economic and political conditions led to the emergence of what can be classified as "socialist realism". In this genre, the writer's main themes and characters were drawn from the everyday life of the ordinary people (L. Awad, 1968, p 143-161). The new regime encouraged and supported many writers and artists who could not survive merely on their writing and this helped to increase cultural production. The new regime also took other steps which reflected its concern and the importance it placed on cultural life in general, as Awad points out:

"The creation of the Ministry of Culture in 1957 has enabled the state to patronise all forms of informal education and non academic culture".

(Ibid, 1968, p 157)
Nasser was extremely interested in the mass media, particularly radio. The high level of illiteracy among the population in Egypt made any form of communication less successful, especially in the rural areas. More in line with Lenin's idea that any form of art must be utilized as to serve the revolution, the revolutionary leaders in Egypt used the media as a means of mobilising the masses and of spreading the revolutionary message directly. Thus the ownership of all media forms was transferred to the Socialist Arab Union, the sole party formed after the revolution. The media were put under state control in order to prevent the spread of any counter-revolutionary ideas (D. Lerner, 1958).

The other step taken by the regime to spread its "socialist" message and to produce a class of technicians to meet the requirements of economic development, was the eradication of illiteracy and the opening up of education to the highest level, free of charge for all classes. British presence was greatly reduced in terms of the disappearance of many English school lecturers and teachers and the increase in the use of Arabic, leaving English as a foreign language, secondary in importance. Committees were established to Arabize and to translate many of the natural science disciplines. Before the revolution, education was only accessible to the privileged few and was mainly secular in nature. Only religious education, which was almost free of charge, was open to all classes, before and after the revolution. However, this type of education particularly attracted the lower classes and was mainly geared to produce religious scholars and preachers. After the revolution, religious education expanded greatly to include the study of various secular subjects and to produce graduates in all fields. Greater attention was given by the new regime to secular education, which remained Western orientated, as Taha Hussein, a distinguished literary figure in Egypt and the Arab world, and Minister of Education before and after the revolution says:
"Our educational system is based on exclusively European methods which are applied throughout our primary, secondary and higher schools".


The new regime also fought hard to eradicate illiteracy. Many classes were set up all over Egypt which were geared to help those who passed their schooling age to be able to read and write. According to a 1976 Population Census, illiteracy in Egypt decreased from 71% in 1960 to 56%. The number of university graduates rose from 0.7% in 1960 to 2% in 1976. Government spending on education has also increased from 3% of G.D.P. in 1952/53 to 4.1% in 1970 (Gadella, Ibid, p 11).

Although the educational expansion was one of the main source of pride for the revolution, many disadvantages resulted from it. The increased number of students at universities and the severe shortage of equipment led to the deterioration in the standard of graduates, especially in the field of natural science. The social status and mobility which became associated with education led to the increase in the number of people seeking university education as a means of avoiding manual work. Most students became interested in white collar jobs, where they could have a more secured job. This led to a shortage in skilled labour needed for modern industry. (Derek Hopwood, Ibid, 1982). The increase in the number of graduates also led to growing bureaucracy and "masked" unemployment; too many people doing few office jobs.

Since the revolution, various Egyptian governments kept their commitment, assigned to them by the leadership, to provide a job for every graduate. This commitment is still honoured by the government, although a graduate can wait up
to seven years or more before obtaining a job. This has resulted in overcrowded
government offices with employees who produced very little. Attempts are being
made to attract people to take up technical education, but has not been very
successful, given the fact that the industrial sector is not able to absorb all the
labour force available in the market. Hence educational opportunities became
more of a means of delaying the start of unfulfilled lives, rather than helping
people to achieve social status and mobility. There is growing concern in Egypt
at present about the future of education in the light of its increasingly
deteriorating standards. There is growing demand for a change in government
policy towards education, fuelled by pressure from the IMF to cut government
spending on various services. The right to free-education at university level is
now under questioning. But if this happens it will have to be implemented
gradually to safeguard against possible social unrest.

Social Change

The most important indicator of the nature of any change in a society is the shape
of its social structure. Of course, if we try to apply the most idealist form of
socialism into Egyptian society, particularly during the early 60's, it will become
evident that this not entirely true of Egypt. Production in Egypt had not been for
consumption and ownership had not been in the hands of the people. Nasser's
argument against this was that his socialism, "sufficiency and justice", as defined
in the "Philosophy of the Revolution", is the same goal everywhere, but the
means of achieving it differs from one country to another. So Egypt could not
follow the same path which Lenin followed in the Soviet Union. For example,
Nasser encouraged production because he believed that productivity would lead
to "sufficiency" and that this would lead to greater economic independence.

Apart from the different path taken by the new regime to achieve its own brand of
"socialism", the revolutionary gains which benefited the deprived masses were not great enough to merit calling it a "socialist" revolution. It is true that some sections of the lower classes benefited up to a certain extent, but equality, although it was achieved to some degree horizontally, was not achieved vertically. Society remained divided into rich and poor. Perhaps the only change was the extension of the middle class, as Abdel Khalik says, "the success of the revolution was partial and tended towards the middle segment of the Egyptian society", (Ibid, 1982, p 18). Although one cannot be sure of the real intentions of Nasser, the suggestion that he was more interested in gaining wider support among the deprived classes, than achieving a real socialist system, cannot be ruled out.

Yet, taking into consideration the difficulties faced Nasser from outside forces, one feels that any socialist reform, particularly in a developing country, could not have been successful. Attempts, for example, to build larger industries in Egypt had failed, even before Nasser came to power, mainly because of world market forces. Building of heavy industries was the only door open to Nasser to improve the standard of living of a large section of a very poor population. Relying mainly on an economy based on agricultural exportation only served to perpetuate dependency. The only miscalculation which Nasser seemed to have made was his striving for complete industrialisation without taking into consideration the scope of national wealth and the level of outside influence. Inevitably, Egypt ended up more in a state of dependency than even before the revolution. Egyptian industry, like many industries of the Third World, could not flourish without the creation of national as well as international markets. The initial industrial success achieved was due to the success made in the internal market. But when an expansion of markets was required, the external market demanded competition with other large and developed industries which naturally ended in failure. An industry cannot flourish on its internal market alone and so Egyptian industry could not expand
and instead became a burden on the economy.

The Egyptian economy was restrained even further in the mid 60's as S Ibrahim says, by the preparation for the war in 1967 and the damage resulting from it. The largest share of the nation's wealth was directed into building the army (1989, p 65). Defence burden rose from 5.5% of G.D.P. in 1960/62 to 10% after 1967, at the expense of investments. Gross investment fell from 18% to 13% of G.D.P. as a result of the war (F Ajami, 1982, p 475).

It was the defeat in 1967 which brought an end to the "socialist" measures taken by the revolution. It became difficult for Nasser to win the struggle against the liberal forces of the ruling class. He had to relax governmental control on the economy to allow for private ownership, desequestrate land and property and to make concessions to the more affluent strata of society. The import figures for 1967/68 show that more than 50% of foreign currency available was designated for the importation of consumer goods, (F Ajami, Ibid, 1982, p 476), which were meant mainly to meet the demands of the richer class. The call for the first time for scientific management and rationalisation of the public sector, which in effect meant the gradual dismantling of it, came openly from government ministers. Subsequent years saw greater encouragement of the private sector and foreign investment. Hence, foreign financing of new investment rose from 35% in the late 60's to nearly 75% by 1975 (Ibid, 1982, p 485).

Sadat in power

When Nasser died in 1970 after 18 years in power, Sadat being a vice president, took over. It is not a coincidence that Sadat became the closest person to Nasser, for Sadat was known for his liberal ideology throughout his political history and
which surfaced in the mid 70’s. It was mentioned previously that the move towards "liberalisation" was set in motion even before Sadat took over. This partly explains why his leap forward towards greater liberalisation was not fiercely resisted. Sadat's regime differed from that of Nasser, especially in the early 60's in all political, economic, cultural and social aspects. Perhaps it is true to say that Sadat's regime was a continuation of Nasser's late 60's new thinking, but it instigated fundamental changes to the whole structure of the Egyptian social milieu.

Political Change

As part of the liberalisation programme, the one party system, which allowed the regime total domination of power, had to be replaced. The Socialist Arab Union was dissolved and replaced with a Western-style multi-party system. At the beginning, three main platforms dominated the political scene, which were later to develop into parties. Simply defined, one party represented the right, the other represented the centre and the third represented the left. Again, if Nasser's socialism was criticised for being imposed from above, Sadat's democracy was also imposed from above. The president's party, the centre, dominated parliament, which in effect made it like the one party system, only dressed in a democratic uniform. In theory, it was open to all sections of society, even the peasants and workers maintained their 50% of seats and it represented a more open approach to the decision making process, but at the same time it approved of all the President's policies. (M Cooper, 1982, p 191).

It seems that the President wanted to have a democratic system only to attract foreign investors and Western economic aid, a price that is often required from Third World countries to qualify for such help. As recently as 20 April 1991, a
report carried by the BBC World Service, in which an American government official, who was responsible for African Affairs, was quoted as saying that, he threatens African states which refuse to introduce democratic system of having its American economic aid frozen. However, this democratic system in Egypt opened the door for a real opposition to the government, which caused the president a lot of discomfort. The clamp-down introduced by him just before his death, which some claimed was one of the main reasons behind his assassination, was a sign of his anger at the forces of opposition. As Cooper puts it "the regime may have wanted a form of parliamentary opposition that it could manage; it created two charged ideological camps (Ibid, p 202).

Clearly this new system allowed, by design or by default, for open public dissent, something which was unheard off before Sadat took office. However, the democratic experience is still to be tested so long as parliament is dominated by the government's party. Since Sadat's departure, there has been greater freedom of speech and less state control, but the government's party remains the dominant force in the political arena. Furthermore, the choice of President remains as it used to be during Nasser, not through elections, but through referendum. The president's new term of office is renewed usually in this way. It is often argued that the introduction of this democratic form was associated with the building of closer ties between Egypt and the United States on all fronts. One of the most obvious results of such a link was the signing of the Camp David Agreement for peace between Egypt and Israel in 1977.

Economic Change

Most analysts would agree that the main intention of this regime was to revitalise the stagnant economy if it wanted to remain in power. There was a clear retreat
from the "socialist" programme, which came as a result of the economic collapse and the ever growing population. In the late 60's the Egyptian economy suffered a huge deficit, mainly as a result of the collapse of its three main pillars i.e. oil production decreased with the loss of the Sinai during the 1967 war; the Suez Canal was closed with the loss of huge revenue; there was a decrease in tourism coupled with a decreased in the level of exports, as a result of a weak industry and war efforts (R Zaki, Foreign Debts and Independence, Arabic edition, 1986, p 141). The "open door policy" was adopted by Sadat as a measure to pull the country out of this stagnation, as well as a necessary step to consolidate the liberalization process of the economy and the expansion of free-market policies. The implementation of these policies was hastened by, as F Ajami says, the oil rush in the Gulf. Such policies were meant to encourage new investment by foreign capital. Private enterprises were also encouraged, as Marven Weinbaum points out:

"In place of the government-managed economy inherited from Nasser, Sadat proposed a system that would rely more on private initiatives and investment, domestic and foreign. Egypt would go from an inward-gereed economy to export orientated industries"


However, the "open door" policy has contributed to the fact that Egypt has become one of the most dependant countries in the world. Imports exceeded exports and most of the former tended to be consumer luxury goods. Furthermore, the "open door" helped to increase the deficit in the balance of payments, as R. Zaki points out, which meant that Egypt " consumed, invested and imported more than it produced, saved and exported". (Ibid, 86, p. 144). American aid became an essential part of the country's economy. The budget deficit in 1974 stood at £ E 530 million, an increase of five times as much in one
year (Ibid, 1986, p 211). The "open door" policy neither helped local industry nor did it improve the standard of living, while the national income of the upper classes continued to increase (Ibid, p217). From then on the government's economic policies and decisions were more influenced by IMF requirements, than by the internal needs of the country.

Coupled with the "open door" policy was the emigration of a sizable side of the labour force to the Arab countries. Between 400,000 and 600,000 people were estimated to be working in the Arab world in 1975, four times the number of that in 1965. (S Ibrahim, Ibid, 1980, p 63). This number has increased in subsequent years to reach over four million in the mid 80s. These workers did indeed attract foreign currency of almost $2 billion a year, which made it the fourth pillar of the Egyptian economy. Despite this, the country suffered in terms of the severe shortage of skilled labour, which is to prevent it from developing its own local industries for many more years to come. Even, as S Ibrahim says, university lecturers in various fields emigrated, in their bid for a better standard of living, causing severe "brain-drain". Furthermore, the increasing rate of inflation, partly as a result of the return of the expatriates with higher consumption power, has added to the difficulties of alleviating the suffering of the unemployed and those on a limited income. During the last three years or so, the decrease in revenue of the Gulf oil-producing countries has led many workers to return to Egypt. This in turn has increased economic pressure on the government to find sufficient jobs to absorb this workforce, a difficult task given that industrial growth is already very slow. Thus the Egyptian economy became very sensitive to outside influence, to the extent that any political or economic change, particularly in the Middle East, would leave a profound effect on the social formation of Egypt. The recent invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in August 1990 for example, caused great concern in Egypt, given that perhaps as a consequence this would mean the inevitable return of approximately 2 million people from the Gulf, a situation which would
undoubtedly cause even greater economic difficulty for the country, even more so than during the last fifteen years or so (Al Ahram newspaper, 9 August 1990). Egypt's vulnerable economy led to the increase in its foreign debt, the acceptance of IMF restrictive conditions and the increasing dependence on American financial help, in terms of aid or loans. In 1985, for example, the level of American aid to Egypt reached $581 million (Zaki, Ibid, 1985, p 147 and 164), excluding the mounting American debts, some of which was promised to be struck off in return for Egypt's support for multi-national forces during the Gulf war in January 1991 (The Guardian, 27 May 1991).

Cultural Change

Cultural production in Egypt seems to fluctuate with the changing political and economic environment, even if there is no direct intervention on the part of the government. As a measure of liberalisation, the government removed press censorship, which was in operation for decades and also allowed political parties to have their own newspapers. TV and radio were expected to follow the official line without being under direct censorship. Their executives continued to be appointed by the government and to be given guide-lines to follow. However, one of the most striking features of the Egyptian media under Sadat, particularly the electronic media, was that they became very susceptible to Western influence in content and form. As Gadalla says, ideas that encourage private initiative, free enterprise and the making of profit are being circulated and feature strongly on TV and in official newspapers (Ibid, 82). Yet, the opposition newspapers were subjected to censorship and were confiscated more than once during Sadat's time in power. Many writers with liberal ideas dominate the world of letters today in Egypt. They call for close cooperation with Western culture and this is reflected in the pages of the official newspapers, such as 'Al Ahram'. Foreign films have also almost flooded the Egyptian market to which a large section of the audience
are attracted, (See section on the mass media for greater detail).

Social Change

If during the 60s the middle section of society, which makes up a very large proportion, had made some gains, the minority elite who could afford to take part in commercial enterprises, had done so during the 70s. The gap between Egypt's rich and poor, as Weinbaum says has widened. The income of the highest 5% has increased from 17.4% in 1965 to 22% during the 70's, while the lowest percentage of population income decreased from 7% in 1965 to 5.1% during the same period. The instrument for social mobility has become no longer education but business. A large percentage of university graduates seek employment in the private sector or in Arab countries. Money has begun to symbolise social status and great importance is placed on the ownership of durable consumer goods, ie TV's, hi-fi's, refrigerators, cars etc. (S. Ibrahim, 1980, p 69). In other words, the liberalisation policies have led to the increase in the consumption of those who can afford.

It is true to say that one of the main differences between the two different periods, has been the question of internal and external pressure. The latter was so great during the 60s that it led to the failure to industrialising Egypt and consequently forced it to extend its hand to the outside world. The country followed policies that were not popular abroad, namely in the West, which helped to create more enemies for the regime than friends. A small country cannot live in isolation and is always incorporated into the world market system according to the terms set out by the powerful developed countries. Since the 70s, however, the clock seemed to have been turned. Egypt now relies heavily on the outside world, even more than before its independence. The country seemed to have been forced to enter deeper into the world market economy, due to internal pressure, more than
outside influence. It was mentioned that the country adopted a process of liberalisation during the 70s, but it was economic stagnation, the decline in living standards and above all pressure from the top strata of the social hierarchy which stood to gain from liberalisation, that hastened this process. Government's policies during the 70s seemed to have favoured mainly the minority and ignored the majority. It can be said that during the 60s many people had benefited. However, in terms of creating equality and improving living standards in Egypt, both regimes seemed to have had little success in this area. If this conclusion should indicate anything at all, it should indicate that the nature of any system in the Third World, irrespective of personalities involved or their different ideologies, is very much determined by forces beyond the control of the local government. There might be some limited scope for choice, where differences between personalities and orientations appear, but in the end the result is almost always the same, either to surrender willingly to such forces or to be forced into submission.
THE MASS MEDIA IN EGYPT

The mass media as a major source of cultural contact in Egypt have been influenced by the political, economic and social events which have taken place in the last thirty years or so. The most obvious reason for this is that the mass media in Egypt, particularly in the electronic sector, have been introduced and developed under the supervision of the state. All forms of mass media had been under direct government control until the mid seventies. The open door policies in the economic sphere, brought with them the removal of press censorship. This change has produced a communication system which cannot easily be categorised under a single theory of the often-cited four theories of the press, formed by Sibert and expanded by McQuail (Sibert, et al, 1956 and McQuail, 1982). There are many reasons for this and Egypt is not a unique case. Apart from the Western centredness of these theories, for they are merely based on Western philosophy, they are only a classification that is masked in an over-simplified and generalized terminology. They seem to be concerned with the lower common denominator between the systems. As the founder authors have acknowledged, every country has its own individual media system. It is true to say that the Egyptian media system has some characteristics of almost each of these theories. However, it has more in common with the broad features of the Authoritarian system, especially in ownership and production. Some like W. Rugh, prefer to describe the Egyptian system as a "Mobilization system". This term can certainly be applied to describe the system during the 60's, when a new ideology was in the making and popular support was sought to ensure its survival and only the media were there to take on this task (The Arab Press, 1979).

Before the revolution of 1952, the media in Egypt, particularly newspapers, were privately owned and controlled. They were a profit making industry and operated in a somewhat liberal way under a great deal of foreign influence. But, when the
Free Officers took over, they immediately assumed ownership and control of the limited radio service. The newspapers, in the main associated with political parties, were left to operate as they used to before the revolution. The Free Officers themselves had to publish a newspaper to purvey their own ideas and compete with other political newspapers. It was not until 1961 that newspapers were subjected to nationalization like most other industries at that time. The control and ownership of the printing press, the officers believed, had to be given to the people. The officially established Socialist Arab Union, the sole political party, was given this task as a representative of the people, which ensured indirect governmental control over the newspapers (L Abdel El Migid, 1983, page 67).

The appointment of chief editors was subject to the president's approval. Newspapers were considered to be an educational medium and a vehicle for carrying ideological messages and not a profit making industry. The printing press was kept in motion by government funding, despite the very low cost of buying a newspaper, the relatively low readership level and the low advertisement revenues.

These features of the Egyptian media system during that time brought it closer to the totalitarian system, but for some differences. The most obvious is that there was no communist party in power and the media did not follow the government line strictly. Although there was revolutionary propaganda material, there was also other material which did not adhere to that line. Even occasionally, newspapers exceeded the official line and directly criticised some corrupt government officials, as was the case in the aftermath of the 1967 war (Abel El Migid, 1983). The change on that occasion was encouraged of course, by the growing public feeling to find and punish those who contributed to that defeat. Only the President himself was beyond criticism, although Hiykal, the then chief editor of Al Ahram newspaper, used to break this rule at times. When Sadat came to power, the media system remained almost the same, only with some
relaxation of government control and the abandoning of the direct advocacy of socialist ideology. The relaxation measures included the removal of direct censorship over newspapers. Every chief editor, whose appointment remained subject to presidential approval, was considered responsible for what appeared in his/her paper. A number of journalists were released from prison. The electronic media remained closely controlled by the government.

Although the media in general and the printing press in particular started to enjoy a certain degree of freedom under Sadat, they continued to play a similar role to that played during the time of Nasser. They continued to propagate the official policy of the new regime which was being adopted as the national policy. In theory, laws were decreed to lift press censorship, but in reality journalists remained free to write what they wanted as long as they followed the official policy. Hiykal again is a case in point. His removal from the editorialship of Al Ahram, the semi-official newspaper, came partly as a result of his criticism of government policies. In 1979 other editors were removed as a result of their opposition to the Peace Treaty with Israel (Rugh, Ibid, 1979). However, the Egyptian media system under Sadat was brought, at least in form, closer to the liberation system, as a result of the adoption of a democratic multi-party political system and the economic "open door" policy. Within this reform some opposing forces were allowed to establish newspapers to convey their political message. Their access to the more influential electronic media remained very limited. Undoubtedly this denied these forces the opportunity to reach a wider audience and be more effective in their opposition to the government. However, they did succeed in irritating the ruling party, but not to a very large extent.
C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Five
A wide expansion in the field of mass communication took place in Egypt after the 1952 revolution, at the horizontal as well as vertical levels. It was intended to be used with other measures that the government had implemented, to facilitate the National Development Programme which aimed to achieve "sufficiency and justice" outlined in the Charter. The role assigned to the media was to mobilise the masses and fight illiteracy.

Following the new regime's success in achieving the country's political independence, economic independence became the next goal on the government agenda. Nasser had stressed in the Charter as well as in many of his speeches, from the beginning of the 60's, the importance of economic development, increased production and industrialisation to break the imperialist's domination over the weak Egyptian agricultural economy (part of the Charter is printed in Political Awakening in the Middle East, 1970, page 121-133). The first Five-Year Plan 60/65 aimed to increase national income by 40% and the second plan aimed at achieve a 60% increase (R Zaki, Ibid, 1986, p 136).

The expansion in the mass media came as a direct result to the widely held belief at the time, that the media had the power to manipulate the masses. Clearly, the leadership in Egypt foresaw the role that the mass media could effectively play within the old" model" of development. Radio, in particular, was seen to be the" magic multiplier" which could activate the "fatalist" and "inert" masses who disappointed the leadership by their passive contribution to the new reform (Lerner, 1958). The political awakening of individuals was considered the key element in speeding up the process of development. It is not surprising therefore to find that the first thing the Free Officers did on the night of the revolution was to occupy the broadcasting house. It is also the first step taken by any
revolutionary or military coup leader anywhere in the world. Television was the first place to be occupied by the leader of the recent revolution in Romania in 1989. All evidence available indicates that what was expected from the media in Egypt was too high to be realised. It is true to say that the media, radio in particular, played a greater role in other areas like the fight for the elimination of illiteracy, health education and birth control, than in political indoctrination. In fact, the attitude of the Free Officers towards the electronic media and that of other revolutionary leaders in the world, seems to spring from the fear of the disruptive power of the media if it were left unchecked.

The only strong form of mass communication that was available before the 1952 revolution, as was mentioned before, was the printing press. Although, the circulation of newspapers then was severely curtailed by widespread illiteracy - 80 percent of the population could not read or write - this did not mean that their message reached only a very small number of people. Newspapers used to be and still in some villages and remote areas, move from hand to hand and are read aloud (I El Sheikh, 1950-1973, 1977). After the revolution, particularly since the early 60s, the nationalisation of the press, the decrease in the level of illiteracy, the improvement of the means of transport and the low cost of obtaining newspapers, have all contributed to the increase in the circulation of newspapers throughout Egypt. From the very beginning, most newspapers were brought to Egypt by foreign nationals who settled there before the turn of the century. Many of them were from other Arab countries particularly from the Lebanon, which was then the Arab country most influenced by the West. This could partly explain the fact that most of these papers, indeed if not all, contained political overtones. Opposing political parties fought it out on the pages of newspapers, whose content had too little news to be called newspapers. Egypt had known some form of newspaper, well before that, but it was similar to government publications than to newspaper (Rugh, Ibid, 1979) and it was not mass circulated. Many
newspapers, especially in the period before the revolution, rose and fell with the parties they supported. However, they played a major role in highlighting the independence issue throughout the 30's and 40's (J Tunstall, 1977), which coincided with the orientation of the Free Officers' movement, when they concentrated on the national bourgeois demand for political independence. It was the middle and upper classes mainly who took part in the political process of the time.

Clearly the main purpose of the national bourgeois in obtaining national independence, was to replace the foreign power in ruling the country rather than liberating the masses. This explains why many of the elements, which formed that class, were willing to support and to co-operate with the new regime but only to a certain limit. They would help to remove the foreign power but would maintain their position at the top of the social ladder. The political orientation of newspapers in Egypt has continued until the present time and even more so since their nationalisation in the early 60's.

After the revolution, the printing press did not witness an expansion at the horizontal level, or at least not as much as the electronic media. As a matter of fact, the number of newspapers dropped sharply once the Free Officers took over. As many as 42 newspapers disappeared by May 1954 (Abel El Migid, Ibid, 1983). This process of limiting the number of newspapers available, ceased all competition in media production and enabled the government to exercise strict control over them. Unlike the electronic media, the government could not only rely on the financial cost to eliminate entries into newspapers publishing by opposing forces. After any revolution, the opposing forces in society are usually made up of people of the old regime who still have financial power that can easily enable them to have their own newspaper. Despite the reduction in the number of titles, newspapers circulation increased since the revolution to reach, by the early
70's, just under one and a half million copies of dailies and non dailies, at a rate of one copy per every thousand people (Unesco, World Communication, 1975). These figures are a conservative estimate and the real level of distribution is likely to be much higher, particularly after the increase in the number of newspapers available, which was allowed in the later part of the 70's. Yet, Egypt did not reach the minimum level of newspaper distribution required and set out by the United Nations, quoted by Rugh, a copy for every hundred people (Ibid, 1979, page 4). This is also the case in most Arab countries where newspapers are mainly read by the educated groups.

The relative increase in newspaper circulation in Egypt in the last thirty years has been due mainly to three main factors. Firstly, the decrease in the general level of illiteracy from 70.5% in 1960 to 56.6% in 1976 (The Egyptian Population Census, 1976), coupled with the increase in the number of educated people due to the availability of a free of charge education service to every citizen after the revolution. The percentage of University graduates rose to 2.2% in 1976. Secondly, the nationalization of newspapers has insulated them against any commercial risks. Despite the limited advertising service available to newspapers, it became possible to reduce the cost of buying newspapers to a very low level. Thirdly, the relative improvement in transportation has made it easy to distribute national daily newspapers almost all over Egypt, in a relatively short time taking into consideration that all media organisations in Egypt are concentrated in Cairo, with very few in Alexandria. However, in the last ten years or so there has been a sharp increase in the number of regional and local newspapers, most of which began on a weekly basis and have now become dailies.

The relaxation of direct control on newspapers, which was implemented during the mid-seventies, and the rise of the multi-party political system, has led to some
diversification in newspaper content. Yet, as was mentioned before, there is a limit to what the newspapers can say and exceeding this limit can lead to confiscation, as was the case with the newspapers of the leftist party, Al Ahaly, during the late seventies.

One of the most important characteristics which the newspapers in Egypt have recently acquired, has been the increasing Western orientation. Before the revolution, this orientation, as Tunstall points out, had been so profound, but after the revolution, it was kept to a minimum, due to the fact that Western influence was mainly confined to technical assistance, especially with regards to the electronic media. The support that the new regime had given to the Middle East News Agency, MENA, to establish it as a regional news agency, showed the increased emphasis on following a more independent line that was in agreement with the regime's new political outlook. It also showed the increased concern within Egypt as well as in other Third World countries to provide an image of the region that was drawn by its own people (Unesco, international Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, No 15). Yet MENA was established only through the technical assistance and training from the West, namely the United States (Tunstall, Ibid, 77). As far as the printing press is concerned, the only other evidence to indicate foreign influence has been the format of the newspaper. The three main national newspapers in Egypt have copied the format of the quality newspapers of the West. There seems to have been no harm in adopting such a format, in view of the fact that newspapers are seen to play an educational role. When Sadat came to power however, Western orientation increased in the format as well as content and there was more news in general and more news in particular about the west, namely the United States. Dependency on the big four Western news agencies has increased, despite the fact that the expansion of MENA, as a regional news agency (Rugh, 1979, page 144), was intended to limit the dependency of the mass media in Egypt on foreign international news
agencies. It was also hoped that it would help to foster regional co-operation in
the sphere of communication, which would in turn help to maintain the self
reliance policies followed in this area.

The greatest expansion in the field of mass communication in Egypt after the
revolution, had taken place in the sphere of the electronic media, particularly
radio. As Rugh puts it, most Arab governments including Egypt "insisted on
controlling the electronic media because of their obvious political importance in
communicating with most of the population across the literary barriers that
prevail in the area" (Ibid, page 166). The appreciation of the importance of the
electronic media has led these governments to increase the pace of radio and
television development. Before the revolution, radio in Egypt used to transmit on
two national services for only 18 hours a day, but by 1960 the number of services
increased to 7 and the hours of transmission increased to 72 hours per day. In
the late 70's the number of services had reached 11 and the daily broadcasting
time rose to more than 120 hours (I El Sheikh, 1977, page 225 and Rugh, 1979,
page 117). This output was intended for domestic consumption. In addition to
these national services, a number of regional or local services which cater for one
or more provinces, have been established over the last ten years or so with the
aim of covering all the provinces in Egypt (Al Faan Al Izaii, A quarterly
published by the Egyptian Broadcasting and Television Union, 1986, No 111,
p22). This latest expansion is in line with the developmental approach which
appreciates the importance of catering for local needs within each country.

Expansion in the Egyptian radio service has been achieved on the national as well
as international levels. Egypt now broadcasts more hours to foreign audiences in
seven different languages, than any other country in the world except for Russia
and China (Rugh, Ibid, page 150). This international broadcasting has come as a
direct result to Nasser's belief in the leading role that Egypt had to play in three
areas, Arabic, African and Islamic. It was mentioned that radio was the most important tool of achieving any real change in attitude, in the eyes of some revolutionary leaders, whether internally or externally. Historically speaking, the media, radio in particular, proved to play an effective role in propaganda warfare. Most countries, particularly in the Third World, use their external services to wage media campaigns against neighbouring countries, which are sometimes followed by military clashes. The recent invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is but a recent example. For weeks before the invasion there was an intense war of words between the two countries through their respective media. Clearly government ownership and control of the radio service in Egypt helped it to strengthen its signals inside and outside the country, despite the fact that it is not a profit making organisation. There are only three services out of the eleven available at present which carry advertising.

This huge expansion helped to carry the revolution's political message inside and outside Egypt. However, the degree of its success in spreading the mobilisation campaign, which the regime embarked on was not in itself sufficient reward for the work and the finance that was put into it. But it's relative success in eliminating illiteracy, improving health conditions and family planning work, made the radio service no less important and encouraged more government control and support.

The expansion in the radio service on the horizontal level has also led to an expansion on the vertical level. The number of people who have access to radio services has increased. Receivers have been made available through mass production, at a very low cost. To ensure wide exposure to radio messages, the government has provided radio sets in public places, in towns and villages. The number of radio receivers has increased from an estimated one and a half million in 1960 to over five million in 1976 (Unesco, Statistics on Radio and Television
1960-1976, No 23), at a rate of 184 receivers per thousand people, which is higher than the 50 receivers per thousand as a minimum level set out by the United Nations. A large part of this increase took place during the 60's. However, the rate of increase dropped during the late 70's, largely due to the spread of the television service. One of the most important factors in increasing the level of radio receivers distribution has been the diversity in radio's content. The largest part of total production is mainly drama and entertainment, over 40% (Unesco, No 23). Statistics show some increase in entertainment and a decrease in information output from 1974 onwards, which reflects the shift in developmental policies adopted by the government prior to this period. The radio service seems to have become more of a means for entertainment than information.

The television service, which went on the air for the first time in 1960, also received government support and control, perhaps greater than the radio. However, television managed to attract a sizeable audience in Egypt, even though its cost remains beyond the means of many people. Television comes for example, at the top of the shopping list of the majority of Egyptians who are working in the Arab states. People are encouraged to own their own television set, since it provides good service and is seen as a symbol of social status (S Ibrahim, Ibid, 1980). There are a few other factors which helped to contribute to the spread of television in Egypt. Similar to radio, the mass production of TV sets which reduced their cost, combined with the relatively cheaper electricity, generated from the High Dam, the availability of television sets in public places, the fact that TV could be watched by more than one family at the same time. the high level of illiteracy which makes television a major means of occupying leisure time and Finally television provided a cheap replacement for the movies. All these factors have helped to increase the number of TV audiences throughout Egypt.
Within five years of the introduction of television into Egypt, the number of television receivers reached 200,000 and approximately 75% of the population was within reach of a television transmission station. Now television signals reach all the populated areas (Unesco, World Communication, 1975). By the late 70's the number of television receivers grew to just under one million sets, at a rate of 25 sets per thousand people, above the United Nation's minimum level of 20 sets per thousand. The overall programme time has also increased from 92 hours in 1965 to 115 hours a week. Over 40% of television total output is entertainment. Drama and entertainment, however, attract the greatest numbers of audience as shown in the survey.

The cinema industry in Egypt has also grown very fast since the revolution. The number of cinemas in the late 70's was 246 and the annual production amounted to 50 films a year (Unesco, No 25). The cinema industry, like the electronic media, is controlled by the government, although it remains a profit making industry. Despite the fact that the spread of television has affected the number of cinema goers, the annual figures, over 60 million, suggests that it is very high. But the problem with these figures is that they do not reflect the level of distribution of attendance among the population as a whole. However, it is true to say that visiting the cinema in Egypt remains relatively within the means of almost all classes in society.

The most cultural industry that has suffered in the last decade and still suffers in Egypt is the book industry. It is in a way an inevitable result of the high illiteracy level, the spread of radio and television production, and the relatively high cost of books. The book industry did flourish in Egypt during the 60's and reached its peak in 1965 (Unesco, Statistical Reports and Studies, 1982), which reflects the importance that the ruling class gave to all forms of cultural production in the early years of the revolution. Writers used to be handsomely paid and government
subsidies ensured that books were within reach of a widely ranging audience. The number of titles published in 1977 dropped to less than half of that published in 1960. Concern about the lack of interest in reading in the last decade has been echoed in a recent book by a well-known literary figure in Egypt, Y Idris, entitled "People be cultured". However, book production in Egypt tends to concentrate generally on text books. Yet, books are in short supply particularly in the Universities where books are hard to obtain and very expensive. In many cases students can wait for a book to be published for the best part of a year.

FOREIGN CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN EGYPT

Cultural foreign influence in a country manifests itself through the means of cultural production as well as other means of social contacts. But before we look at the evidence indicating such an influence, we should consider how it came about that such an influence emerged in the first place. Of course, as was mentioned earlier, Egypt's economic dependency helped to pave the way for foreign cultural influence. Naturally there are those who support and encourage such dependency and those who discourage it, especially in the cultural sphere.

Whether we do or we do not accept the argument concerning the nature of cultures, as outlined in the first chapter, it is possible to map out the roots of certain cultures before, during and after their interactions with other foreign cultures. It should be emphasised that 'culture' is in this sense confined to the dominant culture of a certain society. The main purpose of defining the parameter of these cultures is to provide a base for intercultural analysis. It is an important step in the theoretical build-up of the present study, which is perceived within the intercultural debate. However, in the case of Egypt, it is very difficult to pin-point the exact roots of its 'culture' before its last foreign contact, namely with the West. But there is a general acceptance among historians that Islam as a
religion and ideology have dominated the way of life in Egypt for centuries. Despite the fact that, as Rodinson says, no government in the history of the Islamic World adhered to the Islamic way of life, after the period of its four successive rulers who were the prophets' companions, Islam has left its clear mark on Egypt. It has introduced Arabic as the main language in Egypt, the language of the Koran. The Egyptian social milieu had an overall Islamic outlook. Most of the institutions were established to further the cause of religion.

The educational system for example, was mainly religious and geared towards cultivating Islamic teaching and preparing qualified preachers. The first Islamic university in Egypt, and in the whole of the Islamic world was set up, well before the establishment of any secular Western universities. However in subsequent years, although education in this Islamic University has undergone many changes and modifications which have included the introduction of secular sciences, it still remains mainly religious in character. This university also remains an important Islamic university, although in recent years it has become less important particularly since it has become government-controlled. However, secular education, particularly from the West, at present dominates the stage and which was introduced into Egypt towards the end of the last century. The first secular university was established in 1945 following a Western formula and most of its cadres were educated abroad. Taha Hussein who became the first Education Minister after the revolution obtained his PhD from France. Western educational contacts have never ceased since they began, except for the occasional reduction during the 60's for obvious political reasons.

Certainly, education is not the only sphere of life in Egypt which was influenced by the West. Western influence can also be found clearly in the political, economic and social spheres. It is very difficult to describe Egypt as an Islamic country in the same way as it used to be more than two centuries ago. The
obvious religious signs in Egypt at the present time, although they are not of great importance, are the adherence to regular prayer, fasting, marriage and inheritance. Furthermore, the country is ruled by a civil law based on various Islamic principles. This has in fact been at the heart of continuous debate in Egypt regarding the country's cultural identity. It is in a way similar to the Cultural Imperialism debate and also similar to the debate within the Western world about the nature of culture. It is obviously difficult to summarise the debate between the 'Isala' and 'Moasarah', Traditionalism and Modernism, within Egypt in this context. However, for the purpose of this study and in a generalised manner, there are three main opposing views, which can also be seen as representing three different cultures within Egypt. The first is expressed by those who belong to religious movements and call for the strict adherence to Islamic teachings. The second view is expressed by those who are aware of their Islamic heritage but who call for combining some aspects of Islamic teaching with the positive aspects of the modern way of life. The third, calls for a total westernisation and the rejection of the religious past. This debate is confined to the literary debate between the activists on one hand and the intellectuals on the other.

Although it is very difficult to specify precisely which group enjoys the greatest support, the second group does seem to enjoy wider support, given that its views are closer to the official views. However, the only obvious and more definite feature about Egyptian society, is the degree of foreign influence. Nowhere is this influence more apparent than through the means of cultural production. Television and cinema come first, in terms of their reliance on imported programmes particularly from America. As Hamdy Kandel says that American tele-films are readily available to those countries receiving American aid. Egypt comes first among these countries. Over 40% of television programmes are imported and almost 70% of the total import comes from the United States (Unesco, Television Traffic, a One-way Street, No 70). Egypt also imports a
great deal of feature films. In the early 70's there was a decline in the number of imported films, but in 1974 the number increased to 241 and 36% of them were from America. India also is a great exporter of films to Egypt, 34% of the total in 1974 were from India. The main reason for this is that Egypt's close relations with America had not been established at the time. Further details with regard to the latest statistics in this area are given in the section relating to the findings of the Content Analysis.

The most obvious form of foreign influence on cultural life in Egypt is not confined to media production alone. It also extends to other aspects of life. It is very difficult not to notice Western influence in the city of Cairo in terms of the increasing number of English-written company names, American fast food counters and the thousands of Western tourists. Foreign cultural contacts are also evident in the educational sphere. Although the Egyptian educational system remains almost the same, there is nevertheless greater contact with Western educational systems. An increasing number of Egyptian students and lecturers, are sent to study in America and the United Kingdom. A great number of them are on grants provided by those countries. Furthermore, the cultural centres of Western embassies are very active, particularly the American Cultural Centre in Cairo, which organises educational classes, conferences and various seminars; it screens films and helps to conduct interviews between Egyptian television and famous American personalities.

It should be pointed out that most of these sources of foreign contacts have been in evidence for a long time even during the time of Nasser. But the main difference is that they are taking place at a greater pace than in the past. It is reasonable to associate therefore, this high profile foreign presence with the closer political and economic ties between Egypt and the West. There are many people in Egypt who would compare the level of current foreign presence to the
level seen during the colonial period and even prior to this.
B. Part Two

C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Six
TELEVISION AND RADIO AUDIENCE

Previous Studies

Certainly the most important part of the communication process through the electronic media is played by the audience. They are important because they are the intended target of the communication message or at least this is how they are often seen by those who are running communication organisations. Thus audience studies have increased tremendously to reveal more about this intended target. Most of these studies have undoubtedly shed some light on many aspects of the communication process, which have guided many communication planners. However, the problem with these studies is that they are often commercially orientated, theoretically void and perceive the communication process as a linear operation involving a message, a medium and a receiver. "Who said what to whom with what means and to what effect". While the communication organisations within this approach simply seek to find out habits of exposure to the media, the communication researchers, within the same approach, seek to find out the effect of a certain message on certain audience. In fact the "direct-effect" studies were the earliest studies in the field which are still being conducted, but with some modifications.

Many studies have been carried out in Egypt to evaluate the effect of the electronic media on changing social attitudes and values. Such studies are very much related to the central concern of this study, which makes it important to refer briefly to their findings. Most of these studies indicate a positive correlation between media use and change of social attitudes. A study by A El-Abd, carried out in 1979 in rural Egypt, showed that there was a positive correlation between listening to radio and both the decline of men's view of women as being inferior to them and the increase in the equalitarian relationship between the two sexes.
Prior to that there was another study carried out in 1973 by M Naser, about the role of television in the process of social development, also in the rural areas of Egypt. Results showed that 73.2% of villagers watched television with more males than females watching and that group watching was the most common form of exposure to television serials. Villagers liked to watch films, which led the researcher to conclude that films could be effectively used to achieve the desired goals of development. Another study reported in the national Review of Social Science vol 18:1 January 1978, carried out by N Ramzi, showed that television was considered as a popular means of entertainment such as the theatre and cinema. Clearly, the common aim of these studies was to assess the role of the media in the development process within Egypt.

As for the habits of using the media, many studies have also been carried out in Egypt in this area. In a study conducted by N Salem, reported in the National Review of Social Sciences Vol 18:1 January 1981, pages 53-62, to measure the effects of the mass media on a sample of opinion leaders and ordinary people in rural areas of Egypt, it was shown that 63% of the leaders watch television regularly. This result was also supported by another study published in the same magazine Vol 18:3 September 1981, which found that illiterates were less exposed to the mass media generally than the educated. The study also showed that dramas were the programmes most preferred by ordinary people. News programmes were favoured by the opinion leaders. The most recent study was carried out by the Egyptian Radio and Television Union in cooperation with the Centre for Public Opinion Research in Cairo University, published in May 1986.

The study covered urban as well as rural areas of Egypt and among its findings was that, about four to over five hours on average was spent viewing television daily in Egypt. As for the most preferred programmes, drama occupied first position. It was also found that there was a positive correlation between the level
of education and the tendency to watch foreign programmes, namely drama. Foreign drama came out on top of the list of most favoured programmes for people under the age of 30. Such programmes were not favoured by the illiterates because of the inability to read the subtitles. The most preferred programmes on the radio were found to be music and recitation of the Koran. It was also found that over 19% of the sample listen to foreign stations. Urban populations tended to listen to foreign stations more than those of rural areas. Radio Israel occupied the top of the list, as the most listened to station, 3.74%. London came fifth with 2.98% of sample listening to its programmes. Radio drama was found to be low down on the list of favoured programmes for all levels of education. However, radio is listened to daily by all people, especially during the morning.

Social Observations

It is obviously very difficult to pin-point any particular social characteristics without running the risk of stereotyping. However, in Egypt one can say that there are certain social characteristics which are closely associated with religion and colonialism. The most obvious of these is the respect and fear of authority. This tendency is linked to the respect of the father or the elderly person of the family. Religious teaching encourages people to respect the elderly especially parents. During the survey it was found that this is very evident in rural areas where the head of the village is still treated, perhaps with less fear, but with more respect. He is still also the first source that people can turn to in times of trouble. Fear of authority was evident in the refusal of many people generally, urban as well as rural, of being interviewed. It was with his permission only, that one was able to conduct the interviews in the village.

Egypt has been an Islamic country for more than a thousand years and as a result some of the social attitudes prevalent in the country have been influenced by
religion. For example, the attitude towards women is still evident, especially in rural areas. It is very difficult for example for a male stranger to talk to a woman, either in the house or in the street. Even in the urban areas, the student was involved in massive arguments that could have ended in a fight, for speaking to a woman in the street. Most interviews with women were always conducted in the presence of a male from the household, particularly when interviewing housewives. Working women were relatively easy to interview.

The other obvious social characteristic in Egypt is connected with colonialism, regarding the respect and status given to anything foreign. This is most evident in urban areas, where people are more in contact with foreigners, than in rural areas where any place outside Egypt is considered foreign. One has found this attitude clearly in the respectful way that people in offices and libraries treated the student, for simply being a student in England. This attitude is very much in line with the generally expressed view that consumption of foreign goods has increased among many people in Egypt.

However, in a study reported in National Review of Social Science, No 2: May 1985, Vol. 22, carried out by S Al Amrey, aimed at assessing Egyptian opinion with regard to Egyptian goods. It was found that 44% of those interviewed said that Egyptians prefer foreign goods, especially since the 70's when Egypt became more open to Western influence. One-fifth of the sample preferred foreign goods. However, and contrary to expectation, most people in the sample preferred Japanese goods, whereas American goods came in fourth place. It was found also that there was a negative correlation between buying Egyptian goods and the level of education. In another study, carried out by S Abd El- Malik, unpublished Ph.D thesis in Cairo University, showed that the level of foreign commercials on Egyptian television increased from 7.7% in 1975 to 66.5% in 1977. Furthermore, all other economic studies and surveys, referred to in the first part of the study,
showed that the Egyptian balance of payments began to suffer huge deficits as a result of the ever increasing gap between exports and imports. Most of the latter are consumer goods that are highly subsidised - see the section dealing with the economic structure of Egypt.

Another noticeable social characteristic is the respect shown by the illiterates towards the educated. This attitude has been in evidence in Egypt for many decades. It is certainly associated with colonialism and also with the importance that is given to education, since the beginning of the revolution and throughout the 60's and the early part of the 70's. One of the most echoed slogans of the 1952 revolution was the phrase coined by the Minister of Education at the time, Taha Hussein, that "education is as essential as water and air". This idea was later to emphasise the importance of education and the role of teachers at all levels. One of the most recited poems of the time, taught to pupils at school was about the role of teachers. It opened with this verse, that can be translated thus: "Oh you, you should show all the respect to your teacher, for his mission is almost like that of a prophet". The government also introduced Teacher's Day which is still celebrated once a year. Education has become essential for people's enlightenment as well as serving as a means of social mobility. This idea is often cited in a very famous verse which goes: "education enriches families that are not of any substance, but ignorance impoverishes families that are of some wealth and reputation". It became very common in Egypt after the revolution, especially during the 60's, to see many poor families who had given all they had to educate their children, or at least one of the family, in order to obtain a good job and to make life less of a struggle for them.

Education in Egypt, as pointed out earlier in this study, has been, in the mainstream secular and western. The most obvious feature of westernization of education has been in the form of dress. The wearing of Western suits, trousers
and shirts became the uniform associated with official Egyptian education. The trend was borne well before the revolution of 1952 and even before the turn of this century, at the hands of people like Mohamed Abdo. He was a famous Egyptian reformer who was educated in the West and returned to Egypt to advocate the need to reform Islamic teaching and to learn from Western cultural experience. He encouraged the transference of Western knowledge through direct translation from English into Arabic. Up until the revolution, education was accessible mainly to rich Egyptian families. Western dress did not therefore spread as widely as it did after the revolution. Even at present, the association of Western dress with educated people is still in evidence.

The word "Afandy" used to refer to people holding office in government during the Ottoman empire and British rule in Egypt, can still be heard in Egypt, especially in rural areas. It is often used to refer to anyone in western dress. Traditional Egyptian dress, which is actually a product of Egyptian, Islamic, Ottoman and Arab influence, is now worn in many rural and parts of the urban proletariat, who originally came from rural areas. It should be pointed out that the main aim here is to point out that Western influence in Egypt has been in evidence at least for more than a century and not to pin-point precisely when such contacts began. Apart from the difficulty of such a task, direct foreign contact and influence in Egypt have taken place throughout its history and have tended to be intermittent.

Western influence in Egypt has not only been evident in the area of man's attire, but also in the way women dress. It was during the first quarter of this century, and especially during the failed revolution of 1919, that interest in women's liberation issues became evident. Before this time, women were covered in veils and often did not appear in public. It should be emphasised that the position of women at the time was the product of the influence of a mixture of Egyptian,
Islamic, Ottoman and Arab cultures. However, some women did take part in the revolution unveiled, and since that time some of them have begun to appear in public without veils. They did not appear at the working place in Western dress ie, blouse and skirt except after the 1952 revolution. The number of women at work has since increased gradually, particularly during Sadat's rule, when it became an economic necessity for women to go out and earn a living. But still the number of employed men in Egypt highly exceeds that of women. The association between women's dress and education and the respect it entails, is not very noticeable as with the case of men. Despite the fact that some women go out to work, they still do the housework and have a limited chance of going out and earning respect. In rural areas however, it is very rare to see a woman dressed in a Western style except if she works in the local school or is a visitor from a nearby city. Even if a woman from a rural area works in the city, when she gets back she often changes into a more Egyptian-styled dress ie, a longer dress that covers the entire body. It would be better to refer to this type of dress as Egyptian rather than Islamic, because many would argue that it is not completely Islamic.

In the last few years there has been an increase in the number of women seen in Islamic dress, especially in the big cities such as Cairo, and among secondary school and university students. Obviously there are a number of social factors which have led to such a phenomenon. This has emerged partly as a response to the call for the return to Islamic culture by Islamic groups which have increased since the early 70's. Some see it as a dress for convenience rather than for religious reasons. A woman is less likely to face harassment in city streets or in public transport, if she is dressed in Islamic dress. It is Islamic dress and not Western clothes which generate respect for women.
The Egyptian rural community has been known throughout history for being the source of wealth, peace, hospitality and co-operation. Farming is associated naturally with these qualities which are essential to stability and continuity. It has remained so up until the present time, although the level of such wealth has decreased tremendously. There are many factors which have led to the deterioration of the agricultural sector, as already mentioned in the previous chapter. The collapse in agricultural output has been an important factor which has led to the migration of the labour force from rural areas to the big cities in search of work.

Most rural men interviewed during the audience study, either worked in the nearby city, in Cairo or in the Gulf. Most women were housekeepers, some of which would occasionally help their husbands on the farm. At present Egypt does not produce sufficient food to feed its population, which inhabit only 4% of its land; the remaining 96% is left uncultivated. However, the rural areas remain peaceful and hospitable, as noticed during interviews. Every house in which we entered offered us food and drink. Communal viewing and communal listening, that is familiar in the rural areas, is a manifestation of co-operation. Sadat in many of his public pronouncements in the late 70's made frequent reference to the need for the Egyptian people to adopt, what he termed the "ethics of the village, the spirit of co-operation". In his book, The Search of Identity, Sadat, who was borne and brought up in a village, goes to some length to illustrate the very pleasant and agreeable nature of the Egyptian village. It is perhaps true to say that these characteristics are almost the characteristics of rural life anywhere else in the world, particularly in the Third World, which is often seen through the eyes of bourgeoisie urban dwellers. However, the somewhat unique aspects of Egyptian rural life may be attributed to the fact that it has been established, since the times of Ancient Egypt along the banks of the very long and rich river Nile. Without the Nile, Egypt would not have become the first and richest civilization
in the world which depended mainly on farming. The importance of the Nile for Egypt is even greater at the present time, when all signs indicate that the main source of conflict in the Middle East in the coming decades would not be over oil wells but water resources. The decreasing share of the Nile water that reaches Egypt at present is a cause for great concern within the country.

It might seem odd that most of this brief introduction about the characteristics of Egyptian society has concentrated on the rural areas. Clearly there are some common characteristics between the poorer urban as well as rural areas of Egypt. However, previous research has shown that the majority of the drama audience is concentrated in the rural and the poorer urban areas of the country. The urban areas of Egypt, particularly the poorer parts are distinguished for being overcrowded, noisy, dirty and run down. Many of the local inhabitants live in smaller dwellings than those living in the village. The main visible common feature between the urban and rural areas, apart from the lower standard of living, is the close interrelationship between the inhabitants. Communal viewing for example takes place in urban areas at the corner shop or in the local cafe, where people spend a large part of their leisure time. However, these contacts are less intimate and less strong than those in the village. Perhaps this is due to the fact that people are more likely to move out or move into an area in the city than in the village. A great number of the inhabitants of the 'poor' urban centres are often immigrants from rural areas, who come to the city with the expectation of a better life.

In the richer parts of the big cities, in Cairo and Alexandria in particular, there are modern blocks of flats and wider and cleaner streets, than in the poorer areas. Naturally, these parts tend to be less noisy and their inhabitants are more isolated. Often, the main meetings places are the social clubs. Communal viewing is unheard of in these areas and viewing takes place within the family, which is
usually small. In many houses there is often more than one television set in addition to a video. The other feature about a city such as Cairo, is that there is not sufficient land on which to build houses.

It could be argued that the contrast between the rich and the poor areas of the city, is a common feature of most big cities of the world. But what is unique about, is that the gap between rich and poor areas is much wider, to the extent that they could very well be parts of different cities entirely and yet they are at the same time in very close proximity to one another. Cairo has more areas which can be classified as 'in-between' areas, as opposed to rich areas. Such areas have high blocks of flats where there is little contact between inhabitants and they are noisy, dirty and overcrowded, although these conditions are better than those found in the poorer urban areas. These areas are also connected to the main parts of the cities with somewhat more frequent and readily accessible means of transport.

Survey Sites

The main purpose of this survey was to try and get a wider picture of the media audience in Egypt, especially the drama audience. Thus the intention was to draw part of the sample from a rural community which possesses most of the characteristics mentioned earlier. The village chosen is called Badiny, and lies in the south of Egypt. The nearest town to Badiny is 15 kms away. Transport between Badiny and this town is made all the more difficult by a canal, which separates the village from the main road that links it to the town. The only means of crossing this canal is by manually operating a small boat, which ferries people, animals and goods. The village is made up of about 150 houses served by one local school. Most of the houses are built of mud except for a few houses that belong to the wealthy families and are built from red bricks. The majority of people work either on the farms, in the local school or in the nearby towns as
labourers.

Almost all the inhabitants listened to the radio and watched television. There were a limited number of television sets available in the village, yet their use was widespread. Badiny is a very quiet village, almost cut-off entirely from the rest of the world. By nightfall all movement disappears. School hours last only until about lunchtime, giving the teachers sufficient time to return home, for most of them live in the nearby town. The women sit outside their houses in groups. Domestic animals, such as donkeys, sheep, goats and guard dogs are left to roam in the alleys between the houses. The small roads leading into the village are dusty and winding, giving the place a real feeling of remoteness and isolation.

The urban sites, as mentioned earlier, were all situated in Cairo. Boulak, Kafir El Gabal and Zamalik. Boulak is situated in the centre of Cairo. It represents a typical urban slum where the urban proletariat is concentrated. The population of Boulak is estimated at about a quarter of a million people. It is overcrowded, noisy and dirty. It has very narrow and muddy streets that are worse even than streets in the village, because the area suffers from constant sewage problems. Boulak, epitomizes Cairo in as far as it exhibits the problems which face the city as a whole in its extreme form. Crossing the bridge over the Nile from east to west, there is a completely different landscape, namely Zamalik. It is as small as Mayfair in London, although it does not reflect a high standard of living as Mayfair. Yet it is considered one of the Mayfairs of Cairo where the rich and the famous live. It is characterised by its modern high rise blocks, wide streets, a multitude of cars and even some street sweepers. It is however, still dusty as is the rest of Cairo, but it is less noisy and less crowded.

Kafir El Gabal, the third area chosen, lies on the outskirts of Cairo. Technically speaking, it lies in the city of Al Giza, but Cairo and Al Giza are considered to be
part of greater Cairo. For the purpose of this study both cities are hereto referred to as Cairo. The unique feature about Kafir El Gabal is that although on the one hand it is part of Cairo, it is also situated in a remote corner of the city. It has but one main street connecting the city with the centre of Cairo and the rest of the streets are narrow and dusty. It can be described as a village situated in an urban area. Many people of this area do not wear Western dress, but long Egyptian dress and there is a feeling of community spirit in El Gabal, similar to that found in Badiny. The other outstanding feature about this area is that it had the highest refusal rate compared with the remaining survey sites. This was perhaps due to the increase in the level of illiteracy and the strong close community life.
RESULTS

All interviews were conducted in Arabic following a structured schedule, an English version of which is given at the end of this study. All answers were written in full and then coded in English before being statistically fed into the computer to obtain the relevant percentages and the various correlations between all the variables which concern this study. The results will be presented in the following pages of this chapter under four main headings, which reflect the main themes of the findings. These headings are as follows:

- Media Use
- Foreign Media Use
- Drama Use
- Foreign Orientations and Social Attitudes

Media Use

Although many studies have been carried out in this area in a continuous assessment of audiences by various bodies, in and outside Egypt, providing valuable and reliable information, it was essential to cover this area in this study. This was essential for two main reasons; firstly, to confirm or refute previous studies and secondly, to base this study on up-to-date knowledge about the audience, subject to the study, which should enhance the validity of the findings.

Similar to the study carried out by the Egyptian television authorities, which was referred to previously, it was found that there were very few people who did not use the mass media. As expected, although radio listening was not as popular as television viewing among those interviewed, yet both could be seen as very popular indeed in both rural and urban areas. The overwhelming majority of the
population in this sample, 97%, watched television regularly, whereas slightly less than that, 92%, said that they listened to the radio also, though with less regularity. Only 41% of those who listened to radio did so every day of the week for between one and two hours. It is often assumed that rural people tend to listen to radio more than those living in urban areas. This study showed that there was no correlation between the level of listening and the area of residence. The study further showed that there was no strong correlation between sex and the level of listening to radio. While 52% of males listened to radio daily, 54% of females did the same. Watching television almost occupied centre stage in the lives of many Egyptians. Almost 3/4 of those who watched television, 71%, said that they did so every day of the week for no less than two hours. More than half of them stated that they actually watched television for three or more hours daily. The findings showed that urban population tended to watch more television than those living in rural areas. While 69% of rural population in the sample said they watched television every day, 72% of poor urban and 76% of the rich urban population did the same. Unlike listening habits, the study showed that there was a strong correlation between sex and watching habits. While 64% of males said that they watched every day, 93% of women said that they did the same. Furthermore, this survey revealed that television viewing was one of the main activities which consumed the largest part of leisure time as the following table shows:
Table A: Main leisure time activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of activity</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watching television</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening to radio</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housework/repairs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No leisure time at all</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching video</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to the cinema</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer)

** All figures shown in all tables in this study are rounded.

(It should be noted that some of the respondents did not consider television viewing as a leisure activity, partly because the role of television in their view should be educational and because leisure time was associated mainly with the upper class. It is for these reasons that television viewing did not receive higher ratings than these shown.)

This wide television exposure confirms that even though the sample was too small to make any reliable generalisation, television has become the most popular means of cultural production among the majority of the population of Egypt. This exposure also confirms the idea that the cost of obtaining a television set, which is beyond the means of many Egyptians who live on an average of £50 (equivalent of £15) a month, has not hindered this medium from spreading among the poorer communities of Egypt. It could be argued that radio was exactly in a similar situation when it first appeared in Egypt and in many other
Third World countries. At the beginning, it was too expensive to be widely used until technology ensured that it was cheaply available. Perhaps future technology would ensure even wider ownership of televisions. Incidentally, technology has ensured that the problem of the lack of electricity is overcome. Although the High Dam has helped to supply electricity cheaply to many parts of Egypt, there are still many villages that live in the dark. Television sets operated by batteries are widely used in rural areas of Egypt which are without electricity. The main feature regarding television is that ownership of a set is not linked to viewing. As mentioned earlier, many people do not have sets, yet they are regular viewers.

This survey showed that communal viewing, particularly in rural areas, was high. Over two thirds of the sample, 69%, stated that they watched television with others outside their immediate family, whereas only 20% said that they listened to the radio with others. This is not surprising since television, like the cinema, attracts viewers by its images. Group watching does tend to give television more social relevance than radio, although it affects the degree of freedom that people have over the choice of programmes. However, the sample showed a high level of ownership of both radios and televisions. 67% of the sample owned television sets, while over 90% owned radios.

Television viewing in Egypt, perhaps following a Western style, takes place mainly in the evening while most listening takes place in the morning. This result confirms previous studies of the Egyptian audience, which indicated that viewing television tended to take place often outside working hours. This is likely to make television closely related to people than radio, for listening usually takes place while people are getting ready to go out to work. Moreover, television prime-time viewing starts well after people usually finish work. Unlike the West, the majority of people in Egypt finish work by about three o'clock in the afternoon. Statistics in this survey showed that over 92% of the sample watched
television in the evening, while 80% listened to the radio in the morning.

To assess the importance of the electronic media, people were asked in the survey, how they would feel if they were denied access to radio and television. Results showed that, there would be a bigger vacuum in people's lives, if they were denied access to television, more than the denial of access to radio, see table 1A below. Many people said that they would feel bored and they would have the feeling that something great was missing in their lives, if they were denied access to television. Some even went as far as to say that "life would be impossible without a television", "what else would be left for us in our life". Television meant the world to them. Others said they would do everything in their power to ensure they had easy access to a television, even if it meant having to walk for miles to get to one.

Table 1A: MOST COMMON FEELINGS EXPRESSED TOWARDS THE LOSS OF TELEVISION OR RADIO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Television</th>
<th>Radio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wouldn't know what to do</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wouldn't feel something was missing</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would feel sad</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would be lonely</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wouldn't feel any loss whatsoever</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would feel a very dear loss</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would be bored</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer)
(Although the above figures are mixed, on aggregate they do show that television plays a very important role in the lives of people sampled. Radio seemed to be a more intimate companion for people rather than television, thus more would be saddened by the loss of radio than by television.)

This attitude and attachment to the electronic media and television in particular, was further emphasised by the added findings of this survey showing that people only watched what they liked. They tended to be selective, even those living in rural areas. Over 81% of those who watched television in the sample said that they chose the programmes they preferred to watch. These findings indicate that the audience are not merely passive recipients of programmes, but that they are likely to use the media to suit their own needs and their own individual preferences. However, communal viewing played a part in determining the types of programmes watched.

When people were asked why they turned to the media, the answers in percentage terms were somewhat mixed, see table 1B below. The largest percentage of the sample, 57%, said that they use the media primarily out of boredom. For them the media acted as a form of entertainment helping them to overcome the monotony and hardship of everyday living. A slightly smaller percentage, 55% used the media as a means of learning something new. This section of the sample felt that being well informed was important. It earned them respect from others and helped them to be enlightened, thereby speeding the development process in Egypt. Most of these people had achieved some level of education and saw the media as a means of informing and educating the public. The third largest percentage of people, 20%, said that the media gave them something to do. This section was very similar to the first, which considered the media as a means of occupying leisure time.
Table 1B: Main Uses Made of Radio and Television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To stop feeling of boredom</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help to forget other problems</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide topic of conversation with others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching aid</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides enjoyment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To combat loneliness</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupy leisure time</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer )

Clearly when people talk about the mass media, they primarily mean radio and television. The results of this survey show that exposure to other means of communication in Egypt is very limited indeed. Reading was not common practice among those in the sample, where only 19% read almost every day, most of them students. Almost half of the sample, 44%, did not read at all. Most of the books read, were either literary books, 30%, or religious books, 28%. The only popular kind of reading was confined to the reading of newspapers. 53% of the sample read newspapers almost daily, in comparison to only 23% who did not read at all. Most of the newspapers read were the semi-official newspapers, ie national Egyptian newspapers such as Al Ahram, Al Akhbar and Al Gomhoria. Magazine reading presented a similar picture as book reading. Almost half the sample, 48% did not read magazines at all. The second largest percentage, 33% of them read magazines for an average of one or two days a week. Most of the magazines read were general in nature, dealing with a wide range of issues covered by newspapers, with the exception that they were more visual and
detailed than newspapers. The second most popular type of magazine was the specialised magazine concerned with areas of direct interest to professionals. The third was the political magazine dealing with political issues in more depth than newspapers.

These findings showed that television and radio occupy prime position, among all forms of the mass media. However, it is not certain to what extent the electronic media are responsible for the poor exposure to other forms of media in Egypt. There are other factors governing this, such as the high cost of books and magazines, the lack of public libraries and the high level of illiteracy, resulting in the low use of both forms. The other form of mass communication which seems to have suffered from the spread of television in particular, is the cinema. This survey showed that the level of those attending the cinema, among the sample, was very low. 72% of the sample did not go to the cinema at all, and only 21% went, but not more than once a week. The most popular types of films on the cinema screen were, in order of preference, those of "social" nature, "detective" movies and those of the "romantic" type. Cinema attendance is low in Egypt generally, due to the high cost of going to the cinema and more importantly because cinemas are no longer suitable for family viewing. It has become exclusive to the young, who go to release their sexual and other oppressed feelings. Video also has contributed to the reduction in the number of cinema goers. Despite the high cost of buying a video, the use of it in Egypt is rapidly increasing. One of the main reasons for this is that video is used in a similar fashion to television, for group and communal viewing. This survey showed that 37% of the sample watched videos regularly. 11% watch between one and two times a week. The majority of those who watched videos, watched foreign as well as Arabic films. Unlike some western countries, video in Egypt is usually used to avoid what is on television or to view forbidden films, which are usually full of sex and violence, and not to solve the struggle over the choice of
programmes. Television in Egypt has only two channels, so the choice to watch one channel rather than the other, does not in itself create a great problem in the household. Cairo is the only city in Egypt that is served with three channels.

One of the main aims of this survey was to assess the popularity of programmes generally and drama in particular. The sample of television and radio's content was confined to drama, primarily for two reasons. Firstly, because most imported cultural production in the electronic media in Egypt and in most Third World countries, concentrates in the area of drama. Drama includes the production of series, serials and feature films. Secondly, the overwhelming evidence from previous studies, shows that dramas are the most popular programmes, particularly among the poorer population. Arabic drama came on the top of the list of the ten most popular programmes shown on Egyptian television in the recent study carried out by Egyptian television in 1986. This survey, as shown in Table 1C below, reveals that 77% of the sample indicated that they watched dramas, series and serials, on Egyptian television. The second largest percentage, 68% of the sample, watched feature films. Films were less popular than shown in the previously mentioned study. However, when respondents were asked about dramas in general, which included films, the percentage then rose to 81%.

Similar to the findings from the Egyptian Television study, news was not very popular among the sample. Only 17% of this sample watched news bulletins. This perhaps has a lot to do with the way in which news is presented on Egyptian television, since the largest part of the bulletins is usually devoted to the president's activities and his meetings with other heads of state. They also devote time to cover the long and often boring discussions in Parliament. In addition to the representation of the official views of events, news is not always accompanied by live coverage and images, which decreases the attraction for news viewing generally.
Other popular programmes were religious programmes, particularly those whereby a famous religious personality gave a contemporary interpretation of the Koran, The Holy Book. These types of programmes came fourth on the list of top ten popular programmes in the previously referred to study. 40% of this sample watched religious programmes, placing them in third place. 30% of the sample favoured documentary programmes, most of them were educated. 29% preferred to watch sport, especially football, most of them were young. For many of those questioned, television for them meant drama and football.

Table 1C: TEN MOST POPULAR PROGRAMMES ON EGYPTIAN TELEVISION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serials and series</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Films</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentaries</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light entertainment</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer )

Not only does television, as we have seen, attract a wider audience than radio in Egypt, but also the two mediums differ in terms of their sources of attraction. The most popular programmes on radio differ from those on television. This is
due to factors such as the type of audience and the time of exposure. This study show that the most popular programme on Egyptian radio is music. 43% of the sample listened to music, followed by light programmes, such as chat shows and entertainment programmes. 37% of the sample listened to these programmes which came before drama, serials and series. 34% listen to drama, contradicting findings from the previous study (Ibid, May 1986), which showed that radio drama did not feature in the list of top ten favourite programmes. News bulletins, lasting for approximately 15 minutes, took fourth place with 27%. Table 1D below shows a list of the most popular programmes broadcast on the radio. It can be concluded from these statistics that news attracts more listeners on the radio than television viewers. Religious programmes tend to be less popular on the radio than on television, occupying fifth position with 20%, despite the fact that more religious programmes are broadcast on the radio than on television.

Table 1D: Ten Most Popular Programmes on Egyptian Radio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light entertainment</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serials</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentaries</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized programmes</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Respondents could give more than one answer)
Foreign Media Use

The Cultural Imperialism Theory has mainly been centred, as shown in the first chapter, on the high level of foreign cultural import into Third World countries. However, it would be very difficult to assess the level of foreign cultural influence through the mass media in Egypt, without attempting to discover how audiences relate to these programmes; how often exposure to foreign programmes occurs; what are the most popular foreign programmes and why. A separate section of the interviewing schedule was devoted to revealing such habits, both through radio and television.

It has already been mentioned that there are very few foreign programmes which are broadcast on Egyptian radio. The main source of foreign radio programmes comes from external services received from various countries, broadcast particularly in Arabic. This study showed that 50% of the sample listened to foreign radio stations which broadcast in Arabic. This figure could be even higher, given that some of the sample were not keen on revealing that they listen to foreign radio stations. Listening to foreign stations used to be almost an offence in Egypt during the late 50's and early 60's. (Although the content of programmes broadcast on foreign stations was left out in this study, this does not mean that it cannot be seen as a form of "imperialism" and that it should not be the subject of future research).

The results also showed that listening to foreign stations took place regularly. Almost half of all those who listened to foreign stations, did so approximately everyday of the week; 22% listened for an average of five to seven days a week. 14% three to four times a week and 14% once or twice a week. Further analysis of the results showed that the rural and the urban population tended to listen more to foreign radio stations than people who lived in the rich urban areas. While
24% of the rural and 24% of the poor urban listened daily to foreign stations, only 14% of the rich urban did the same. The analysis also showed there to be no strong correlation between the level of education and listening to foreign stations. 18% of the illiterates listened daily, but as opposed to only 25% with a university education. It was also found that the most popular foreign radio station was the BBC Arabic Service. 30% of the sample listened to London regularly. This contradicted earlier findings from the previously referred to study, which showed that London came fifth in the ratings for the most popular foreign stations in Egypt. The second most popular station was Monte Carlo, which is similar to the results shown in that previous study, with a rating of 21%. Voice of America occupied third position with 18%.

Table 2A: LIST OF MOST POPULAR FOREIGN RADIO STATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monte Carlo</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice of America</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer)

In contrast to the Egyptian central radio station, the most popular programme on foreign radio stations was the news, as shown in Table 2B. 39% listened to the news on foreign radio stations. This should provide some explanation for the popularity of the BBC, which is renowned for its objectivity and immediacy in
news reporting. Basically, most people resort to foreign radio stations for a more accurate and balanced view of world affairs, a view which is lacking in the Egyptian media. Hence, the fact that the news coverage occupies almost the biggest slot on these stations. The second most popular programme was music. 28% of the sample listened to music on foreign radio stations. This is certainly a high percentage in comparison to other programmes, although it is not as high as the percentage enjoyed on Egyptian local radio stations. This is understandable since music programmes are not usually subjected to the same restrictions imposed on news. Drama however, does not enjoy such wide popularity on foreign stations as on the central Egyptian radio station. Drama occupied seventh place with only 1%. This could partly be put down to the difficulty in obtaining good quality short wave radio sets, to make listening to drama a pleasant experience. It is clear that this part of the survey confirmed the importance of foreign radio stations as a source of news for the sample and for Egypt in general.

Table 2B: Most Popular Programmes on Foreign Stations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentaries</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light entertainment</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialized</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial or series</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer)
Since there are no foreign television channels received in Egypt at the present time, main exposure to foreign programmes is through drama. Hence people in the sample were asked how often they were exposed to foreign drama on television. The findings showed that foreign drama was popular among the audience; 70% watched foreign drama on Egyptian television, slightly a less percentage of those who watched Arabic drama. This showed that apart from Arabic drama, foreign drama was more popular than any other programme, Arabic or otherwise. Almost half of those people watched foreign drama regularly, on average of one to two days per week; 35% on average of three to four times a week and 15% almost every day. The analysis showed that there was a correlation between watching foreign drama and areas. 63% of the rural said that they watched foreign drama, compared to 79% of the poor urban and 86% of rich urban. It was also found that more females than males tended to watch foreign drama. While 70% of males said that they watched foreign drama, 87% of females said the same. However there was no strong correlation between the level of education and watching of foreign drama. People of all levels of education watched foreign drama, even the least educated groups. 60% of illiterates, as compared to 76% of university graduates. Foreign drama is shown on Egyptian television on both channels every day of the week - see chapter on Drama Content for more details. In a single day there could be more than one foreign drama. On Channel 1, which usually broadcasts more Arabic than foreign drama, there are two main evenings a week, when a foreign series or a film is shown. These programmes are usually preceded by a lengthy commentary or an interview with a leading literary critic, about the drama to be shown. Such an interview took place during the survey with Kirk Douglas, live via satellite, prior to showing one of his films to commemorate his 80th birthday. The interview was interpreted by the presenter of the programme. Very few programmes in fact, are broadcast live on Egyptian television via satellite, but they enjoy enormous popularity among television viewers.
Drama Use

Previous studies have clearly shown that radio and television drama is generally the most popular kind of programme, providing the mass media with greater social significance. This survey seems to confirm this fact. In order to assess the level of foreign cultural influence, it is necessary to find out how people relate to drama watched or listened to on the radio and what type of drama is the most popular and why. The interviewing schedule included a number of questions covering most of these points.

The results showed that 27% of the sample, out of 34% which listened to Arabic drama, preferred to listen to the "social" type of drama, as demonstrated in Table 3A, i.e. the type of drama which deals with immediate social problems, with which the audience can relate and appreciate. Problems which often have direct impact on their daily lives and which cause great social concern. The next most popular type of drama was the "thriller", which deals with mysteries; 10% of the sample preferred this type. Love or romance drama had a rating of 4%, highlighting the fact that radio drama was more popular in rural areas where there was more social pressure, which discourages the treatment of issues of such a nature. Although the analysis of the data showed that there was no strong correlation between listening to drama and areas, it was found that 35% of the rural and 50% of the poor urban areas listened to drama at least once a week, compared with 14% of those living in the rich urban areas. However, only 3% preferred religious drama, which incidentally are very seldom shown on television.
Table 3A: Most Popular Radio Drama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thriller</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer.)

When people were questioned why they preferred to listen to a certain type of drama, the most common answer was that it helped to solve some of society's problems, as shown in Table 3B. 14% of the sample expressed this view. They seemed to be concerned with the struggle of everyday life and viewed the media as a tool for helping to find solutions to these problems. The second most common answer for preferring to listen to certain types of drama was greatly associated with the first, in that it reflected their life and its problems. However, this view was not held by everyone; 9% of the sample preferred to listen to a certain drama for its entertainment value and a further 4% for its excitement value. In other words, drama was seen to play a dual role: an active social role, contributing to the improvement of life, and a less active role, providing a means of entertainment. Additionally it was seen to play an important part in informing the public. 9% listened to drama with the aim of widening their knowledge.
Table 3B: REASONS FOR LIKING RADIO DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very entertaining</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very exciting</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serves development</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps to change old attitudes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widens knowledge</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps to solve society's problems</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps to pass time</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflects life and its problems</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6 and 8 were not coded together.)

It was mentioned that, contrary to popular belief, people generally consumed media programmes in a very selective and tentative way. However, when asked to name two of their favourite dramas, to establish just how popular they really were, half of the sample were unable to do so. But when they were asked about their most hated drama, over half of the sample responded. The least popular kind of drama was the "romance", as was shown by the 12% rating. It should be taken into account that the people who listened to drama tended to come from the rural and poor urban communities, where talking about love and romance in public causes severe embarrassment. The other type of unpopular drama was the type that was described as "aimless", bearing no direct or clear message, 8% of the sample said that they hated that type of drama. It had no moral message which could be beneficial to the individual as well as to society. The following quotation, made by one of the respondents, illustrates clearly what was meant by "aimless drama":

149
"A man, a hero, falls in love with a woman and then goes through a great deal to win her for example. This is what we tend to have in most of the drama we hear on the radio or view on television. They kiss one another without feeling or shame. Is that what we should hear or see! What good is that in solving our everyday problems. No, that is but aimless drama".

(Quotation from a man, a caretaker of the local village school, age 53, married with three daughters).

Many people, particularly the middle aged, criticized drama for its corrupting influence. This study seemed to have provided them with the opportunity to voice these feelings about the media generally, thinking that the study was being conducted for Egyptian television.

The interviewing schedule contained a section relating to foreign radio drama, which aimed at assessing people's attitudes towards it. However, this was not fully utilised since only 1% of the sample listened to foreign drama, whether in English or in Arabic. Television drama, on the other hand, was viewed more regularly, Arabic as well as foreign. Statistics presented earlier showed that drama was the most popular type of programme on Egyptian television.

When asked what was their most popular Arabic drama on television, the answer once again was the drama with a social context, see Table 3C. 60% of the sample preferred this kind of drama which, as mentioned earlier, dealt with contemporary social problems, such as the growing greed of retailers who increase prices, the spread of bribery among government employees, the ever increasing population and the strife and difficulties faced by the poorer population. Other social problems such as the increase in divorce, prostitution, drink-related problems, polygamy or the spread of drugs, did not feature as
immediately as the previous problems. This result clearly indicate that the majority of the sample considered the prime role of the media, and television drama in particular, was to help to overcome social problems.

The second most popular type of drama was the detective type. 27% preferred this type, which is often structured on conflict between the forces of law or their agents and the law-breakers. 12% of the sample preferred to watch romantic drama, which is a higher percentage than that shown in the case of radio drama ratings for the same type. Most of these viewers were young and single. Only 4% preferred religious drama ie the type based on a religious story or on a religious personality, imaginary or otherwise. However, both, radio listeners and television viewers, tended to be disinterested in this type of drama, finding it boring, unconvincing and full of classic Arabic language, which is difficult to relate to.

Table 3C: Most Popular Arabic Television Drama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science fiction</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer.)
People were then asked to give their reasons for watching their favourite kind of drama. The answers were almost the same given previously to the question of media use. Unlike radio listeners, those who preferred to watch television, did so mainly because of the entertainment value it provided, 43% and only 24% watched television drama because it might help to provide an answer to some of society's problems. However, the results showed that these viewers highly appreciated the drama which they could relate to in their everyday lives, in form as well as in content. The second most popular reason was the close relationship between drama and the real world in which people live in. Drama mirrored society and did not present an unrealistic picture.

Table 3D: MOST POPULAR REASONS FOR LIKING ARABIC TELEVISION DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection of life</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps to solve society's problems</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excitement</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching aid</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps foster new attitudes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps to widen knowledge</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serves development</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3 and 8 were not coded together)

(Respondents could give more than one answer)
One of the most obvious signs of the degree of attachment between television drama and its audience, was reflected in the ease with which a large size of the sample, 69%, managed to mention one or two names of their favourite drama. However, the most unpopular type of drama appeared to be, as was the case with radio listeners, the one lacking in a moral or social message, 34%. Next on the list of unpopular drama came the romantic type. 21% of the sample did not like such drama. This seems to contradict the idea that television drama is consumed daily only for its entertainment value. Perhaps the truth is that the audience want to be entertained without being insulted or offended. Television viewing, as we have already seen, is a communal event, watching a love scene could cause great embarrassment and often lead some to stop watching, as one respondent put it:

"If I'm watching with my daughter and my son and see, especially in foreign films, two people kissing I feel very uneasy about it and immediately turn off the television".

(a 36 year old married man, nurse with 2 children, urban in group 6).

Table 3E: Most Unpopular Arabic Television Drama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Aimless&quot;*</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow Action</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer)

(*Aimless is an Arabic term for drama that has no clear and direct message)
Most foreign listening, as illustrated previously, took place through foreign stations which broadcast in Arabic. Hence it was impossible to assess the relationship between foreign radio drama and its audience. For television audiences, however, the picture was different, providing the opportunity to uncover some of the characteristics of this relationship. When people were asked about their favourite foreign drama, the most popular type was the "detective" drama as shown in Table 3F. 49% of the sample indicated that they preferred that type. The second most popular foreign drama was the "social" type with a rating of 20%. The third was the science fiction, with a rating of 18%. The fourth was the thriller with 15%. Thus it may be concluded that the most popular type of foreign drama was the single action, which took the series form. Associated with this type, although with lesser popularity, was the thriller drama. Unlike the situation with Arabic drama, the foreign "social" type occupied a lower position, while the "detective" and a "science fiction" drama had a higher rating. This was due to the fact that "social" foreign drama was mostly preferred by the educated, whereas the popularity of other types was partly due to the obvious lack of Arabic production of this genre and the less need for knowledge of foreign language.
Table 3F: List of Popular Foreign Drama on Egyptian Television

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drama Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science Fiction</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thriller</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer)

When questioned about why they preferred a certain type of drama, the most common answer was for the entertainment quality it provides. 48% of the sample as shown in Table 3G felt that their preferred drama was very entertaining. Second to this was the interesting quality of the production, where 38% said that they preferred their drama for that reason. The third most popular reason, mentioned by 15%, was the learning of useful things. The fourth main reason was the widening of ones knowledge, which was mentioned by 8% of the sample. Unlike Arabic drama, the social role of foreign drama did not figure highly, casting some doubt on the cultural influence of such drama. A very small percentage indicated that they would copy what they saw.
Table 3G: MOST COMMON REASONS FOR LIKING FOREIGN DRAMAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment value</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest value</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning useful things</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widening knowledge</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping to change old attitudes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping to solve social problems</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not strange to their life and culture</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer.)

From these brief findings it must be concluded that television drama, be it foreign or home produced, is consumed primarily as a means of entertainment and amusement. But the main area of difference between the two types of production was that, while the most popular Arabic drama was of the social type, the most popular foreign drama was of the "detective" type. The other difference was that Arabic drama was seen to have a direct social function, whereas foreign drama was seen as a means of increasing the viewers knowledge in various aspects.

The most unpopular foreign drama, as shown in Table 3H, was the romantic drama, with a sample rating of 22%. This is a slightly higher percentage than the most unpopular Arabic romantic drama. This is partly due to the more explicit nature of foreign drama, in comparison to Arabic drama which censorship helps to keep to a minimum. The second most unpopular type of drama was the type lacking in action. French films were usually referred to as examples. Unlike the unpopular Arabic drama, the aimless type of drama was unpopular with 8% of the
sample. One of the obvious reasons for this is that the audience did not expect foreign drama to be related to their world. Thus it could not be "aimless" in the same sense as Arabic drama. The majority of foreign drama viewers seemed to be more interested in action than in the actual dialogue or the moral message of the story. This can partly be put down to language barriers. The use of subtitles requires a degree of literacy as well as good eye-sight.

Table 3H: LIST OF MOST UNPOPULAR FOREIGN DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drama Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow action</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Aimless&quot;*</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer.)

(*Aimless is an Arabic term for drama that has no clear and direct message.)

If the ability of the audience to remember the names of their favourite drama is an indication of the strength of the relationship between the audience and the dramas, then it can be said that there is a close relationship between the large part of this sample and foreign drama. Despite the language barrier, 39% of the sample had no difficulty in listing one or two names of their favourite foreign drama.
Foreign Orientation

In the first part of this study it was shown that there are some signs of Western cultural influence, which are said to be in evidence in most Third World countries. Hence, part of the interviewing schedule in this study was devoted to uncover some of these signs such as consumerism, individualism, imitation of Western social habits and aspiration towards Western countries and Western way of life. Almost two thirds of the sample, 66%, had never been abroad and 26% of those who had, had only been to other Arab countries. Further analysis of the data showed that there was no correlation between having been abroad and watching foreign drama. While 82% of those who had not been abroad watched foreign, 73% of those who had been abroad did the same. In other words, the sample had little or no direct contact with countries outside the Arab world. However, when people were asked about the country they would most like to visit or live in, the most popular answer was not a Western country but an Arab country, as shown in Table 4A, with a rating of 47%. America was only mentioned by 7% of the sample, England and France by 5% respectively. When people were further asked about the reasons for choosing a certain country, the most popular motive was wealth. 34% said that they would go because such a country was rich. Most of these countries mentioned were oil producing Arab countries. The second most popular reason was to visit sacred places, which was mentioned by 30% and they almost all mentioned the place where many Muslims go every year on pilgrimage, Saudi Arabia. The third reason was the higher stage of development, which was mentioned by 22%. The choice in this regard was mainly confined to one of the five big Western countries, America, UK, France, Germany and Japan. A number of people, 16%, refused to contemplate the idea of leaving Egypt, despite all its problems.
When answering the question of which country they liked Egypt to resemble, again the most common answer was not a Western country but an Arab one. Although it was not mentioned by as large a majority as the one shown in the previous question, almost a quarter of the sample, 24%, said that they wanted Egypt to be like any of the Arab Gulf states, mainly because of the wealth factor. America occupied second place. 19% of the sample said that America should be an example for Egypt to follow. Japan also occupied third place with 18%. However, many wanted Egypt not to resemble any other country, despite its problems, as seen by a sample rating of over 13%. The most popular reasons for choosing these countries was mainly due to wealth factors, high level of development and a highly motivated population, namely the Japanese. However, some 9% based their choice of countries on religious grounds.

Table 4A: Most Popular Foreign Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Visit/Live</th>
<th>For Resemblance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab country</td>
<td>94 47%</td>
<td>48 24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No country</td>
<td>33 16%</td>
<td>28 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other West European country</td>
<td>18 9%</td>
<td>14 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>15 7%</td>
<td>38 19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>10 5%</td>
<td>5 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>10 5%</td>
<td>8 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>9 4%</td>
<td>36 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian country</td>
<td>4 2%</td>
<td>4 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist country</td>
<td>4 2%</td>
<td>6 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2 1%</td>
<td>10 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African country</td>
<td>2 1%</td>
<td>2 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin American country</td>
<td>2 1%</td>
<td>4 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>203 100</td>
<td>203 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Category No 1 should be read in conjunction with category No 2, for they reflect Arab orientation. If we look at Western Europe, America and Japan as one block and not concentrate mainly on America, the source of most media drama, then the results would be highly mixed in the first percentage column. 31% were orientated towards the West as compared to 63% who were orientated towards the Arab world. In the second percentage column, the results are heavily in favour of Western Europe, 55% liked to see Egypt modelling itself on the west)

Table 4B: MOST IMPORTANT QUALITIES SEEN IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualities</th>
<th>For resemblance</th>
<th>For visit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ones birth place</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly active population</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerful</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious importance</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has opportunities</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean / Quiet</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one quality)

Obviously, if we are to count Japan as a Western country, bearing in mind that there is no Japanese cultural production through the Egyptian media, again the conclusion must be of a mixed nature. One of the most feared effects of foreign cultural invasion, is the creation of a good image for the invading country, in the mind and hearts of people in the Third World. The results here show that on the
individual level, most aspirations were towards the rich oil-producing Arab States, mainly to acquire wealth and also to fulfil religious obligations ie. visiting the sacred places. Incidentally, most people in the sample heard of their favourite foreign countries from friends or through personal experience. Very few of them were familiar with these countries through television and radio, only 2% of the sample. But at a wider level, Egypt as a whole, most aspirations tended to be towards Western countries, including Japan, which are rich and well organised. This conclusion should also be seen in conjunction with the pattern of consumption that is dominant in Egypt. The majority of the sample stated that most people in Egypt buy foreign goods, 94%. But when asked about their personal pattern of consumption, only 58% stated that they buy foreign goods. However, 55% put this down to the fact that foreign goods, the majority of them clothes, 41%, tended to be of very good quality. Egyptian goods were bought mainly because they were cheaper. A tiny majority, 4%, bought foreign food, mostly the tinned variety. Clothes were generally bought from the UK and the United States. As for electrical appliances, 29% of the sample bought foreign appliances. Almost all of these appliances were made in Japan because of Japan's reputable name for such items. This in fact shows that people would consume foreign goods for practical as well as economic reasons, more than for imitating the West or for being influenced by what they see on television. This should be seen in the light of the economic difficulties which face Egypt and which are reflected in the low standard of living of the majority of its population.

Many people during the interviews expressed their desire to improve their lives and were doing everything in their power to achieve that. Hence many people indicated that they had more than one or two jobs. Furthermore, many considered wealth as one of the main keys to happiness in their lives. However, 60% of the sample maintained that education was essential for a better life and social mobility, although it should be supplemented with another skill or profession.
The majority also thought that education should remain free of charge for everyone because it was important for the development of the country. Even if people had money, 26% of the sample said they would spend it on buying household goods first, the things that they most needed, and the rest would be invested. Most of them belonged to the low income family bracket. The second largest percentage 22% would invest or have their own business if they had a lump sum of money. It appears that their main concern, by and large, was to meet their basic needs and then to secure their life, especially since there is no welfare system in Egypt. Obviously the better off, who were a minority in this sample, either could not think what to do, if acquired a sum of money, because the sum suggested was not big enough, £ 5,000, which is equivalent to an average family income, where the breadwinner had one job for about 7 years, or they would spend the money on buying cars. People on average wage would spend the money on buying a houses.

Table 4C: PATTERN OF SPENDING SHOWN BY THE SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spending on</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings in the bank</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying a house</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying a car</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour television</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation to charity</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household goods</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These findings seem to confirm various statistics and studies, see second chapter for more details, which indicate that consumption in Egypt has increased tremendously from the mid 70's, the time when Egypt became more closely attached to the United States. But most of these statistics are based on the level of imports. Since that time, Egypt has started to import more food to meet the demand of its growing population. Certainly, part of its imports is devoted to luxury goods, which is obviously geared towards meeting the demand of those who are better off. But, to conclude that consumption has increased in Egypt mainly as a result of cultural invasion is somewhat biased. When production, for various reasons and policies, is not increasing and the population is growing, then the only easy and quick way to solve this problem is by importing. As recently as 19 January 1990, in Al Ahram, the main semi-official Egyptian newspaper, there appeared a report on sugar consumption in Egypt which stated in its opening lines that "Egypt consumes 1.6 million tons of sugar per annum, while it produces only 590 thousand tons. The rest is imported at an annual cost of almost more than a billiard Egyptian pounds".

Social Attitude

It is a plain fact that when assessing social or cultural changes, which often occur over a long period of time as a result of many social forces, it is very difficult if not impossible to carry this out with any great degree of certainty. There are many factors which make this task difficult, to mention but one, the sampling process can never be as reliable as to give a complete picture of a certain social group. In addition, social change is usually accumulative and therefore it is difficult to pin-point its precise beginning and end. Thus new change cannot be compared against static social formation. However, it is perhaps possible to detect some social characteristics in a certain society and then compare them to those dominant in another.
Hence, the interviewing schedule included a number of questions aimed at providing a picture of the social attitudes of the people in the sample, relating to issues of social significance. It has to be borne in mind that changes of attitude are not always associated with changes of behavioural patterns. People were asked initially to define the most important problem facing their local area. The main aim was to see how they perceived their community, and whether they were inward-looking, ie only concerned with their own lives. The largest percentage of the sample, 21% said that the dirty surroundings were the major problem in their area. The rest of the problems were of similar nature. About 5% of the sample said that there was no problem at all. This was mostly due to the fact that people are not used to complaining, especially in the rural areas where most of these people come from, mainly out of fear. About 10% of the people complained from a lack of co-operation between people in general. Clearly it is difficult to say how far a problem does or does not affect the respondents directly, but it seemed that the majority had chosen problems which affected them directly. 80% had actually said that the problems, which affected them and their family directly, had determined their choice.
Table 5A: **Main Local Problems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dirty surroundings</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad local services</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of co-operation between people</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in population</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing shortages</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price increase</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No problems</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in illiteracy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Shortage</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No car parking</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>203</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents were further questioned about the causes of these problems to ascertain their perception of them. The most common cause that was mentioned by 46%, was the lack of official care. Lack of people's awareness was the second popular cause which was mentioned by 23% of the sample. The third popular cause was the lack of resources, as 18% of the sample mentioned. If we look at these findings so far, which incidently are very similar to the findings obtained by Hartmann in his study in the Philippines in 1977, the conclusion would be that most of the sample tended to have a narrow and inward-looking attitude. This is coupled with the isolation between individuals on the one hand, and authority on the other, which is very much apparent in their perception of the solutions to
these problems. It also determined their contribution to that solution. Expectedly, 53% of the sample saw the solutions in the hands of the authorities, who were neither representatives nor popular. Only 14% saw the solutions in increasing people's awareness. Whereas 67% of the sample could not see themselves doing something towards solving any of these problems. The main reason for this was that an individual alone cannot do anything. This attitude partly springs from the general feeling that, nowadays, as life is becoming harder, everybody is too busy with his own immediate problems to think about the problems of his own particular area. A view that was emphasised by the findings that 12%, the largest percentage of those who could contribute to the solutions, would only set an example for others, so they would co-operate and follow suit. Another 8%, mostly urban, said that they would enlighten others.

In answering the question of the main problems facing Egypt as a whole, although the problems mentioned were different in nature, the findings were almost the same. 82% chose problems which tended to affect them directly. The most common problems mentioned were the weak economy, 23%, and population growth, 14%. The third most popular answer was given to price increases, 12%. Again the causes were mainly blamed on corrupt officials, 35%, uncooperative people, 23%, the high birth rate, 23%, and the lack of economic resources. A greater majority of the sample were also unable to do anything towards solving such problems, mainly because they could not do so alone.
Table 5B: **Main Problems Facing Egypt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak economy</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population growth</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price increases</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread of corruption</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing shortages</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign debts</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of public participation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of people's cooperation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread of disease</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of technology</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spread of illiteracy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration of labour</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going away from religion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No problem</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>203</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5C: MAIN CAUSES OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrupt officials</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High birth rate</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of people's awareness</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of economic resources</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwillingness of people to work</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's obsession with money</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of religious belief</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Respondents could give more than one answer)

Although the results are mixed, they show a general tendency towards individual blame, rather than blaming the system. However, if the findings from both questions are basically the same, and they are in almost total agreement with the findings from other similar studies, namely Hartmann, 1977, then the question of cultural imperialism through the electronic media is somewhat difficult to sustain. These two societies, Egypt and the Philippines, share some similar historical experience, as indeed do many Third World countries, subjected to foreign occupation. The apparent passivity and inward-looking nature of the people of these countries, is due in large part to the oppression which had been exercised by the foreign power and by the national authority, which took over after independence. In Egypt, for example, since the military change of 1952, as illustrated in the first part of this study, until the mid 70's, there were no elections as such for public office.
After the mid-70’s, when a Western styled democracy was introduced, the situation in Egypt changed, but mainly in form and not in content. Thus, if people were passive before the change, they remained passive after it. The internal political system, the historical subjection to foreign power, seem to be more responsible for people’s passivity than any other cultural influence. In fact, the findings of this survey showed that although 55% of the sample preferred the multi-party system, mainly because it would mean the right decisions being taken, 73% did not vote at all, because they did not believe that democracy really existed in Egypt. Naturally, historical foreign contacts and social formations, which were built in the aftermath of independence, played a great role in changing the cultural outlook of these new countries. Hence there is some degree of similarity between these societies.

However the inward-looking, reflected in the general complaints that there was a lack of cooperation between people, was largely due to economic difficulties than to foreign cultural influence, particularly through the electronic media. Obviously one could not be sure of how people cooperated before the increase in the level of foreign cultural production, but one can infer from people's complaints that this phenomenon has only been recently in evidence. Furthermore, the inwardness shown in people's responses, which concentrated on problems affecting them directly or on economic problems, must be seen in the light of the economic changes, which were introduced into Egypt by means of the "open door policy", and not simply as signs of cultural imperialism.

Before these economic changes in Egypt, the Egyptian economy was centrally planned and controlled. But after the changes, the private sector, the obvious signs of capitalism practised in the West, became more prominent than the public sector. It was mentioned in the first part of this study that Egypt became fully incorporated into the world free-market economy by its implementation of all the
economic conditions laid down by the IMF (Al Ahram Newspaper, 22 May 1991). The building of a large public sector in Egypt was one of the hallmarks and sources of pride for the 1952 revolution in Egypt. These new economic changes were associated with higher inflation, higher prices and deterioration in the standard of living of a large section of society. When the government withdrew from controlling the national market, it became evident that everyone had to literally stand on their own two feet. Naturally, this had the result of encouraging people to be or appearing to be uncooperative.

The findings and the general feelings found during the survey, not surprisingly, showed that people were totally obsessed with economic problems and the struggle for financial security. Incidentally, one of the first tasks of Mubarak's government, when he took office in 1981, was to have what he termed "pure hands" referring to bribery, which seemed to have increased among employees who were on fixed low salaries. That is not to say that during Nasser's reign there was no bribery, nevertheless it was not on such a large scale or subject to public concern (The Guardian, April 3&4 1987).

It was mentioned that 'romantic' drama was not popular with many people for social as well as religious reasons. Religion is still a social force in Egypt, as shown by 70% of the sample who prayed regularly and 71% who said that they attended places of worship, especially mosques, at least once a week. 33% attended every day, most of them from rural and poor urban areas. Further analysis of the data revealed that there was a degree of correlation between watching foreign drama and the habit of going to places of worship. 7% of those who went to these places, watched almost daily and 31% of them watched one to two times a week. 21% of those who went to places of worship one to two times a week, watched foreign drama daily, another 27% of them watched between three to four times a week. It should be said that these figures should be seen in
the light of the fact that in Egypt, it would be difficult or unnatural for people to state that they did not pray regularly or even at all, particularly in front of other people. However, 13% said that their visits to places of worship had recently increased, as compared to 21% who said that it had decreased, mainly because they were leading busier lives, ie had to take on more than one job to keep up with the increase in the cost of living. Some of these people did their praying at home, for in Islam one does not have to go to the mosque more than once a week, namely for Friday prayer.

The influence of religion can also be seen in people's answers to other questions on important social issues. From these answers, it appears that in the majority of the respondents families, the dominance of the male head of the family, was in evidence. One of the most obvious signs of dominance in a household is the decision concerning the household shopping. Just under half the sample, 48%, mainly in the rural areas, said that the husband did the house shopping usually, as compared to 25%, who said that the wife did the shopping. The domination of the male in the family is, by and large, founded on the idea that the woman's place is in the home and that the husband is the master of the household. 23% of the sample believed that a woman should be in the house and 18% said that the husband is the man of the house. 20% said that they let the wife to do the shopping, because she was best suited. However, according to the findings, 33% based their choice of who does the shopping on who has the time rather than on socially defined roles for males and females. Thus male domination in the sample's families was due to economic as well as social reasons. In most cases, the husband usually was the bread-winner. Economic reasons also determined who did the shopping if the family was not well off.

When the sample was asked their opinion on the role of women in society, the answers invariably pointed towards the traditional role. Almost 3/4 of the
sample, 71%, considered the role of women to be looking after the house as compared to 20% who viewed women as workers, working side by side with men. 5% saw women sharing some of the housework. Obviously it is very difficult to use this social attitude as an indicator of Westernization or lack of it, because the case in the West itself is not 100% one way or the other.

However, these findings, do give us some indication of the general attitude, which is traditional in the sense that it is a product of religious, economic and social factors, some of which are still in evidence in the West. Perhaps, the main area of difference is that religion is more dominant in Egypt than it is in the West. To emphasise the influence of religion on the attitude of the sample, the question of birth control was raised in the interviewing schedule. In previous chapters, as well as in this one, the question of acute economic problems facing Egypt, as a result of the increasing growth in population, showed its influence on the attitudes of many people in the sample. Only 66% of the sample supported birth control. 30% refused because of religious reasons. 4% of those who refused, did so because they thought, most of them educated, that over-population could be a blessing in disguise, in helping to develop Egypt. It should be pointed out that these findings should be seen in the light of the fact that the question of birth control and its contradiction with Islamic teaching, has been a subject for almost four decades or more. There were those religious leaders who supported it and hence persuaded many in Egypt to accept it. Yet the majority of the sample in the survey tended to adopt religious views towards clear-cut issues such as the legalisation of alcohol.

Drinking is one of the most unacceptable behaviour which goes directly against Islamic teaching. There was great opposition to the legalisation of alcohol in Egypt. Results showed that over three quarters of the sample, 79% opposed the legalisation, as compared to 20% who supported it. When people were further
asked about the reasons behind their answer, 72% said that it was due to religious reasons. However, another 16% preferred to leave people to decide for themselves, while 11% viewed alcohol as harmful to health. Further analysis of the results showed that there was a weak correlation between watching foreign drama and attitudes towards alcohol. While 31 people out of 41, who supported the legalisation, watched foreign drama regularly, 119 people out of 160, who opposed such legalisation, did the same.

To summarise, this part of the study highlighted some important themes, all be it on a quantifiable level. It is very clear that television plays an important role in the daily life of many ordinary individuals. It can even easily be said that people in the sample seemed to be as attached to television as people in the West or even more in some cases. Research showed that families in Britain spend, on average, 35 hours a week viewing television ( according to a recent study reported on a television programme shown on BBC 1 on Monday 18 March 1991 ). No doubt that there are different locally-determined factors, which have led to the creation of this situation in an advanced country like Britain and in an underdeveloped country like Egypt. While, for example, watching television in Egypt is the best, easily accessible means of entertainment, television viewing in Britain might in some cases be a means of avoiding inter-family communication. However, the most obvious aspect of the findings in this section, is that the views expressed by people here show some resemblance to views held by many in the West, as well as in many other parts of the world. They are mainly economically orientated views, generated by a whole host of different factors and not just consumption of foreign cultural materials. A great deal has to do with the system under which people live and with the socialisation processes in different societies, which include what can be termed as human nature and what is associated with such term, as the desire for survival and improvement. This study showed that there were some similarities between people's views and Western values, but did not
show the creation of positive images for the cultures or the countries in which programmes originated. The other important aspect to this study is that, no matter how much foreign cultural material a country may acquire, there are some elements of the local or "traditional" culture that will always be of major influence in society. The survey shows clearly that a major part of the population at least tries to live within the boundaries of the local culture. Hence the adoption of aspects of a Western-way-of-life, depends to great extent, on how far they directly contradict with religious teaching.
C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Seven
Nature of Approach

A more detailed picture of the process and the selection of the groups interviewed in this part of the study is provided in the section entitled "Aims and Methods" of this work. However, it suffices here to give a brief description of the aims of this approach, audience details and the sites of the study. It should be mentioned again that because of various difficulties referred to in some detail previously which were encountered during the field work, the number of groups organised was cut down to eight. This in turn has led to the exclusion of certain sections of Egyptian society, particularly the upper class, including those in managerial posts, those working in the rich Gulf States and the newly emerged entrepreneurial class, in the wake of the economic changes which have taken place in the mid seventies, see chapter 5 for more details. Undoubtedly, the exclusion of these groups makes the sample somewhat unrepresentative and this should be borne in mind when making any general interpretation of the findings. However this should not disguise the significance of this part of the study, for the simple reason that it mainly concentrates on the least fortunate groups in society, the rural and the lower class.

It was mentioned in the section dealing with the survey that, generally speaking, people tended to shy away from answering questions, particularly those related to politics. This can easily be understood in the less democratic societies, but added to that fear is the tendency among a great number of people to refrain from expressing their opinions in front of others. Obviously there were those who willingly joined in discussions and expressed their views freely, but the response rate for participation in group discussions was very low in comparison to the high response shown for the survey. Perhaps the use of a recorder played a role in
frightening some people off. However, this low response did not only show itself within rural communities and illiterates, but also, to a lesser degree, among the educated. This must therefore reveal part of the nature of the education system in Egypt. It tends to be more of a one way system, even at university level. A teacher or a lecturer gives his information and the students take it down with little or no feedback, except for the fact that the notes they take down are then reproduced in the exams. Certainly, there are many important factors contributing to the present state of the education system in Egypt, but here is not the appropriate place to enter into such a discussion. The point that is being made here is that education in Egypt does not seem to be giving people more confidence or to train them to think freely and express their views openly.

Aims of Approach

The main purpose of this approach was to provide more in-depth information about drama audience in particular and media audience in general. Clearly, the most widely used method of studying the audience is the survey method. Although such a method is much more scientific, it is appropriate when measuring frequencies ie. the more obvious elements regarding the subject under study. It is a very effective method of studying for example the level of media use, ie. how many hours, what age, what class, what sex and what time, but it is not very effective in studying the less quantifiable aspects, such as why people do certain things, how they do them and what they benefit from them. Using discussion groups method is one of the qualitative approaches which is more appropriate to the study of these unquantifiable aspects. Therefore, if a survey provides statistics, discussion groups aim at giving more substance to these statistics. In other words, both methods complement each other, just as structural analysis is meant to complement content analysis when studying a certain text. If the latter provides a picture of the main components of the text, the former
provides a picture of how these components are put together ie. what is the common underlying thread which binds them to form the text.

While the survey method usually relies on structured questionnaires, either administered by the researcher or by outside people, discussion groups rely for the most part on guided informal interviews which are not strictly controlled. The participants in the discussions are left to say freely what they think and feel, then the discussion is recorded, transcribed and then analyzed. Obviously there are certain risks associated with this method, such as members of the group influencing one another or the domination of the discussion by one member, which could prejudice the findings. But if measures are taken to overcome some of these problems, such a method is capable of generating very valuable information which would not otherwise be obtainable. All interviews in this study lasted for between one and one and a half hours, over one session.

Discussion Sites

The same areas which were chosen as a site for the survey were also chosen as a site for the discussion groups, with one small exception. The rural areas were represented by the same village, Badiny, with the inclusion of a part of a neighbouring town called "Samalout". This part of the town is closest to the village and has a lot in common with it, except for the size and the limited means of transportation available in the town, which still include horse-drawn carts. The main reason for including this area was the relatively small size of the village and the relative ease of forming groups in this part of the town. One could rely on the help of a number of friends.

The survey, as mentioned previously, was very difficult to stage without official permission, but the discussions would have been impossible without the help of
friends and acquaintances. The only obvious alternative would have been to pay participants, which was something beyond the means available at the time for this study. More importantly, if money was used, people would have been more interested in how much they could earn rather than in making the study a success. As for the urban areas, they were represented by some poorer areas from Cairo, Boulak and Imbaba. Boulak was also the site for part of the survey. Imbaba, which replaced Kafer el Gabal, is mainly a working class area and both are only a stones throw away from the heart of greater Cairo, where the rich areas are found such as Zamalik and Garden City. The inclusion of Imbaba has led to the expansion of the site of the whole study and hence should enhance the validity of the findings from both the survey and the discussion groups. A description of these areas was given in some detail in the previous chapter, so it is enough here to say that these areas represent typical parts of many Third World countries. While the rural areas are quiet and deprived, the poorer urban areas are overcrowded, noisy and suffer from even greater deprivation.

Nature and Composition of The Groups

The total number of groups reached eight, divided equally between the rural and the urban areas. The total number of people who took part was 25, 15 were male and 10 were female. The number of people in each group was no more than 7 and no less than 2. The age ranged from 20 to 50, but the largest age group was that between 30 and 40. It seems appropriate to give a brief description of each group separately.
Group 1

This group was made up of 5 people, 3 men and 2 women. Two of the men could be classified as middle class, class being judged roughly on appearance, job and income. One was aged 48 and had finished his secondary education and held a senior clerical post, the other was 33 and had finished university and was working as a researcher. The third man was 35 and came from a working class background. He had finished preparatory school and was working as a caretaker. As for the women, one was 29, had a secondary education and was of working class background and was working as an assistant researcher. The second was 30, a former university graduate and of middle class appearance. All members of this group had their own television and radio, and all lived in Imbaba, a poor area in the centre of Greater Cairo. All the group were generally forthcoming and the discussion lasted for 1.30 hours and could have gone on for longer. The discussion took place during working hours, in a health centre.

Group 2

The formation of this group took place in the rural areas and was made up of 4 illiterates, 3 women and one man. All the participants in this group could be classified as lower or working class. While the three women had no occupation, the man worked as a casual labourer. The age group ranged from 23 to 35 and all were married with children. Despite their low standard of living, only one of them did not own a television. However, only one women owned a radio. The discussion lasted for almost an hour with some brief interruptions. All the women in this group participated willingly and eagerly. The man had to be prompted from time to time, partly because of his shyness and lack of confidence.
Group 3

The site of this group was a poor urban area in Cairo, Boulak, where seven people took part. All of them were males and lived in that area. They all had obtained some degree of education, ranging from preparatory school to university. The age ranged from 22 to 48 and they could all be classified as belonging to the working class. Only two people of this group had jobs. One, 48 year old with a preparatory education, worked as a mechanic. The second, was 30 years old with a Secondary education and worked as a junior office clerk. The remaining two people, 26 and 27 years old respectively, were university graduates, but unemployed. The remaining three were students. This group showed the greatest willingness to respond, which was perhaps due to the homogeneity of the group since they were all graduates. The discussion lasted for just over one and a half hours without interruption and was held in one of the participants' houses.

Group 4

This group was made up of three women, illiterate and from a poor urban area, Imbaba in Cairo. They all worked as ancillary staff in one of the local hospitals. The age ranged from 35 to 55 and they were all working class. Each one of them stated that they owned a television and radio. This group was the least forthcoming and needed a great deal of prompting and encouragement. It seemed that the fact that the discussion, which lasted for barely 45 minutes, was held in their working place had an impact on their willingness to participate.

Group 5

The interview with this group took place in a rural area in the house of one of the participants. The group was made up of four people, all males and lived in the
same rural area, Badiny, which was used as a site for the survey. All the group had regular access to radio and television in their households. Three of the group could be described as lower class. The fourth, who was the youngest, 27, was slightly better off in appearance. Two of those in the group had finished primary education, one was illiterate and the fourth had finished secondary education. The age ranged from 27 to 50. The elder man worked as a caretaker in the local school. One of the remaining three worked as a farmer. Another worked as a casual worker and the youngest was unemployed. This group showed great cooperation and at the same time showed how education is of great help to some individuals even if it is only primary. The illiterate person in the group needed a great deal of prompting, whereas the older person, who had finished his primary education was well spoken and did need any encouragement whatsoever. The discussion with this group lasted for just over an hour.

Group 6

This group was made up of four people; two males and two females, who all lived in semi-urban areas, in close proximity to the village. They all indicated that they owned a television and radio. The two women were illiterate, whereas the two men had finished primary education. All of them could be described as working class. Their ages ranged from 27 to 50. The two women did not have regular jobs, but occasionally they went out to help their husbands in the fields. One of the two men worked as a nurse and the other worked as a junior office clerk. They all owned or had in their household a television and radio. This group was very equally matched. Education did not seem to be a major factor, for they all contributed with the same level of prompting. The discussion continued for almost an hour, interrupted for a little while, and took place in one of the participants' houses.

182
Group 7

The location for this group also took place in a rural area. This was the smallest group in the study, made up of two young men. One was illiterate, aged 26 and worked as a casual labourer, the other had finished secondary education, was aged 21 and was unemployed. The educational gap between them did not seem to have a great effect on their contribution to the discussion. They all came from the same neighbourhood and this encouraged the illiterate to feel more relaxed. Both participants had regular access to radio and television. The discussion lasted for about 45 minutes and was held in the open air in a quiet back street.

Group 8

This group was made up of three young men who lived in poor urban areas and they were all university students. They came from middle class families who owned radios and televisions. Their ages ranged from 20 to 22. This group was the most homogenised group ie. same level of education, same sex and same class. Hence discussion was very lengthy and needed very little prompting. It was necessary, however, to direct the group since the discussion tended to drift into areas irrelevant to this study. The discussion lasted for one session which continued for just over one and half hours. The discussion was held in a house, which was owned by a friend of one of the group who could not take part himself. This, act has removed all restrictions and interruptions to the discussion. It was mentioned previously that social pressure in Egypt is very strong, particularly within families.
THE FINDINGS

Media Exposure

It is very clear from the description of the groups presented above, that all those who took part in the discussions owned or had regular access to both radio and television. All of them, without exception, listened to radio and watched television on a daily basis, particularly the latter. Television viewing, on average, took place for about two and half hours a day. For a great number of them, television was the main means of occupying their leisure time, a point which has also been highlighted by the survey. During discussions and in virtually all groups, this point was made by a number of people. "What else is there to do" was the common phrase, which was often heard in reply to the question of why people use the media generally and television in particular. However, people who expressed this view tended to be women and men over the age of 40. This can easily be understood in the light of the fact that women in Egypt, be it housewives or working women, urban or rural, tended to do the housework and the men in this age group did not have many social activities outside the house. Some housewives made use of the media while working and also after work, as one participant put it:

"I usually listen to radio while doing the housework; it entertains me and keeps me going, but when I finish, I am usually tired and television helps me to re-wind"

(A 35 year old woman from the lower classes living in a rural area, in Group 2).
For others, exposure to some programmes did not take place as a result of a lack of any other activities, but as a result of having to be in front of the television at a certain time, to look after the children, who are usually avid viewers:

"I watch or I like watching live football, certain religious programmes, but I watch drama because I have to keep the children's company. I wish the people who are in charge of television would show drama at an earlier time, so we parents could have enough sleep"

(A 48 year old urban male, finished Secondary education, worked as a senior office clerk and of middle class appearance).

There were others, however, who would choose their programmes very selectively, even if this meant going elsewhere to do so. This determination was not only exclusive to the educated or those from urban areas, as is often assumed. In Group 4, a 35 year old woman, of lower class appearance, living in a rural area, pointed out during the discussion that:

"Sometimes there is a clash of programmes, like a football match on one channel and a film on the other. My son sometimes insists on watching the football. What do I do? Of course I cannot win so I go to my neighbours and watch the film on their television. I always wait eagerly for the time of the dramas and I cannot bear missing them"

Despite the fact that television viewing took up a great deal of people's time, it did not interfere with doing other important work in their daily life. On his
comment on why Arabic drama was not his favourite programme, a 35 year old urban working class man with primary education in Group 1 exclaimed:

"Oh no, I would not delay an important job to watch Arabic drama, they are all either repeats or unrelated to our daily lives and to the society in which we live"

Although he did not explicitly say that he would leave aside his more important work to watch foreign drama, he did imply that he would watch his favourite programmes including foreign ones, but not at the expense of other important work. The television was switched off when there was a problem that needed discussion and involved the whole family. This must cast some doubt on the argument that television stops people from work. A 31-year old woman, from a rural area, illiterate and of lower class appearance, in Group 6, commented that:

"if you leave television on while discussing important issues, it would be noisy and also a waste of electricity".

But this can also imply that television stands in the way of social discourse on less important issues, particularly that of a general nature. Television programmes are sometimes used as subjects for discussion among peer groups, particularly housewives, and young people.

"We often talk about some actors or actresses and also about problems raised in the drama we watch, with my women neighbours"

(A 35 year old rural woman, educated to elementary level and of lower class appearance)
In general, whether people are exposed to the media intentionally or otherwise, they clearly favour certain programmes more than others. It was shown in the survey that the most popular radio programmes were music, news, and recitation of the Koran, while drama, live football and religious programmes were popular on television. Discussions also revealed that these were the most popular programmes virtually among all members of the groups. Furthermore, and in confirmation of the survey results, drama that deals with social problems relating to people's daily lives, were the most watched and the most liked among the participants.

Discussions also revealed the central role played by television in people's daily lives. In marked contrast to the time spent viewing television in particular, there was little time spent on reading or going to the cinema, for example. Very few people of those who took part in the discussions were regular readers. Most of the reading concentrated on religious books. Generally speaking women read less than men, which is partly due to the fact that women are assigned the task of looking after the house. One of the women in group 4, made the following comments, in reply to a man who said that he spends at least two hours a day reading:

"Yes of course, he is a man, he doesn't have to look after the house. When one finishes this hard work, one is very tired and needs television to help one to unwind among the children"

(35, urban, secondary education, assistant researcher and a working class appearance)
Uses and Gratification

The most important point highlighted in the survey regarding drama, was that people generally, whether they selectively or accidentally watched dramas, saw an important role for such programmes. Discussions showed that drama was mainly used for educational purposes, as reflected by the comments of a woman from Group 6:

"They teach us, if one does not love his wife one should; we also benefit from seeing the consequences of deviancy, good and evil. We learn how to lead a good life".

(A 30 year old rural, of lower class appearance, an illiterate and a housewife).

Some people preferred drama which reflected their rural life, which they knew best and thus could easily identify with and which made them think about life in general. Such drama also helped them to forget their own problems:

"When I see a man divorcing his wife for example, and see the reasons behind his action. I am also a divorcée and this strikes a cord within me, which makes me at least grateful for my position".

(A 50 year old rural woman of lower class appearance and illiterate, in Group 6).

Some were of the opinion that drama should not only concentrate on the subject of love, which many claimed to be the dominant issue in drama shown on Egyptian television, because:
"Life is not only about love, drama should deal with problems which we encounter in our daily life. They should present problems and suggest answers. If anything, what drama does is to corrupt society and affect its values because people imitate what they see on television".

(A 48 year old man, urban, secondary education and of middle class appearance, in Group 1).

Drama, they said, should address more serious social issues. In the eyes of many and for the illiterates and those of rural areas in particular, drama played an important role. It acted as a mirror which reflects real life. Hence they expect and usually like drama to be closer to their daily life because:

"We learn from them useful lessons about life, and also one likes to look and listen to other people's problems which make our own problems that much lighter".

(A 25 year old rural woman, illiterate and of group 4 shared this view of drama by saying:

"All of us have problems; when I feel depressed and I watch a film for example, I feel somehow content".

(A 30 year old urban woman, illiterate and of lower class appearance, in Group 4).

The findings from the discussions so far have clearly shown that the media consumed a great deal of people’s leisure time, basically because they were the
main means of occupying such a time. In addition to the economic implications which play a major role in bringing this about, as previously explained in this study, the most traditional means of occupying free time in Egypt was no longer prominent. Most literature about Egyptian way of life in the last fifty years or so indicates that group meetings were very common as a means of spending free time. The survey showed that visiting friends, was no longer the most popular leisure time activities, as it had been in the past, even in the village. Discussions also revealed that people seemed to lead busier lives, than they used to. They had become more isolated and had either no free time at all or at different times from their peer groups.

"Nowadays, one has no time - how can there be enough time when one has to have more than one job to survive and to look after his family. Nowadays, society has become different and morals and values are not the same".

(A 35 year old man, rural, illiterate and of lower class appearance, in Group 5).

Clearly from these brief comments, the question of what people benefit from the media generally is partly answered. The majority of viewers watch drama and hence the use made of it is in itself a use made of the media as a whole. However, it can be easily concluded, that for the majority of the illiterates, the rural women, in particular housewives, the media act as an educative means as well as a means of entertainment. But for the majority of the educated, urban population, and men in particular, the media act mainly as a means of entertainment, which might be educative at the same time. The educated groups gratify their educational appetite from various other programmes other than drama. The uneducated people see drama as educational in its function. One could not help remembering
a remark made by a 48 year old male of middle class appearance, secondary education and one of the urban population in Group 1, in his comment about the negative influence of television on the values of society:

"Oh, films have a bad effect on people, because people learn from them and imitate them. I would actually tell you a story from my own experience, I was watching a film with my wife, who is a housewife and illiterate, and when she heard a woman in the film saying "Oh trusting a man is like trusting a wild animal", she turned round to me and said "you see".

The main point here is that drama tends to be generally a source of "enlightenment" or "education" for the less educated and the illiterates. Formal education seems to provide people with a more critical mind that does not accept everything that it sees or hears. The quotation cited above illustrates the difference between how a husband, who is relatively educated and a wife who is illiterate, see the same material in different ways. The husband related this story to show how people can easily be influenced by television, particularly if they are uneducated and young. Further evidence to support this point may be drawn from attitudes towards the media shown during discussions. When the question of the most popular and unpopular drama programmes was raised, very few illiterates expressed their dislike for a certain programme, with the exception of perhaps the explicitly romantic drama.

"Everything on television is fine" was the most common expression. Perhaps, some people were led to saying that, either because of their fear of authority or of being influenced by others in the group. Those people, however, constituted a minority, as was shown by the survey. The more educated people on the other hand, expressed more critical attitudes towards programmes generally. It was
only among the educated, for example, that a sizeable percentage did not watch Arabic drama at all, because such drama usually "did not have anything new to offer". In Group 3, 6 people out of 7 did not watch Arabic drama because most recent Arabic programmes were either of a romantic nature or they were repeats. It was also mainly the educated in the groups who mentioned other programmes apart from the three most popular: music, religion and news on the radio and drama, religion and football on television. Furthermore, the Egyptian media, particularly television, came under criticism from some educated people, as the following remarks show:

"Television is very powerful and is an important means of influence and education. We ought to have more cultural and educational programmes. In addition to providing us with information about other countries, through news coverage, television ought to tell us also about other parts of Egypt that are not known even to many Egyptians".

(A 33 year old man, university graduate, urban and of middle class appearance in Group 1).

The term "educated" person referred to above to distinguish between types of audience, was defined as any person capable of reading and writing fluently and not necessarily somebody with official qualifications. During discussions, a man with only elementary education was critical of the media too because:
"They are not doing their job properly. Instead of concentrating on love and useless programmes, they should play a role in spreading religious values and in increasing people's knowledge of religion itself".

(50 year old man, rural, of lower class appearance in Group 5).

Despite all the criticism voiced against the media, when the question of how people would cope without television arose, the distinction between the reactions of the educated and the uneducated, was not as stark as that concerning the use made of the media. The survey showed that radio was not as important for people as television. Discussions also showed that people were, by and large, more attached to television than to radio. Only for some elderly males, over the age of 45, was radio very important because it provided them with good company. Radio was also important for the relatively young mainly for music purposes. Many students liked, liked for example, to have the radio on while studying at home. But television was very important for all ages, classes and levels of education. Only those who were out all day said that they would not feel any loss, if there was no television available. But the common phrase that echoed throughout was "what would we do without television", "I would do everything possible to get access to a television", "I would even walk to the next city if need be" or "life would be unbearable". However, some of the educated groups expectedly watched because television was easily available. They would also be able to cope with the loss of television through "finding new means of occupying their leisure time", "reading more for example" or for the rich among them "watching videos".
The question of the use made of video was also raised during discussions and the views expressed suggested that it was generally used to watch drama, particularly foreign drama. David Morely in his research published in 1986, found that video in England was used as a way of solving the power struggle over channels within families, but in Egypt it seemed that video was used as a means of avoiding what was shown on television:

"I saved and bought a video to watch Indian films because in these films, which are not shown on television, women treat their husbands with respect and these are the values I want my daughter to hold".

(33 year old woman, urban, secondary education of lower class appearance in Group 1).

Video remains a very expensive commodity in Egypt, in spite of the fact that it is high on the list of goods imported into the country by those working in the Gulf States. Therefore, it is not as easily accessible as television. Yet many in the groups had regular access to video through friends who obviously controlled their choice. The type of drama watched on video was "good Arabic drama that was new" or, as another participant put it, "if one of my friends gets hold of a foreign film with some violence or some explicit scenes, I would go and watch". It was mentioned previously that television viewing in Egypt usually takes place in groups, particularly in villages and in poor urban areas, video viewing also has the same characteristics, but it does not take place regularly. Video is still owned by a relatively small section of society, most of whom living in the urban communities. Hence video clubs are not heard of in the rural areas or even in the small provincial towns. However, all indications point to the fact that the spread of video clubs is on the horizon, particularly as the cost of video continue to go
The struggle within Egyptian families over channels does not take place frequently, and if it does it is invariably solved in favour of the male of the household, be it a husband or a son. Obviously, this has to do with male domination, which still characterises a major section of the Egyptian society. When a man in Group 5 was asked why he always has his way he remarked:

"Well I am the man of the house and if I could not get my own way I would leave the house".

(50 year old, rural, elementary education and of lower class appearance).

However, a woman in Group 2 in one of her comments indicated that men do not always insist on having their own way:

"If my son is in a good mood, he lets me have my way, but if my favourite programme, film or serial clashes with a football match, I always go out to watch it on my neighbour's television"

(35 year old, rural, illiterate of lower class appearance).

For the majority, the struggle over channels was diffused through compromises on the one hand, and the fact that there are only two channels available in Egypt, which means that clashes occur less frequently than they do in the West. Most clashes occur either between programmes shown late at night, when some of the household is asleep or when there is live football being transmitted. Often a compromise is reached over a period of time where the whole family or most of
them become interested in the same programme:

"It took us some time to get my husband to accept not only having the television switched on when a drama is shown, but also to join us and even become familiar with some famous actors".

(37 year old woman, rural, illiterate of lower class appearance in Group 6).

Moreover, the way programme schedules are structured in Egypt helps to make compromises much easier to achieve. The most popular time allotted for drama on channel 1, is just after six in the evening. This type of programme attracts a very high audience because it does not usually clash with other popular programmes on Channel Two. This fact has also made the task of recording a sample of drama much easier. Compromises are also easily reached by the lack of variety of programmes shown generally. It was mentioned earlier that the most common complaint, which was voiced against Egyptian television, was the lack of new programmes, particularly in the area of drama.

Foreign media use

The survey showed that the main source of consumption of foreign media production in Egypt was television drama. However, many people indicated that they usually listen to foreign radio stations, but mainly if not only listen to news. Discussions also showed that most people resort to foreign stations primarily to:
"hear news about events in Egypt, from other countries, because they broadcast them earlier and they always tell us the truth"

(29 year old woman, urban, secondary education, and of lower class appearance, in group 1)

Foreign services were also praised for the help they provided in widening the listener's knowledge:

"I listen to Monte Carlo, Voice of America or London, because, truly, they give good analysis of the news and provide wide coverage, which helps me to be more cultured"

(50 year old man, rural, elementary education, and of lower class appearance, in group 5)

Although many respondents understood the term foreign station in the proper sense, ie. broadcast in Arabic but from outside the Arab World. But for others it was understood to be any station, which broadcast from outside Egypt, including those broadcasting from other Arab countries. The latter group tended to be less educated and invariably listened to services from countries like Syria and Libya because:

"these countries are at conflict with Egypt and are likely to tell the truth, at least in comparison to the coverage we receive from the Egyptian stations"

(35 year old man, urban, preparatory education, and of lower class appearance, in group 1)
It is important to point out that at the time of the discussions Egypt did not enjoy good relations with either of the two countries. However, not all people who listened to other Arab countries' services, did so for political reasons. Some also listened for personal reasons. Perhaps they had lived in Libya for example and were "familiar with that country and could understand its dialect" (27 year old man, rural, secondary education, and of middle class appearance, in group 5). Others listened to Saudi Arabia and Jordan because, as one woman pointed out "my husband used to live in Jordan and I like the Saudi station, because of the religious programmes" (35 year old women, rural, illiterate, and of lower class appearance, in group 2).

Although most of those who listened to non-Arab foreign stations, did so gain an immediate and wider coverage of world events, not all foreign services enjoyed the same popularity. The survey showed that Monte Carlo was the most popular station, but the discussions revealed that London was singled out and praised mainly for its "neutrality", particularly among the educated groups:

"I tune to the B.B.C. usually for news or to listen to particular programmes, like The World at One and Question and Answer, but generally I like listening to London because it is more neutral than any other stations"

(30 year old man, urban, university education and of middle class appearance, in group 3)

In contrast to the B.B.C., Monte Carlo was singled out for the fact that it broadcasts in Arabic all day, which makes it "immediate with the news and always available with a variety of other programmes such as music" (35 year old man, urban, university education and of middle class appearance, in group 3).
Israel, which figured high in the list of popular stations, was popular mainly for its music programmes.

The survey showed that many people in Egypt watched foreign drama, particularly the educated and those from urban areas. Discussions revealed that most people who watched foreign drama did so as a response to the lack of "good" Arabic which reflected their everyday lives. Certainly there were those who were content with Arabic production, but the majority saw foreign production as being "something new", introducing them to a different world:

"News in television usually show us beautiful foreign places, but foreign drama show us how foreign people live and cope with things like rain and snow, although drama is not as specific as news; we don't know which country in particular a drama is taken place"

(50 year old women, rural, illiterate and of lower class appearance, in group 6)

This seems to contradict the idea, inherent in the cultural imperialism debate, that cultural/media importation helps to create positive images, of the exporting countries, in the hearts and minds of the people in the Third World. Perhaps it is more accurate to talk about attraction being created towards some aspects of life in the West generally, than in a specific country.

However, Arabic drama was also criticised, as was referred to earlier, for having too many repeats and for concentrating on love and romantic themes:
"Every thing is repeated and memorised by now, and generally Arabic drama is about marriage or divorce. If it starts with marriage it ends with divorce, or vice versa"

(48 year old man, secondary education, urban and of middle class appearance, in group 1)

This view incidently echoed what the head of Channel 1 on the Egyptian television said, when she replied to the question of repeats:

"As they say there are seventy six situations to do with family relationship that no Arabic drama goes beyond. This in turn leads to more drama of the same or to go for more sex and violence drama, which dominate the market in Egypt at the present time"

When comparing Arabic drama to foreign drama, the latter was favoured because:

"Arabic drama is not convincing or exciting. You can easily predict what is to come next. Even the drama that deals with social problems, does it in an unrealistic way. For example, every hero in Arabic drama of whatever type must posses three qualities: able to drive, goes to clubs and able to dance. How many people in Egypt have these qualities any way"

(33 year old man, urban, elementary education and of middle class appearance, in group 1)

Another man in group 3 explained the reasons for watching foreign drama as follows:
"Every thing is repeated and memorised by now, and generally Arabic drama is about marriage or divorce. If it starts with marriage it ends with divorce, or vice versa"

(48 year old man, secondary education, urban and of middle class appearance, in group 1)

This view incidently echoed what the head of Channel 1 on the Egyptian television said, when she replied to the question of repeats:

"As they say there are seventy six situations to do with family relationship that no Arabic drama goes beyond. This in turn leads to more drama of the same or to go for more sex and violence drama, which dominate the market in Egypt at the present time"

When comparing Arabic drama to foreign drama, the latter was favoured because:

"Arabic drama is not convincing or exciting. You can easily predict what is to come next. Even the drama that deals with social problems, does it in an unrealistic way. For example, every hero in Arabic drama of whatever type must posses three qualities: able to drive, goes to clubs and able to dance. How many people in Egypt have these qualities any way"

(33 year old man, urban, elementary education and of middle class appearance, in group 1)

Another man in group 3 explained the reasons for watching foreign drama as follows:
"Most of the drama produced at the present time in Egypt deals with love and that foreign drama are watched, despite the fact that it reflects its society, because it is exciting and sometimes deals with issues of international concern"

(35 year old, urban, university graduate and of middle class appearance)

The survey showed that the "detective" type of foreign drama was very popular among the sample. The most popular type of foreign drama, among all members of the groups, was also the "detective". This type was popular, particularly among the less educated, mainly because:

"It is very exciting. I like the Cowboys type of drama also, they are very easy to follow even without being able to read the subtitles"

(35 year old woman, rural, illiterate and of lower class appearance, in group 2)

It was mentioned earlier that all foreign drama in Egypt is usually shown with subtitles, which are often difficult to read. Hence many people of all classes, age groups and educational levels, do not like to watch foreign drama which relies on dialogue, because of the "problem of having to follow the subtitles with poor eyesight or for being unable to read at all". Moreover, "It often spoiled the pleasure of watching" for some viewers.
Foreign Orientation and Outlook

In the first part of this study it was illustrated that Egypt, in its modern history at least, was subjected to various levels of foreign, and Western influence in particular. Such influence manifested itself in many ways and in all aspects of the social milieu. Foreign influence can be seen in the economic, political, and educational spheres and in the overall way of life and outlook of the population. However, the main means of foreign influence in the past was mainly through personal contacts, either by military means or by religious missions. Thus it is appropriate to describe this influence as being hierarchical in nature and very limited, ie. direct foreign contacts often took place between foreigners and the leading class. But the introduction of television, particularly in the early 70's, when Western media material started to flow into the country in greater quantity than ever before, has led to a change in the nature as well as the level of foreign influence. It is through television that people of all classes are directly introduced to the Western world. This phenomenon is not exclusive to Egypt, but it seems to characterize the situation in many Third World countries. In fact it was this situation which gave rise to the cultural/media imperialism debate. Hence the central interest of this study is to assess the level of foreign influence among population.

As far as the general outlook of the population of Egypt is concerned, namely the type of dress they wear, in the past foreign influence had shown its impact on dress through the introduction of the "Western" outlook for men, namely shirts and trousers, and for women, namely skirts and blouses, which continued to live side by side with traditional Egyptian dress, ie. the type that has resulted from a multiplicity of influence, partly Egyptian, partly Arabic and partly Islamic. The new surge towards development in Egypt, which started in the late 50's has led to
the increase in Western orientation, particularly since it has become associated
with education and urbanisation. It was mainly those who attended or graduated
from religious school who maintained their traditional dress at their place of
work.

It is clear from the brief description of the groups given at the beginning of this
Chapter, that the picture remains almost the same, with the inevitable increase in
the level of Western orientation, mainly as a result of the increase in secular
education and urbanisation. At present, in the rural areas, the sight of traditional
dress is still common. Even when people work in the city and live in the village,
they change back into their traditional dress, the "Galabia". The only people who
were seen in Western dress in rural areas during the survey, were school teachers
living in the nearby city. Not a single woman in the village could be seen in
Western dress. This can also be seen as having more to do with social pressure to
keep to tradition, than foreign influence or indeed the lack of it. A woman in
Group 5 made this point by saying:

"I can't wear a blouse like city women even if I wanted to, what
would people say".

(35 year old, illiterate, rural and of lower class appearance)

Western orientation in the urban areas remains almost as it has been for the last
30 years or so. The majority of people are dressed in Western style, particularly
men. Women in Western-style dress, is a relatively common sight in Egyptian
cities. However, in the last few years there has been a surge in Islamic dress
among women, which is long enough to cover almost the whole body. This surge
came as a result of various political, social, economic and cultural changes. Yet
the main recent and modern Western influence, namely the wearing of jeans, can
be seen mainly in urban areas among young males, particularly the university. During the field work in the rural areas, jeans were never seen and in some poor urban areas, jeans were a rare sight.

The survey, in conjunction with other studies carried out, showed that the majority of people in Egypt buy foreign goods, particularly clothes. Discussion groups also confirmed these findings and go further to endorse the survey suggestion that people, by and large, buy foreign goods for practical reasons. It is a widely held view in Egypt that foreign products are of a very high standard and they are renowned for their durability. Egyptian goods on the other hand, do not enjoy such a high reputation and are mainly bought because of financial reasons. They are often cheaper than foreign products. However, not all people buy foreign goods for practical reasons relating to quality, but also because of the social esteem connected with foreign goods. Some people expressed the view that the purchasing of national products should be encouraged, yet they admitted that they buy foreign goods. The main reason for that was that "everybody buys, so why not us, if we don't we would be looked down upon". This might be interpreted as a sign of the "good" image associated with the West, but there are other underlying meanings to this phenomenon. The respect associated with foreign goods has a great deal to do with wealth generally. If one is able to buy such goods, then one is rich and therefore deserves respect.

This point about social pressure was further highlighted by a woman in Group 5, when she was explaining why people who live in rural areas wear Western dress, even if it is made in Egypt, by saying that people have to do so because:
"To give an example, my husband went to buy bread while in traditional dress he was left unserved for a long time, so he went back home and got changed to be served in no time at all".

(30, rural, illiterate, of lower class appearance).

Again it is clear from the above remark that the social esteem given to trousers has more to do with its association with education and authority than with foreign orientation. It is also common knowledge in some places in Egypt that, as was mentioned frequently during discussions, "if you are dressed in traditional style and are involved with the police, you often would receive very bad treatment" (28 year old, male, secondary education, poor urban and of lower class appearance, in Group 5). In fact this aspect of police treatment of people, who are dressed in traditional dress was referred to in a speech made by the Egyptian Interior Minister, reported in Al Ahram newspaper dated 29th March 1990, in which he asked police officers to "treat people fairly irrespective of their dress".

It was revealed from the survey that the majority of people, whether they watched drama or not, did not seem to aspire towards foreign countries, namely the West. Discussions also revealed that in general had a very vague knowledge of foreign countries. Most people, as was shown in the survey, preferred to live in Egypt, providing that solutions were found to the "acute economic problems facing the country today". Unlike the survey, no-one in the groups considered the United States to be a good example for Egypt to look up to. However, in agreement with the survey, some people, particularly the educated, regarded Japan and West Germany as good examples to be followed because:
"They started from nowhere after the destruction they suffered
during the war, but they succeeded. Their people are very
productive why can't we be like them".

(33 male, urban, university education of middle
class appearance, in Group 1).

Foreign countries, for a number of people, particularly those from rural areas and
the illiterate, included any country outside Egypt. Hence rich Arab countries were
the main "foreign" countries that these people were aware of, and were even seen
by some as examples for Egypt to follow. But most of their knowledge about
foreign countries, came from their personal contacts with people who live in these
countries, rather than through media use. In group two, only one woman wished
to live in an Arab country because:

"my sister lived there and told me that life there is very good and
comfortable"

(37, rural, illiterate and of lower class appearance).

Some Arab countries were singled out, not only because of wealth, but also
because of being "the place of Holy shrines and because of applying Islamic laws,
which made them different from Egypt".

One of the most significant findings, generated from these discussions in the rural
areas, was the fact that many people, particularly women, expressed orientation
towards Cairo rather than foreign countries.
"Oh, I would like to live in Cairo, where there are large roads, nice houses and everything is always available"

(30 year old woman, rural, illiterate of lower class appearance in group 5).

But when she was asked further about where she got this intimate knowledge of Cairo, she replied "what do you mean, don't we see Cairo on television in all these films that we watch daily! Nowadays we don't need to travel to know places". Another woman in the same group interrupted saying:

"I also like Cairo very much and would love to live there for the same reasons, but I know of Cairo as a result of television and also from my previous visits to Cairo"

(50 year old rural illiterate woman, of lower class appearance).

These brief comments seem to suggest that television images, in general and drama in particular, are a main source for creating good impression of a certain way of life or of places in the minds of the audience, particularly if they are associated with other means of increasing the identification between the audience and the images. This can happen through direct personal experience in the places shown, knowing about them through personal contacts or having been able to be part of life in these places. This was the case for those who had limited experience of life generally, ie. living in one place all their lives and those with little or no education at all. It was referred earlier to the point that those people tended to use the media, and drama in particular, as a means of education and broadening the mind. It was repeatedly echoed during discussions that "television
made the blind see". The favourite type of drama for this group was Arabic drama, for the simple reason that they could understand it and could easily relate to it. The drama content analysis showed that a large percentage of Arabic drama was set in urban areas, namely Cairo and Alexandria, the two largest cities in Egypt, where all or large part of the action took place. Foreign drama, as the survey showed, was viewed primarily for its excitement value. Hence the most popular foreign drama was the detective type, which has a "fight or a chase". The most significant findings in this regard, was that some of those, who watched foreign drama, were not clearly aware of the country where the action took place. Foreign drama often took place abroad, "where people speak a foreign language". The viewers usually hear the name of some of these countries, either through news coverage or through personal contacts:

"we hear in the news about these foreign countries, but we don't know much about them. Foreign drama of course shows us how people live in these different countries"

(37 year old woman, illiterate, rural, of lower class appearance, in Group three).

As for the educated and the urban population, the media tended to be a means of entertainment first and a means of information and education second. Thus foreign drama was watched by this group mainly for its excitement value. Unlike other groups, this part of the audience was not as keen on Arabic drama. Hence they watched detective as well as other types of foreign drama, namely those of a historical nature, because "these types usually dealt with issues of international concern, which effected everyone of us " (28 year old man, urban, university graduate of middle class appearance in group three). "Science fiction" was also mentioned, as one of the most favoured types of drama, for "its stimulating effect
on the mind and its ability to introduce the audience to the state of the art in technology and science". In other words, the more educated groups tended to widen their knowledge through certain types of foreign drama and generally speaking, foreign drama was seen, by these groups, as potentially beneficial to society as a whole, because:

"They show us how people in these developed countries live, and perhaps we could learn from them and might try to be like them"

(37 year old man, urban, university education, middle class appearance in group one).

This part of the audience also tended to be aware of the origin of most foreign drama they watched. Their specific knowledge about foreign countries came from different sources, in addition to foreign drama, such as foreign news coverage, reading of newspapers, magazines, books as well as from personal contacts.

Social attitudes

In order to further assess the level of foreign orientation among the audience, the questionnaire, as well as discussions, included a section aimed at recording various observations made, regarding how people saw society in which they lived, how they viewed certain general issues of social concern and how far they were religiously and locally orientated.

The survey showed that the majority of people interviewed showed great self orientation, only thinking about what concerned them directly, rather than what concerned society as a whole. Discussions also revealed that this was the general
tendency among the majority of the participants. In fact one of the most common social problems was the "lack of social spirit or concern within people". "Everybody thinks only of himself and there is a lack of co-operation between people; greed sat in". Similarly most of Egypt's problems, local or national, were blamed on individuals rather than on the system.

"Most of the problems which we and the country suffer from are mainly due to bad government officials and corruption"

(33, university graduate, male, urban, of middle class appearance in group one).

The survey showed that economic problems were high, in terms of importance, in the eyes of the majority of the sample population. Discussions also confirmed the overall obsession with economic difficulties. Perhaps this partly explains why people seemed to exhibit individualistic traits, as one participant put it:

"What can we do, everyone has to fend for himself to ensure a decent and comfortable existence".

(35 year old male, urban, preparatory education, of lower class appearance, in group one).

Although individuals were blamed for the creation of most of Egypt's economic difficulties, it was individuals who were considered to be the key to finding solutions to these problems:
"If all the rich paid their taxes, many economic problems in Egypt could be resolved, because the root of all these problems lies in the lack of capital on the national as well as individual level"

(48 year old male, urban, secondary education of middle class appearance, in group one).

The survey showed that a great number of people still observed their religious obligations. Discussions indicated that the majority of people pray and fast regularly. But the most significant findings here, and in some contradiction with the survey, was that religious beliefs did not colour people's attitude towards all social issues. It seems that the economic conditions were far stronger in influencing attitudes. When the question of birth control, for example, was raised, a question that has not been conclusively resolved from the religious point of view, the overwhelming answers showed that many did not refuse the adoption of such a method, and did not consider it to be anti-religious. Furthermore, they supported it as being beneficial to society as a whole. The most common answers, voiced by people from different sections of society, revolved around the idea that:

"individuals should be left to decide on the number of children according to their economic conditions and the health of mothers concerned"

(33 year old male, rural, preparatory education, of lower class appearance, in group 6)
"We are strong supporters of birth control because we know from harsh experience that it is very difficult to bring up one child, let alone a few"

(35 year old woman, rural illiterate of lower class appearance, in group 2)

"Of course, I support birth control because in my case it is logical, I have not got enough room in the house for more children"

(40 year old man, rural, illiterate of lower class appearance, in group 7)

Obviously, not all people in the groups, had their attitudes coloured by personal circumstances, particularly those with some degree of educational achievement:

"Certainly I support such measures, even I would go as far as to make it compulsory, as in China, because this seems to be the only way to help our ailing economy"

(23 year old man, university student, urban of middle class appearance, in group 8).

It could be argued that social issues, such as birth control and the woman’s place in society, have been the subject for discussion for a number of years and have come to be generally accepted, albeit reluctantly. But both the survey and the discussions showed that there were those, a small percentage, who were still opposed to these ideas on religious grounds alone. However, throughout all the
groups, similar to the survey, there was complete opposition to the legalisation of alcohol, basically because it "stood against religion" and also because "it was harmful to the individual and hence to society". Only one person supported the idea that people should be left to decide for themselves in this regard.

During discussions, the question of the political democratic system, which was implemented in Egypt in the mid seventies, was raised. There was broad agreement on the advantages of such a system in general. One of the most important advantages, from their point of view, was that it helped to safeguard against "corruption" and "corrupt officials", who were usually blamed for the internal problems of the country. The multi-party system was also seen as a proper means of reaching the right decisions, particularly in a country such as Egypt, which suffers from bad planning and hasty decision making.

"the multi party system allows for many different opinions to be heard, which inevitably lead to proper examination, before taking any decision that would effect the livelihood of the population"

(33 year old male, urban, university educated of middle class appearance, in group 1).

However, this total acceptance of the multi-party system came hand in hand with total mistrust of the Egyptian democratic system. Mistrust of the system was voiced by all those who showed some understanding of politics, including some illiterates, most of whom feared to express their views on the subject.
"Although I don't understand politics, I think the election results are usually unfair, as we saw in the serial entitled "Reem", where the results were known even before voting took place"

(35 year old woman, rural, illiterate, of lower class appearance, in group 6).

For the more educated and politically aware, the democratic system in Egypt did not work because:

"the new system was built from top to bottom, on the old system, which left the same old people in control, where they make sure to give no outside forces any opportunity to take power. This means that we have the same old system under a different banner"

(27 year old male, urban, university graduate and of middle class appearance, in group three).

The support given to the multi-party system, which some would argue was introduced initially in imitation and at the behest of the West, generated from the idea that it would provide good leadership and not because it had been applied in the West. In other words this could be seen as an indication of the importance of the genuine local needs in determining the adoption and the popularity of a certain way of life, which happened to be Western. The survey further showed that very few people wanted a Western country as a role model for its democracy. Their main concern of any political system, as one of the participants stated, was to have a "good government which had the interests of the people at heart and the means employed to establish such a government were not of great importance".
This clearly indicates that attitudes were influenced, to a great extent, by practical needs. It was made abundantly clear that these needs centred around solving the country's economic difficulties. Any government would suffice, providing it helped to solve the country's difficulties and provided it did not contradict Islamic teaching directly.

Briefly, the main points that can be concluded from this part of the study, confirm of the findings of the previous section. Generally, people were very much attached to television, to drama in particular, but their views were not necessarily coloured by what they watched. The majority of people seemed to be using the media according to their own needs. They showed a greater degree of selectivity in choosing programmes and were able to criticise various aspects of the media. Although television was seen as a major source of education, as well as entertainment by many people in Egypt, the economic, social, cultural and political milieu seemed to play a greater role in influencing attitudes than did television. Admittedly, television presented people with new images and ideas most of which were filtered through these local elements. Television viewing, particularly foreign drama, primarily for entertainment reasons, first and foremost. While this process was taking place, the viewer learned knew ideas and information, not usually accepted at face value, and particularly if such information contradicted with his "traditional" values. Hence not many people for example admitted to drinking or to supporting the legalisation of alcohol, because such behaviour directly opposed Islamic teaching. They also showed that they mainly supported and were willing to adopt new attitudes and ways of life, only when they believed would improve their own lives. Although many admitted that life in the West was generally of a high standard, they did not show great inclination to live in there or indeed to lead a Western lifestyle.
C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Eight
DRAMA CONTENT

Introduction

Clearly it was shown in the previous two chapters that drama are the most popular programmes, particularly on television. The confirmation of such a trend is drawn not only from the findings of this study, but also from numerous other studies carried out previously. It was pointed out earlier in this study that the decision to analyze the content of drama in the Egyptian media, as an integral and central part of this research, was originally taken for two reasons. One was the need to know more about the most popular media programmes, especially since very little was known in the area of drama. Most studies of media content tended to concentrate mostly on what is known as "factual" rather than on "fiction" production, the former being somewhat easier to quantify. This naturally has led to the continuous neglect of drama which has left this area largely unknown. The studies of drama relied mostly on content analysis which could not alone be an adequate method of studying programmes requiring more than counting the obvious content. Certainly, the shortage of drama studies, which was further inhibited by the widely held view that such programmes are mainly for entertainment, has led to a lack of well-developed and sophisticated methods of studying drama content. Perhaps, the ever increasing concern about cultural invasion as well as the social implications of drama would open the door for more badly needed studies in this important area of communication research.

The second main reason for studying the content of a sample of drama in this work was the important link between these programmes and the central concern of this study. This study attempts to assess the validity of some of the claims made by the advocates of the Cultural Imperialism Theory, which are analyzed in the opening chapters of this work. The theory is founded mainly on the premise
that the Third World countries are under cultural "attack" from the Western world. Such attacks are launched through the exportation of media programmes. Most, if not all, studies have shown that dramas are the main cultural items imported into many Third World countries. In fact, this is not a recent or a new phenomenon, for the American movies have been, since the 30's, expanding and spreading throughout the world. Obviously, there has been some criticism and concern about this "dramatic" expansion, but recent renewed concern and interest in American cultural expansion, has been mainly instigated by the overwhelming increase in the level of American media production, aided by technological progress made in the field of communication. However, the means of cultural expansion have remained virtually the same, mainly through drama, with the addition only of drama which has been produced for radio and television and which is capable of reaching millions of audiences world-wide. This additional development in the production of such programmes has promoted widespread concern among advocates of the Cultural Imperialism Theory, about its harmful effects on world cultures - see the first two chapters for more details. It is believed that if the world continued to consume cultural production of one source, mainly American, this would inevitably lead to the homogenization's of world cultures.

The pros and cons of such an argument have been examined at great length in the first chapter, but the point that needs to be made here is the importance of analyzing drama content in a systematic way. Generally speaking, many UNESCO statistics and studies show that most cultural products imported into the Third World are dramas, which include feature films. Egypt does not import radio drama due to the language barrier. Foreign drama on Egyptian television represents more than 35% of total output. On average, this means something like more than two hours per day on its two main channels although channel two tends to give more time to foreign drama than channel one. In addition, Channel two
provides news coverage in English as well as French on prime-time television. News is usually an actual translation of the Arabic version, which highly subscribes to official government policy. Moreover, it tends to be more static and relies on reports from Western news agencies for most of its foreign coverage.

Drama, on the other hand, tends to be under less official control than news. The latter, as the results of the survey showed, did not figure highly on the list of the most popular programmes among the sample. People generally turned to foreign stations to get information about events, especially those taking place in Egypt itself. This should reflect the less credible nature of news programmes in the eyes of many Egyptians. All dramas, Arabic as well as foreign, have to be approved by two Boards of Censorship; one is within television itself and controls drama on television and the other is bigger and controls all other artistic production, including all types of films, Arabic as well as foreign. Both of them follow the same general guide-lines. These Boards, as the head of the bigger body explains,"views dramas before they are shown either on television or on cinema to ensure that they do not offend religion, public taste or incite any social violence or hatred, whether against the state or the people". Obviously, such guide-lines are very broad and are open to subjective interpretation which inevitably, as an employee in this "committee" privately pointed out, frequently prevents "good" drama from being shown and also let other dramas that are not of good quality, especially violent drama, be shown. It all depends on the people who view the drama, how well they are educated and how liberal they are. Some "good" drama can simply be refused on the grounds that an explicit sexual scenes is part of the action, even if it is essential to the plot. Despite extensive controls exercised by the Board over films shown in public cinemas in Egypt, it cannot stop or check all foreign drama, including films, which are imported into the country illegally. The survey showed that video is increasing in popularity in Egypt, although there are no reliable statistics to support this view. However, it
was found that videos were mainly used to view drama that was not shown on television or in the cinema, particularly by the young to watch sex or violent drama. Video clubs are spreading especially in the big urban cities, which usually meet the demands of people who want to watch films not shown on television like, as some people mentioned, Indian films. It was also said that videos were used to view Arabic drama which has been produced to meet the demand of the unofficial market and to compete with the illegally imported drama.

In my interview with the Head of drama production on Channel One, when the question regarding the importation of drama on television was raised, it was stated that there was simply a lack of good scripts and that the bulk of literary production had become devoted to the newly emerging demand for sex and violence, especially among the young. Nowadays the production of drama is a costly business, running into millions of pounds, thus production has to meet real demands to be profitable. This in effect means that television resorts to foreign drama because Arabic production is not up to the acceptable standard laid down above. It was further pointed out that television resorts also to "repeats", a source of complaint for many viewers interviewed, because of the lack of decent scripts. Clearly this view is questionable in the light of the findings of the survey, which suggested that the most popular dramas were of the social type. Those dealing with problems of daily lives of ordinary people. It is clear that dramas are not consumed merely for their entertainment value but also and more importantly, for their social relevance. For the majority of Egyptians, life is a struggle for survival, as shown in chapter four of this study, particularly after the liberalisation of the economy, which meant that government was no longer controlling prices while at the same time, wages remained very low. A situation that is similar to that being faced now by most East European countries which have opted for a Market Economy. Therefore, dramas, in the eyes of many, have to help them to cope with life. It is true that most cinema goers tend to be young,
who tend to like sex and violent drama and view this drama through videos, if not through cinemas. But to say that the market demands these dramas is somewhat misleading. Perhaps it is nearer to the truth to say that contemporary Arabic production endeavours to imitate Western production, rather than meeting genuine public demand.

In addition to the difficulties relating to the controlling of all drama production in Egypt, there seems to be unquestioned trust in drama than for example news. The latter which, as referred to previously, attracts less audience than drama, is subject to stricter control. It seems that such an attitude is generated from the general tendency to regard drama as mainly a means for entertainment which demands little political control. Thus more foreign drama is shown on television with little concern, except for the sexual and violent scenes. It was in the first chapter to the assumption, put forward by the advocates of Cultural Imperialism Theory, regarding the link between the level of cultural importation and the kind of relationship that exists between the Western source of production and the recipient nation. Egypt became closely allied to the Soviet Union by the late 50's and throughout the 60's, while its relations with the West remained cold after the refusal of the United States to sponsor the building of the High Dam. In effect, Egypt's relations with the West started to thaw in the late 60's after the six-day war between Egypt and Israel. Obviously it is very difficult to assess the level of foreign media importation in Egypt over such a long period of time, especially since little or no studies have been carried out in the earlier stages to reveal such a level.

However, a study was carried out by Abu- Lughod, between 16th February 1961 to March of the same year, which showed that Arab countries such as Lebanon, Jordan and Libya, which had good relations with the West, gave greater coverage to news about the West than Egypt, which devoted greater coverage to news
about the Soviet Union (International news in Arabic newspapers, in Public Opinion Quarterly Winter 1962, p 600-612). Another study was carried out in 1971 by N Dajani regarding the content of the mass media in the Arab world. It showed that ideological alignment affected the level of coverage of foreign news. American influence over the Saudi Arabian press was very apparent in comparison to the greater coverage of positive news about the Soviet Union in Algeria and Syria. Egypt, on the other hand, showed a greater balance between East and West and concentrated on socialist countries (Beirut, Seminar on East & West communications, 1977). This was the time of the beginning of the liberalisation process in Egypt.

A random look at the programmes schedule published in the daily papers throughout the 60's, showed a high presence of American dramas, but perhaps not as high as from the mid 70's onwards. Statistics show that Egypt imported in 1972, about 41% of its television programmes. From the period between 1970 and 1978, Egypt imported 5,732.17 hours of television from abroad, 19.7% of them, 1,126.78 hours were rejected (A Rida, Unpublished M A Thesis, Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University, 1979). Most of this material was drama imported from the United States. Another study about foreign films shown on television and cinema in Egypt, showed that 84% of films shown on Egyptian cinemas in 1979 and 57.8% of television films were from the United States (H Abd-El Menim, unpublished MA Thesis, Cairo University, 1979). Statistics obtained from the Board of Censorship, show that the number of foreign films given permission to be released on Egyptian cinema in 1986 was 106, compared to 103 Arabic films, for the same year. Most of these foreign films were American.

Clearly all the evidence shows that American media presence is all too apparent, but this on its own does not conclusively support the assumption made by the
advocates of the Cultural Imperialism Theory. One of the main reasons for this is the continued presence of American drama, although on a smaller scale, on Egyptian television, in comparison to other foreign dramas throughout the 60's i.e. since the launch of television in Egypt in 1960. The increase in American media presence cannot solely be put down to the improvement of relations between Egypt and the United States. There are certainly other factors which have contributed to this increase such as: the increase in the hours of transmission which has created the need for more programmes. The increase in the cost of local production in comparison to foreign imports. The lack of, as the Head of drama said, good Arabic script production. The low cost of American media production in the World Market in comparison to other production.

However, one of the most important findings obtained from looking at television schedules, since the early 60's in Egypt, unreliable though it may be, which certainly support some of the claims made by the founders of the Cultural Imperialism Theory, was clearly the marked presence of dramas produced in the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc at that period. Although this was not as apparent as the American presence, it was clearly felt in the light of the present situation. Since the early 70's, the Eastern presence started to diminish. In the period over which the survey and the content analysis were conducted, the first three months of 1987, showed no presence of Eastern drama at all. The American presence was made more apparent by the noticeable disappearance of any other foreign drama production. Even Indian drama in evidence during the 60's and very popular with the Egyptian population, was not seen over the same period. The only exception was a French movie which was televised once a week on Channel One. It constituted an invisible presence when compared to the American production. Many of those interviewed in the survey, showed a great dislike of French movies because of their slow action content. This feeling was generated from the fact that French dramas shown on Egyptian television rely
more on longer dialogue than on action. The survey showed that the majority of the population found it difficult to relate to foreign dramas because of language barriers.

Egyptian television does not dub foreign production and relies on subtitles of poor quality which dissuades many viewers, particularly the illiterate, from watching. Egyptian television does not dub foreign production mainly because, as the Head of Channel two said, "the costs involved are high and dubbing makes drama less interesting to watch". American drama, or at least the bulk of the production shown on Egyptian television, is characterised for its quick action content and for its change of scenes which is very attractive to the viewer who relies on images to follow the actions. This must therefore lead to the conclusion that American media "imperialism" is an extension of the expansion of the American film industry on a massive scale, which is achieved by being more convenient and cheaper; convenient at least from the point of view of those who are in control of the Egyptian mass media. The survey showed that people preferred to watch Arabic dramas that best resemble their own way of life, than foreign drama.

Despite the increase in foreign importation of drama into Egypt, Egypt itself is a major media exporter, especially to the Arab world. Egypt is also a major country in terms of external service broadcasts. Arabic drama production in Egypt is flourishing, although it is not apparent on Egyptian television. Perhaps, as the Head of drama on Channel one stated, "there is a lack of"good"Arabic drama production", but there is certainly a high level of production shown in most of the Arab world. The level of Egyptian drama exportation to the Arab world exceeds all foreign importation. According to the Al Ahram newspaper, Egyptian television alone exported various television production, mainly dramas, in the month of Ramadan of last year 1989, to various Arab countries worth over five
million pounds. The month of Ramadan is the month of fasting, which is characterised for its heavy media consumption within Egypt as well as in the Arab world. Although sales in that month are not a true reflection of the sales throughout the year, they do indicate the role played by Egypt as a major supplier of media programmes in the region.

Statistics obtained from the Board of Censorship on artistic production, show that in 1986 Egypt exported no fewer than 578 items of various drama production, 35m.m. long. Much of this was sent to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. During my interview with the Head of Channel two, it was disclosed that there was a plan to build a special centre, "village", devoted to Arabic television drama production, which would belong to Egyptian television. As it is difficult to control or give reliable statistics about drama imported into Egypt, it is equally difficult to assess the level of Arabic drama exported by Egypt. There are many various private producers who would not, for obvious reasons, publicise their level of production, which is only produced for export and is not shown in Egypt. Thus it is reasonable to speak of Egyptian media imperialism, as far as the Arab World is concerned. But one of the main differences between Egyptian and American imperialism is that the drama industry in the former has been greatly influenced by the latter. Furthermore, Egypt exports its media production to countries which share most of its cultural values, language, religion and historical experience. Perhaps Egyptian cultural invasion of the Arab World could be compared to the notion about American cultural invasion of Britain, but with one major difference. Egypt does not enjoy economic and military power in the Arab World similar to that enjoyed by the United States in the Western World. This in itself casts doubt over the strong linkage between the dominance of a country's cultural production and its economic and military power.
So far the discussion has concentrated mainly on television drama, due to the lack of imported drama on Egyptian radio. The survey showed that radio drama was generally not as popular as television drama among Egyptian viewers. Radio drama listeners tended to be rural and more illiterate than television drama viewers. However, on average there was about one to one and half hours of drama per day, which included repeats. Most of the drama broadcast on Egyptian radio takes the serial format which is similar to Arabic drama on television. But the serials on radio extend usually for a period of a month and each episode tends to be shorter than television, no more than fifteen minutes. However, on the radio single plays are broadcast more frequently than on television, more than twice a week and each lasts for between 45 and 1 hour, broadcast late in the evening. Radio drama serials are broadcast from 5 o'clock in the evening, whereas on television they start from six o'clock onwards. It was mentioned in the last chapter that one of the major complaints made against the Egyptian media output, particularly television, was the frequent broadcast of repeats. Repeats are broadcast on radio as well as television, but with some major differences. While repeats on the radio are usually confined to the broadcasting of the same episode of a serial twice during the day, on television the whole serial is broadcast from time to time.

**Sampling**

A greater description of the sampling frame and method is given in the section entitled "Aims and Methods". It suffices to say just that the overriding concern of selecting the sample was to try and form a sample which was as representative as possible of a highly differentiated drama production. There was no problem in selecting a sample of foreign production, which was mostly in the form of series or single play. It included the production shown on prime-time television over a period of two weeks. The serial format usually employed for Arabic drama had
made it difficult to confine the sample to the two-week period. So it was decided to take as many episodes as possible of two serials shown, in full or in part, over the sampling period. Arabic Single plays and feature films were recorded in a similar way to that of foreign production. Obviously, recording as many episodes as possible from each Arabic drama would not perhaps provide a selective sample of the range of dramas broadcast on Egyptian media, but it would, however provide the opportunity for a meaningful analysis of the most common type of drama. The decision of selecting the sample was taken in the light of the widely held belief that most Arabic drama differs very slightly perhaps in the subject area, but not in the area of themes and structure of the drama. This does not exclude the fact that, if it is at all possible, a wider sample would be more representative and more reliable to warrant greater generalisation about Egyptian drama. Every episode was considered a unit of analysis which was carried out according to a structured coding schedule. All drama content was watched or listened to and recorded on video and cassette tapes before being coded.

The total number of hours recorded in the sample was 62.30 hours divided as follows: 18.30 hours of foreign television drama, almost all American, 20 hours of Arabic television drama and 24 hours of Arabic Radio drama. The total number of episodes recorded was 138 episodes, 23 of which were foreign. 23% of the sample was broadcast by Channel One, 15% by Channel Two and the rest was broadcast by the main Egyptian radio station "the general programme". The sample was divided in terms of format into: 88% were serials, 5% were series, 4% were feature films and 4% were single plays. The overwhelming presence of the serial type of format in the sample, was due to the fact that it was the most common format, as mentioned previously, of Arabic drama. The major part of the sample was Arabic drama, for the simple reason that radio broadcasts Arabic drama only. The sample, as a result, was biased in favour of Arabic drama in terms of the unit of analysis, the number of episodes; 83% was Arabic production
compared to 17% of foreign production. This was also due to the fact that as many episodes as possible of each serial were recorded.

However, the sample contained more foreign dramas, in terms of genre, than Arabic. Despite the fact that the number of Arabic episodes in the sample was, more than the foreign, the actual hours of foreign drama recorded, as mentioned above, almost equalled the hours of Arabic television drama. Obviously, the central concern of this study was to analyze the content of drama, foreign and Arabic, shown on Egyptian media and not to compare between the level of the two types of dramas. It has been established from previous studies, referred to in this work, that foreign drama on Egyptian television is more frequent than Arabic, in terms of types of dramas and duration of broadcast. That is if we take the whole day of broadcasting and not just prime-time television over the same length of time.
The Findings

By way of introducing the findings of the content analysis, an overall picture of the content of the sample, foreign as well as Arabic, is given and is followed by a description of individual characteristics of each type. This will allow for a meaningful analysis and comparison between them, particularly since there is a widely held view that Egyptian drama imitates Western production, which allows for Western culture, as the advocates of the Cultural Imperialists Theory argue, to overcome language barriers and dominate a greater part of the world that would otherwise have been very hard to invade, ie. Egyptian drama would have easier access, to say Saudi Arabia, than American production.

Locations, Sources and Settings of Drama

Most of the drama was located in Egypt, 65.2% of the sample as compared to 16.9% located in the West. The source of production of all foreign drama recorded, with the exception of one, was the United States. All Arabic drama was produced in Egypt. The following Table gives a description of drama per country, in terms of location and origin.
Table A.1: LOCATION AND ORIGIN OF DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Countries</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Europe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A large part of the drama had an urban setting, 48%, while 34% was set in rural areas. The settings were not clear in 18% of the sample. The rural location forms only a small percentage, when taking into consideration the size of Arabic drama within the sample. This indicates that the world of drama in the Egyptian media tended to be mainly urban, particularly on television. Rural settings were more likely to be found in radio drama than on television.

The majority of drama was set in the present time, 73%, and only 18% was set in the distant past. It was shown in the audience study that people generally liked the type of drama which reflected their own lives. However, the predominant urban outlook in drama does not seem to meet this demand for there is a large percentage of Egyptian population live in rural areas, which is not given enough portrayal. What people really meant by the term "reflecting their life", is that in addition to the fact that drama should help them to solve their problems which is the practical use of drama, it should also be easy to identify with. A young rural
male with secondary education remarked during the interviews that he didn't like drama which showed city life and where Cairo's dialect was spoken. He preferred drama which reflected his own rural life and used his own language and reflected the strong character of the male, living in rural areas and not the man of the city.

No doubt this remark also reflects the conflict that drama create within people. Perhaps this man living in the rural area was not happy to see men in dramas acting in a less dominant way as they tend to do in the rural areas. Yet, the urban concentration in the drama can be seen as a result of two main factors. One is the obvious presence of American drama within the sample, which often have urban settings. The rural settings in the sample were only found in Arabic drama. The second factor is that the urban world of drama is a symptom of an attempt by Egypt as well as many other Third World countries to develop alongside Western lines. These lines, as explained in chapter one, encouraged urbanisation as an important means of achieving the elusive goals of development. It was apparent during the audience study that many of those living in rural areas had become familiar with Cairo mainly through television drama, since most of the action in Arabic drama generally take place in the hustle and bustle of Cairo. A city which has become a typical example of the overcrowded urban centres of the Third World. This can lead one to extend the argument advanced by the Imperialism Theory to the inter-cultural relations within each Third World country. The drive towards "urbanisation", in effect, has been an assault on the cultural life of the rural areas. The urban concentration, in the drama analyzed, echoes the urban centricity inherent in the old models of development. However, the findings of this study indicate that the rural way of life in Egypt has not disappeared completely. More importantly, most of the changes that have taken place in the rural areas have been due largely to economic and political pressure than to cultural influence.
Drama Subject

In order to have a full understanding of what a drama is all about, consideration must be given to the subject matter as well as to the themes. They provide an accurate guide to uncover the ideological messages of the drama in question, ie. they tell us what the drama is about, the concrete matters with which the action of the story is concerned. Thus the sample was analyzed according to its main as well as subsidiary subjects and themes. The findings relating to the subject area are presented first.

Statistics of this analysis show, as presented in table B.1 that the most prominent subject matter was that to do with love and romance, whether marital or non marital. The latter, though, was less popular than the former. The other predominant subjects were those dealing with domestic affairs and which covered a wide spectrum of topics such as relations between husband and wife, parent and child, the wider family and inter-family relationship. The most popular aspects of these were the parent and child relationship and relations between husband and wife. However, the survey showed that the majority of those interviewed preferred Arabic drama of the"social"type, which deals with burning social problems. The confinement of subjects within the limit of this social experience has led to the over-production of drama that is all basically alike. They may differ in location, historical as well as geographical settings, and in the type of characters, but they all virtually convey the same message. In my interview with the Head of drama on Channel 1, she argued that "the main reason for importing foreign dramas and for showing repeats, was that there were no alternative subjects. There are about 73 subjects associated with love and domestic life, which have been dealt with again and again. The alternative was to imitate the West, ie resort to pure sex and violence. Thus it is better to import". This view illustrates the main characteristic of drama seen on Egyptian television and the
official reaction to it. It was mentioned earlier that the official explanation could not be accepted at face value for various reasons. This view, however, was shared by many, who do not work for television or radio and was also supported by various studies carried out in Egypt. In a PhD study in 1984 by S Aly, entitled Television Dramas and the Problems of Egyptian Society (unpublished in Cairo University, the Faculty of Mass Communication), it was shown that in the light of the self-declared mission of television, ie. to contribute to the solution of society's problems and to uphold its spiritual values and human ethics, social problems were predominant in the drama analyzed.
Table B.1: Most Popular Subjects in Both Drama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Main</th>
<th>Subsidiary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Relation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband And Wife</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent / Child</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wider Family</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Families</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love / Romance:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Marital</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming Practices</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Tenure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth Control</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Politics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Politics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disasters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Migration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Migration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(More than one subject could be recorded for each drama)
More than three quarters of issues dealt with in the dramas, 77%, centred around these problems. But 66% were about family and marriage problems compared to 33%, which were more of general type. The latter included class conflict, poverty, farmers problems, nepotism, habits and customs which were seen to hinder development, the most popular subjects among the audience. It could be argued, however, that television as a means of entertainment could not concentrate only on social problems of this nature, for life would be more gloomy and unpleasant for people. Yet, if we were to compare the findings of this analysis to that of the 1984 study, although the latter only examined Arabic production, it could be concluded that Egyptian television does not seem to broadcast enough popular "social" dramas. Television, therefore, cannot claim to be primarily the sole contributor to the solving of society's problems. Certainly, it can be argued that any problems related to everyday life, be it about marriage or poverty, are social problems. But nevertheless marriage problems are not as urgent or indeed they do not have a direct impact on everyday life. It seems that people themselves are best equipped to say which problems affect them the most and which deserve the most attention.

Table B.1 above shows that drama depicting "crime" was popular, placing it third on the list. The popularity of such drama, as the survey revealed, was mainly confined to foreign production. Arabic "crime" drama was far less popular than its foreign counterpart. Generally speaking, "crime" drama is not a very common type of Arabic production. The study carried out by S Aly showed that crime was not the common type. It was found that only 6.8% of the sampled drama dealt with crime. It appears that the difference between statistics from our analysis of drama and Aly's study, was due to the inclusion of foreign drama in the sample analyzed in this study. Religious drama appeared to be more common than one would have expected, particularly that such drama was not very popular among the audience. This is partly due to the inclusion, in the sample of this study, of a
long radio Arabic religious serial. In general terms, religious drama appear rarely on television. This sample did not include any religious foreign television drama whatsoever.

Any examination of these findings so far indicates that the picture of the world of drama in the Egyptian media was highly preoccupied with concerns that were not directly linked to the social order in which the drama was consumed. However, Egyptian media is not alone in this as the findings from Hartmann's study of the Philippines' dramas tended to suggest. It was found that non-developmental drama dealt mainly with love, family relationships and crime, and that the different types of plays varied in the emphasis given to these different elements. This should emphasise the great similarities of dramas produced in many countries, especially in the Third World and partly support the claim made by the advocates of the Cultural Imperialism Theory concerning the homogenization's of world cultural production. But this alone does not go as far as to support their claim that such homogenization's of culture has led to homogenization's of the cultural outlook of various countries.

**Themes**

By identifying and analyzing the main themes of the drama in the sample, it is possible to form a picture of the ideological basis of such production. If the subject of a drama is meant to reflect what the drama is about, the themes are about the values and the principles which motivate the actions in the stories. Themes are concerned with what the drama is about at the level of the plot. It is argued that cultural invasion is meant to spread values that are not only foreign, but also compatible with the culture of the Western capitalist societies. Themes were recorded on two levels, one major and the other minor. Hence one single drama could have more than one theme on both levels.
This analysis shows that the most prominent theme was that of financial achievement and its importance in gaining social power, where one's wealth determines one's place in society. This theme appeared in 40% of the sample, i.e., in 55 episodes of various dramas in radio and television. The survey results indicated that in reality, people were preoccupied with improving their standard of living, namely increasing their income. Setting up of businesses and investing, came first in the agenda if the opportunity ever arose. Thus it could be said that drama, for the most part, emphasises some ideas that were congruent with the audience way of thinking. However, this does not mean to say that dramas are responsible for generating these ideas within people. It seems that the social milieu and in particular the economic conditions under which people live are more responsible for fostering these attitudes than the media. Hence the main motive behind the desire to achieve more financial reward was to improve the low standards of living and also, more importantly, to create some sort of cushion against the rising cost of living. So, if one agreed that this theme is central to capitalism and even if one accepted that one of the main aims of drama production, which is almost impossible to prove, is to propagate such an idea, it is very reasonable to say that the social conditions in which people live has a very strong impact on what people think and do. It is reasonable to say that this provides some support to some of the concerns raised by the Cultural Imperialism Theory, in so far as there seems to be a close resemblance between the world of drama in Egypt and drama in Western capitalist societies.

As far as the second and the third popular themes were concerned, the link between capitalism and the world of drama in the sample, was less clear. Morality themes, highlighting the duality between right and wrong and also between virtue and vice, on the whole proved more popular than the financial achievement themes. The latter aspects of the morality theme are clearly founded in religion and its prominence in the sample was due, as mentioned before, to the
inclusion of a long religious radio drama in this sample. Invariably, such drama
gives greater prominence to religious ideas and values, than to other aspects of
the morality theme, which are largely based on common sense. Hence the
prominence of such themes should not be taken as a reflection of their popularity
among Egyptian drama generally.

It is very difficult to establish how far the link exists between religion and
capitalism, but it is clear that they overlap in some respects which partly explains
the popularity of the morality theme. The other explanation for this popularity is
due to the tendency of Arabic drama to be more didactic in nature. Many
dramatic works entail a direct moral message addressed to the audience, about
what ought and ought not to be done in certain situations. However, such a
characteristic is considered to be of "developmental" value, which gives the
media a positive social function. The common sense aspects of the morality
theme were also found to be prominent, although not to the same degree, on
Philippines radio dramas which were produced for developmental purposes
(Hartmann, Ibid, 1977). The survey showed that the educational role played by
the media was of equal importance to that of the entertainment function and to the
role played in helping to solve social problems.
Table B.2: **List of the Most Prominent Themes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Minor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Achievement:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morality:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtu v. Sinfulness</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right v. Wrong</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good v. Bad</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty to Country</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty to Friends</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Justice:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthly Justice</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavens Justice</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(More than one theme could be recorded for each drama)

Despite the fact that most of the top themes are difficult to associate with one particular culture, i.e., Arabic or Western, there are other themes which are clearly associated with home culture. The theme of loyalty and love of one's own country was highlighted particularly in Arabic drama, which aim to encourage national pride. Certainly nationalist feelings are not confined to home culture alone. Historical experience of many countries in the World shows the rise of many nationalist movements which embody these feelings. The sample was recorded at a time when there was a government campaign aimed at encouraging
people to buy home produced goods. Although this aim was economic in nature, it relied heavily on nationalistic feelings. Furthermore, and apart from the religious aspects of the morality theme, other religious themes were not very prominent. Education is of less importance at the present time than it used to be in the 60’s and early 70’s, and in line with this educational achievement was not a prominent theme. As far as these results are concerned, it can be said that the drama broadcast on Egyptian media tended to portray a mixture of developmental and capitalist tendencies.

Characters

In order to assess the relationship between the drama consumed and the cultural outlook of a nation, a general assessment of the outlook of the drama was necessary. One way of carrying out this assessment was to look at the central characters of each drama. The choice of characters was guided by identifying up to four major characters, playing role essential to the plot. This was measured by the need to mention each of these characters chosen in one paragraph of the main lines of the story. It should be mentioned that 93% of the dramatic conflict of the stories, originated from the central characters and few other individuals associated with them. This dramatic structure is not exclusive to Egyptian drama, but is prevalent world-wide and seems to have sprung out of the idea of leadership and heroism. The drama coding schedule included a section aimed at coding the central characters, according to their sex, age, socio-economic status, occupation, underlying motives, places of socialisation and general outlook.

The analysis showed that the world of drama was dominated by males. 63% of the central characters were males compared to 37% females. Many of them appeared in "love" drama. However, the presence of women in this sample can be considered as high, particularly if it is seen against the religious background
in Egypt. Although the number of women who go out to work is increasing very rapidly in Egypt, the woman's place is still, as the survey showed, in the home. Characters were either single, married or engaged, 32%, 36% and 9% respectively. 16% were not clear as far as their marital status was concerned and only 7% were separated. Most of them tended to be young, between the ages of 16 and 44. 66% of all characters came from that age group, as compared to 1% from the group of under 15's, and 5% from over 65's. If we consider the role of drama to be helping to solve social problems, it is clear that very little attention was given to the problems facing people who are engaged but could not marry. Currently in Egypt, particularly in big cities, these people face a big problem of finding decent accommodation, causing great social concern.

The majority of actors tended to come from middle class backgrounds, as Table C.1 below shows, 62% of the sample came from this rich class. Drama coding guide-lines at the end of this study, provide a summary of the criteria used to define characters' classes. However, classes were defined along three major indicators, used for the classification of respondents in the survey: income, occupation, ownership and appearance. Obviously it was not necessary, nor always possible, to identify all the four indicators in each case. The aim was to identify as many as possible. In the West, the middle class tends to be large and is also the most dominant in world drama, whereas in Egypt and in many other Third World countries, the middle class is by comparison very much smaller than its dominance in the world of drama as shown by the statistical evidence. The picture depicting the world of Arabic drama is somewhat distorted, due to the inclusion of Western drama in this sample.

However, Arabic drama also seemed to reflect middle class life as demonstrated by the audience study. Many of those interviewed, particularly the working class, criticised Egyptian drama for, among other things, the fact that many portray
heroes or heroines who invariably lead affluent lives. Even if they are playing the role of a working class person, they tend to drive a car, live in big houses and visit nightclubs, things which are alien to the poor masses. It was therefore concluded that Egyptian dramas did not reflect society and were not convincing.

Table C.1: The Social Economic Status of Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle Class</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle Class</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Labourer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Clear</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>135</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only were the lower classes, the unemployed and the peasants poorly represented, but also the most predominant roles played by the main character/s in the drama were invariably, as Table C.2 shows, connected with government, Justice and the law, and those in authority in general. This was the same group blamed, as shown by the survey, for the many problems facing Egypt. It is the group which occupies central stage in real life and also in the world of drama. The second most common role was connected with business, finance and industries. Occupations related to education came third on the list of the most popular occupations reflected in the drama. Again, this seems to reflect, to some extent, the growing disenchantment with education as a source of individuals'
stability among Egyptians in general and officials, in particular.

Table C.2: **FIELD OF ACTIVITIES RELATED TO OCCUPATION OF MAIN CHARACTERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment, Art, Sport, The Media</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Animals, Factories, Building</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, Finance, Industry</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government, Courts, Law, Authority</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, Medicine, Social Welfare</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education; Student, Teacher etc.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal Activities</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Work</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Labourer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motives

The aim of this section was to identify the aims of main characters, what motivated them to act as they do. From the analysis of characters' main motives, it is clear that the most common motive was "marital love", as shown in Table C.3. 45% of characters were prompted by this motive, which is in line with the
social requirement which restricts explicit love scenes generally and non-marital scenes in particular. However, a large percentage were motivated by occupational achievement, 39%, and a slightly less percentage, 36%, were motivated by the idea of achieving stability and security in their lives. Many of those, in the audience study, indicated that this was their main concern in life. Accumulation of wealth was the motive for 34% of characters in drama.

It is clear that the three main motives are very similar to each other, which reflects the importance given by drama to that concern. Furthermore, this illustrates that the world of drama is dominated by a capitalist motivation. Social conditions, which are influenced by capitalist ideology, would inevitably produce similar values.

Table C.3: MAIN MOTIVES OF CHARACTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love (Marital)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Achievement</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securing Peaceful Life</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accumulation Of Wealth</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasure Seeking</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love (Non Marital)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfilling Ideological Beliefs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfilling Religious Beliefs</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( More than one motive could be recorded for each character)
The overall picture of characters' motives indicates that dramas shown in Egypt seemed, as was also shown in the section concerning the main themes, to encourage and concentrate highly on industrial and commercial aspects of life, more than on societal or communal change. Naturally such aspects revolve around individuals and individuals' concerns, which is a hallmark of Western capitalist societies. Hence religious or ideological goals were not common motives for characters. Most of the characters were often portrayed as struggling to gratify their personal needs and striving for security, goals usually associated with characters in American Soap Operas (Hartmann, 1977, p.85). In the developing world, it is to be expected that social concern lies mainly in the improvement of society as a whole, whereas in the Western world, individualism and competitiveness is central to the functioning of the system, which is motivated by private ownership. Here again if the world of drama in the Egyptian media is considered as a whole, foreign as well as Arabic, then the conclusion would be that this world had a great deal in common with the Western world. This must provide great support to the Cultural Imperialism Theorists' claim that Western culture is being "transmitted across the globe", through the exportation of media material, namely drama. But this does not mean to say that this support can be extended to the idea that there is real Western cultural domination. It could be a domination which is confined to media output. Real cultural domination is meant to reflect the way the majority of the population think and live.

Comparison between Arabic and Foreign Drama

The previous part of this chapter has been dealing with both types of drama, which has been an essential element for the purpose of this study, particularly since the majority of the media audience view both types of drama regularly. In order to further highlight the close similarity between both productions, claimed
by the advocates of the Cultural Imperialism Theory, it is necessary to compare between the two in detail. There is an almost historical inevitability about the relationship between foreign and local drama in Egypt as well as in many Third World countries. Local production has inevitably been influenced by foreign production which was established well before Third World countries had the idea of producing their own drama. It is often argued that many Third World countries import foreign drama mainly because they cannot produce their own (Tunstall, Ibid, 1977). Some of these countries, and Egypt is one example, have managed to develop their own film industry, founded on Western formulae and tending to reflect Western values and ideas. The findings so far have shown that the most predominant features of all drama shown in Egypt seemed to be similar to these dominant in the West. For a closer inspection and comparison between the two types of drama, each aspect has been dealt with separately.

Settings

When cross tabulating the data, which until now has been presented in its totality, it was found that all foreign drama, as expected, was set in urban locations. Accepting the idea that drama generally reflects its own social milieu, this should not be surprising since Westernisation has become to be synonymous with urbanisation and the majority of the population in the West live mainly in urban areas. Yet the somewhat unexpected element in these findings has been that just under half of Arabic drama was set in rural locations. Out of the 115 Arabic episodes 47 had rural settings, 43 had urban settings and 25 were not clear. This was unexpected because rural areas were somewhat highly represented in the world of Egyptian drama and this contradicts with findings from other Third World countries, which can be seen as reflecting the high percentage of rural population in Egypt.
However, it should be pointed out that the rural presence seemed to be higher in the sample than it is generally in Egyptian drama. The main reason for this was due to the over-representation, in the sample, of Arabic drama serials consisting of many episodes, many of which were radio drama production. The sample included 115 Arabic episodes, 85 of which were radio drama. There is clearly a considerable presence of rural areas in Arabic drama, but it tended to be found mostly in radio drama. The survey showed that the rural population tended to listen to radio drama more than those living in urban areas. This suggests that the world of Arabic drama on television tends to be less reflective of rural areas than that of the radio, given that all foreign drama are predominantly urban. Very few Arabic television episodes in the sample were set in rural locations. The poor urban areas, on the other hand, tended to have more representation than the rural areas. There are many possible explanations for this. One of which is that, perhaps, the poorer urban areas work as a substitute for the rural areas. It was mentioned in the previous chapter, that both areas were relatively similar in many aspects. The other explanation is that many of the major problems facing the country as a whole stem from urban areas and as a result receive more attention, bearing in mind that Egyptian television is under state control.

A further explanation would be that radio drama is popular among the rural population, and as a consequence there is more radio drama which is set in rural locations. The survey showed that people preferred drama which reflected their own lives. Hence it can be argued that whatever the explanation for the under-representation of rural life in the world of drama, it is clear that the rural population does not get enough of its preferred dramas, particularly on television. Many dramatists would argue that drama does not represent real life and, in fact would say that the power of drama lies in its difference from real life (Goodlad, Ibid, 1971). Yet one of the most plausible explanations for the high presence of urban settings in Egyptian drama, is the fact that a great deal of Arabic drama
shown on television, is often based on production which was written or produced during the 60's, at a time when the dominant mood of thinking favoured the Western line of development, encouraging urbanisation. One of the Arabic television serials included in the sample, for example, was based on a novel written in that period. The others were produced more recently, but also centred on urban life. Furthermore, many famous Egyptian writers come from urban centres, particularly from Cairo, and many of them belong to the middle or upper middle classes.

From this part of the findings, it can be concluded that Arabic drama showed several Western tendencies, one of which can be seen in the way it reflected urban images. But this tendency should not be seen only as Western orientation, depicting the more favourable aspects of urban centres, such as Cairo. This could have been the case in the early 60s, but at present there is a tendency to discourage people from going to live in Cairo. There are even some who advocate the idea of preventing people from emigrating into Cairo by force. The function of drama in such a situation could be to act as a means of emphasising the negative aspects of city life. The aim would be to help to stop further emigration into the over-crowded urban centres. In addition, as far as the sample was concerned, rural areas were portrayed with high frequency, casting doubts over the suggestions that Egyptian drama is in fact an imitation of Western production.

Further analysis of the data, showed that almost all foreign drama, 22 episodes out of 23, were located in the United States, but most Arabic dramas was located in Egypt. Some 25 episodes out of a total of 115 were located in other Arab countries. This indicates that the Egyptian audience did not receive any direct Western images through Arabic drama. However, the overwhelming presence of the United States through drama could be taken as evidence in support of the
Cultural Imperialism Theory, which suggests that foreign cultural presence in any Third World country, would increase with the improvement of relations between the West and would further increase dependency on the West, namely the United States. However, such evidence is not exclusive, for there are other factors, referred to in the previous chapter, that have undoubtedly contributed to the increased presence of American programmes in the Egyptian media.

Whatever the causes of this presence might be, the fact remains that the Egyptian television audience see a great deal of American's way of life through foreign drama. This causes concern especially to the Cultural Imperialism Theorists, who see this as an American cultural invasion, aimed at benefiting the 'aggressor' culture. The survey results showed that a positive image for the United States was not very much felt among the audience, despite many years of close cooperation between Egypt and the United States. Only a small percentage of those interviewed in the survey, expressed aspirations towards the United States.

Images alone clearly are not sufficient to create or change people's attitudes towards a certain country, but they do seem to enhance foreign needs or materialist demands within individuals. The survey showed that people generally tended to buy more foreign than Egyptian goods, for practical reasons and also due to social pressure. Such reasons are likely to be enforced by television images. However, setting aside the role of such foreign cultural material, which cannot be exclusively proven, the predominance of American images must be done at the expense of images from elsewhere or from inside Egypt itself. Not only were the rural areas not sufficiently represented in the world of drama, but also, as one of the people interviewed said, "there are many places of great historical importance which are not known to the majority of ordinary Egyptians". Here is where television should play a major role. Although this view does not concern drama in particular, it does reflect the low local orientation
of Egyptian television. This conclusion coincides with the comment made by the Head of Drama production on Channel Two, when she said in reply to the question of the need to rely on subtitles with foreign dramas, that "many people in Egypt travel abroad and many speak at least English". Yet, the survey showed that there were many people who did not speak a foreign language or had travelled abroad. Furthermore, many of those who spoke English were not in a position to fully understand the text of the drama which was in English, without the help of translation. It was mentioned previously that reliance on subtitles deterred some people from watching foreign dramas.

Characters

The similarities which existed between Arabic and American television drama not only related to the settings of the production, but also to the distribution of characters in terms of sex. Such findings might appear surprising in a country like Egypt, which is seen by many to be a male dominated country, in comparison to the American liberal way of life. 36 characters out of 92 in Arabic drama, 39%, were females, compared to 15 out of 43, 35%, in American drama. It is true to say that drama is not meant to be a true reflection of society, but at least it relates to the social milieu in which it is produced. Women generally are gaining more freedom in Egypt and many of them have come to hold positions in public offices, yet they are still not as liberated as women in the United States.

However, although women were highly represented in the world of the Arabic drama, they tended to play supportive roles, i.e. objects of love, the role of wife of a successful man or a dependent on a father or a mother. It might be appropriate here to refer to an interesting study, carried out in Egypt, about the portrayal of women in Egyptian cinema. It was found that films tended to concentrate largely on the role of socially deviant women, i.e. prostitutes, gang members and
emphasised the traditional male's view that women are sexual objects or seducers (M. Al Hadidy, 1984, Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University).

The overall analysis of the sample, presented in the first part of this chapter, showed that the majority of central characters tended to be of middle class origin. This was true of Arabic as well as American drama, although the percentage in the latter was higher. 55 characters out of 92 in the Arabic drama, 60%, came from the middle class as compared to 43 out of 55, 78%, in the American production. In Arabic drama, however, there was a higher presence of working class characters, 14, 15%, as compared to only 2, 4%, in American drama. The majority of main characters in both types tended to have occupations related to governments, courts and law profession. There is no doubt that concentration on these types of jobs helps to glamorize and perhaps even to reflect their importance in real life. However, this should be an added source of publicity to that sector of society in Egypt, which "factual" programmes, news in particular, also concentrate on its activities. A brief observation of the Egyptian media would reveal the high level of State control and hence the concentration on the governmental affairs.

The second most common field of activities in Arabic drama was that related to the field of education, as apposed to that related to business and finance in the American drama. The two types of drama also differed in relation to the third common field of activity. Despite these differences reflecting the different emphasis given to certain areas, both dramas seemed to concentrate on personal achievement, be it educational or financial. The different emphasis given to these aspects reflected different ideological basis. Arabic drama seemed to give more attention to education, which is in line with the dominant way of thinking in Egypt. Education is still seen as an important means, as shown in the survey, of social mobility and the overall development of society. In the Western capitalist societies, on the other hand, financial achievement is the dynamic driving force of
the individual and which keeps the system functioning. Hence the popular saying in the West: "money makes the world go round ".

Table D.1: Socio-Economic Status of Characters

In Both Dramas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle Class</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle Class</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Labourer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Clear</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table D.2: Characters' field of activities in both dramas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th></th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment, Art, Media</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Animal, Building</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, Industry, Finance</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government, Courts, Authority</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, Social Welfare</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegal Activities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Labourer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Characters' Motives

The overall picture of drama production analyzed showed the main motives as being love, licit or illicit and domestic and professional security. When cross-tabulating these findings, however, the similarity between Arabic as well as American drama was very great, as far as the motives of the main characters were concerned. 49 characters out of 92 in Arabic drama were motivated by love, as compared to 24 out of 45 in American drama. Love here includes licit and illicit activities, though the former was expectedly higher in American drama. 5 out of
24 foreign characters as compared to 4 out of 49 Arabic. The case is almost the same with the other two main motives, as Table D3 shows.

Table D3: CHARACTERS MOTIVES IN BOTH DRAMAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love (Marital or Non Marital)</td>
<td>49 55</td>
<td>24 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Achievement</td>
<td>34 38</td>
<td>18 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securing Peaceful Life</td>
<td>31 34</td>
<td>11 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accumulation of Wealth</td>
<td>36 40</td>
<td>10 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasure Seeking</td>
<td>17 19</td>
<td>9 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td>20 22</td>
<td>13 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfilling Ideological Beliefs</td>
<td>4 4</td>
<td>4 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfilling Religious Beliefs</td>
<td>6 7</td>
<td>0 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(More than one motive could be recorded per drama)

The above Table shows that despite the great similarities between the two types of drama, Arabic drama tended to place greater emphasis on the question of leading a peaceful life, ie reasonably secure, facing little problems and giving little attention to the outside and the wider social problems. It also tended to give prominence to wealth accumulation and to the accomplishment of religious beliefs. The latter value was mainly found in radio drama. The survey showed that leading a peaceful life was the ultimate goal in the life of a number of respondents. Such a life could only be secured through money, although not always in the sense of accumulation, but in terms of making people's lives more comfortable. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that there was some similarity between the way in which people saw the real world and the world of
drama, particularly that of Arabic drama production.

**Drama Subject**

It was mentioned earlier, that one of the most important and illustrative aspects of the nature of drama production, is the subject area. Hence this comparative analysis included a process of identifying, in greater detail, the most prominent subjects of each type of drama, as Tables E1 and E2 show.

When data from both drama types was analyzed together, the results showed that the most prominent subjects were those relating to love, the family relationships with all its various aspects and to religion. However, the picture which emerged from this comparison indicated that foreign drama based its subject matter on love, the family and on crime. Basically it tended to deal with issues related to these areas. Clearly there are various factors which have contributed to this and which have a great deal to do with the social conditions that have developed in the Western World. It would not be appropriate to enter into an analysis of these factors in this part of the study, but it would suffice to say that capitalism, as a system which is based on private ownership and the generation of profit requiring continuity, has been a major influencing force in the formation of such conditions. The media output and their function in general are naturally influenced by such conditions.

Many Western critics are inclined to directly link the role played by the media and the legitimisation of the system, and hence continuity of the Western social order. The media production, it is argued, tend to operate, particularly in the area of drama and entertainment, within the broad lines of the general consensus. It would not rock the boat, but it would generate familiarity with the system which may in the long run generate acceptability. A number of audience studies have
indicated that the media are likely to enforce rather than create or change attitudes and ideas. Perhaps it comes as no surprise, that most prominent subjects and themes in foreign drama did not encourage questioning of the system. One of the main problems facing the critics is the difficulty in attempting to produce enough evidence to support their argument. This does not mean, however, that there is no relationship between the role played by the media and the capitalist system, and to suggest that the media, whether by design or default, help to legitimate the system. The question is to what extent does the media fulfil this role.

Another aspect we saw emerging was that not all Arabic television drama could be neatly fitted into the three categories previously mentioned: love, family and crime. Religious drama have been excluded here since they only dominate in radio drama production. It is clear from Table E1 that Arabic drama dealt with a variety of subjects, although with little prominence, which were not seen in foreign production. Some of the other subjects related to issues that can be described as of a 'developmental' nature, which, as the survey showed, concerned a wider section of Egyptian society. Subjects such as poverty, education and farming practices.

The audience study showed that the majority of people were concerned with problems, associated with many underdeveloped countries, which were related to low standards of living, rising prices, lack of basic health care and the unrepresentative nature of those who hold public offices. Lack of trust in government officials generally is a common phenomena in Egypt, as reflected in the survey. Most of the blame for many of the problems facing Egypt was laid at the officials' doorstep.
Table E.1: DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS IN ARABIC DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Main N</th>
<th>Main %</th>
<th>Subsidiary N</th>
<th>Subsidiary %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Love (marital)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love (non marital)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Between Husband &amp; Wife</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Between Parents &amp; Children</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Within Wider Family</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Between Families</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming Practices</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Tenure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth Control</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment / Work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Migration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Migration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( More than one subject could be recorded per drama )
Table E.2: DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS IN FOREIGN DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Main</th>
<th>Subsidiary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love (marital)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love (non marital)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Between Husband &amp; Wife</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Between Parents &amp; Children</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Within Wider Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation Between Families</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming Practices</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Tenure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth Control</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment / Work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Politics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disaster</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Migration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Migration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( More than one subject could be recorded per drama )

258
Taking into account that the sample was not representative of the whole range of Arabic drama, the above findings show that it is doubtful whether Arabic production is merely an imitation of foreign production. Perhaps this is true in terms of the structural format of drama, in the sense that most of the actions were centred around the central characters and that the resolution of the dramatic conflicts tended usually to be brought about by them. But this is not completely true as far as the subject matter is concerned. The survey showed that most people preferred the 'social' type of drama, and this drama analysis shows that Arabic production reflected to some extent what people wanted. This in turn implies that Arabic production is of a mixed character, on the one hand showing influences from the West, while on the other reflecting aspects of the social conditions in which it is produced. It could be argued therefore, that Western means can be used to achieve particular developmental goals or to meet particular societal needs. However, the figures in Table E1 can be interpreted as a criticism of Arabic production since it payed little attention to issues of great social concern to a large part of the Egyptian population, and more to issues popular in the West and perhaps among a small section of its own population. There is certainly scope for more attention to local issues and subjects in the local drama production.

Themes

Again, themes are of equal importance to subjects in providing a clear picture regarding the nature of any drama. Hence there are some similarities between themes and subjects. However, the comparison between themes, in Arabic and foreign dramas has produced a clearer distinction between the two types, as shown in Tables F1 and F2 respectively. Arabic drama tended to concentrate more on morality themes, with particular attention to the religious dimensions of that theme. It appeared as a major theme in 49 episodes out of a total of 115,
43%. This theme did not enjoy the same dominance in foreign drama production, which is due to the religious background of Arabic culture, and it is a clear indication that Arabic drama is a cultural production and one which reflects its own cultural context. Related to this was the prominence in Arabic drama of the theme of heavenly administered justice. Figures in Table F1 and F2 show that there were also themes which received equal importance in both types of drama.

Similar to the subjects area in Arabic drama production, there were certain themes which can be classified as 'developmental' in nature. Arabic drama tended to give prominence to themes such as educational achievement and loyalty to one's country. The audience study showed that education, even with the recent increase in the number of unemployed graduates and the general deterioration of the standard of the educational system in Egypt, remains an important means for the development of individuals as well as the whole country. The survey also showed that a great number of people complained about the lack of cooperation between people in Egypt. The concentration of Arabic drama on the theme of loyalty seemed to be aimed at fostering attitudes conducive to the solution of the problem of the lack of cooperation among the Egyptian population. However, it is clear that Arabic drama did not reflect all the concerns of its audience.
Table F.1: DISTRIBUTION OF THEMES IN ARABIC DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Minor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morality:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good v. Bad</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right v. Wrong</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtue v. Sinfulness</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial, Power, Wealth</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Of Social Benefit</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthly</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavens</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Friends</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Country</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(More than one theme could be recorded per drama)
Table F.2: DISTRIBUTION OF THEMES IN FOREIGN DRAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Minor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good v. Bad</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right v. Wrong</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtue v. Sinfulness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial, Power, Wealth</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Of Social Benefit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthly</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavens</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Friends</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Country</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( More than one theme could be recorded per drama )

It can be concluded that the aim of Arabic drama production is to foster some attitudes which are considered to be important for the development of the country and not just repeating Western ideas. Certainly it can be argued that Arabic production did not give these developmental attitudes enough prominence or at least equal weight to some Western capitalist ideas, such as financial achievement or love. In other words, Arabic television drama tended to live up to the official requirement. It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that in order for a drama
production to have official approval, as expressed by the Head of the main Board of Censorship in Egypt, it should not offend religion and should not incite any social unrest.

Drama Outlook

The above analysis shows that the overall picture of the world of drama on Egyptian television and radio, tended to be more urban, male dominated, reflected certain class of society and revolved around issues and ideas of a mixed nature. It was mentioned previously, that one of the main concerns of this study was to show the extent of influence by Western production and culture in general on Egyptian drama production. The drama coding schedule therefore included a section aimed at assessing the general outlook and socialisation of characters in drama, particularly in the Arabic production. The results again indicate that the picture described above, ie. Arabic drama portrayed a world comparable to that portrayed through Western production, is being emphasised. Table G.1 below shows that the way the main characters in Arabic drama dressed and the places they frequented, did not differ greatly from that shown in the American production. Although there were some differences between the two worlds of drama, yet it is possible to describe the Arabic world as being "modern" or being closer to the Western World, than to the "traditional" Egyptian life, which is generally based on Islamic tradition. More than half of the main characters in Arabic drama, 53%, dressed in the "modern" Egyptian style, compared to 41%, who wore "traditional" Egyptian dress. It can be argued that the traditional style of dressing figures of quite highly according to this statistics, but this is due to the fact that the size of the sample was relatively small and that the sample included two long radio serials. Radio drama, as mentioned before, tended to be less urban and less Western orientated, than television drama production.
The findings in this part of the analysis can also be interpreted differently, ie. as
an indication of the close relationship between the official view and the world of
Arabic drama. In chapter five of this study, reference was made to some of the
main opposing cultural views within Egypt. One of these views, which enjoys
wide support from the public as well as government, favours the interaction
between cultures, particularly between the Egyptian and Western cultures. Such a
view is based on the idea that while the traditional culture, the positive side of it,
is being maintained and is being promoted, the positive side of Western cultures
is being absorbed. The most obvious positive elements of the Western cultures is
the scientific and industrial development. Clearly Arabic drama seemed to adopt
the same views inherent in the "old" model of development which sets the West
as the ultimate goal. Most of the Arabic drama included in the sample seemed to
courage education, for it served as a main means of speeding development,
while at the same time discouraged the adoption of Western habits which was in
clear opposition to Islamic teaching. Hence there were only very few characters,
as shown in Table G.1 below, who socialised in public houses in a Western
manner. Drinking alcohol is prohibited in Islam and the survey showed that the
majority of the sample were opposed to it.

Table G.1: MAIN CHARACTERS' MEANS OF SOCIALISING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means</th>
<th>American</th>
<th></th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to Pubs</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to Discos</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to Clubs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to Cinemas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( More than one means could be recorded per character )
C.H.A.P.T.E.R. Nine
In the previous section, which dealt with the study of the content of a sample of prime-time television drama in Egypt, the analysis concentrated on the obvious and quantifiable aspects of the content through the application of content analysis technique. Despite the fact that such an approach has been in use for a considerable period of time in many previous studies, and has led to greater improvement in the quality and rigour of the approach, it has not prove to be as successful a tool when analyzing drama as opposed to factual material. A content analysis approach aims to analyze the content by dividing it into categories which omits, as some critics argue, "themes and myths", which are critical to the overall understanding of the dramatic message (M Cantor et al, The Soap Opera, 1983, p 71). Although a content analysis approach does lead to the identification of subjects, themes etc, it does not link the message in a meaningful way, to aspects of the cultural milieu in which the programme is produced. In other words, on its own this approach isolates the content of the drama from its cultural base in which the large part of its meaning originates. Drama is not only an "instrumental" element of culture, but it also has an expressive function. That is to say that drama, as the case with the rest of the content of the media, reflects the social milieu as well as plays an instrumental role, and presents the audience with different ways of life from that commonly accepted by the majority of people in a society. Thus drama is a cultural product which must be perceived in a cultural and ideological context.

The failure of many to perceive the cultural importance of drama springs from the widely held belief that such media production is meant solely to fulfil the purpose of entertainment. This is the argument of defence used by the opponents of the "Cultural Imperialism Theory", presented in Chapter One and Two, which dismisses the more fundamental role played by drama as a source of education,
and as a source of providing role model, given that these types of programmes are the most popular on television in almost every society.

There can be no doubt that the popularity of drama is due to the fact that it appeals to the audience's love for story telling, and more importantly to the close association it has with everyday living. However, the neglect of the cultural importance of drama has partly contributed, to the lack of a developed technique which could be used to analyze drama structurally. A technique such as this could help to reveal the underlying meaning of a drama production and its underlying ideological base. It is usually difficult to analyze drama in a structural way. Drama, unlike written work, depends on "oral" logic and the use of devices, signs and symbols, which together aim at making the message easier for the audience to decode. Most of these devices and signs acquire most of their meaning from "convention", ie. they are culturally produced and shared between the producer and the receiver of the programme.

Drama, and television drama in particular, draws on techniques and devices used in films. Hence drama should be treated as a film in many respects. A film, as J Monaco points out, "is not a language but it is like a language". That means that it is possible to analyze a film using some of the methods used to study language. The main problem which remains is that:

"While we could say that a film shot is something like a sentence, the film does not divide itself into such easily manageable units".

(J. Monaco, 1977, p. 128).

The other important characteristic of visual drama which makes the reliance only on content analysis an inadequate means of studying drama, is that:
"Although the images alone can tell us that tensions exist between elements and characters within the frame, we have to look beyond the information the image alone has to offer to the dialogue, narrative, placement, perhaps further to define the nature of the tension'.

(David Custed, 1972, p. 23).

The need for a structural reading of drama generally also applies to the reading of any content, be it in literary or cinematic form. Even an analysis of factual programme requires qualitative reading of the message to unravel its underlying meaning and ideology. Every message "conveys a meaning in two ways, denotatively and connotatively" (Monaco, Ibid, p 130), the first being the obvious part and the latter the hidden meaning. The cultural reading of "News at Ten" by Hartely and Fiske, is a clear example of applying structural or semiotic reading of a factual television programme (Myth Representation, 1972) whereby the analysis attempts to place the programme within a cultural context.

In this section of the study, an attempt has been made to apply a structure or more precisely, a cultural reading to a sample of drama drawn out from the original sample analyzed in the previous chapter. The main aim of this exercise is to provide an overall picture of the underlying ideology of the dramatic messages in the sample. To a great extent, the aim is to provide more of a filling or fleshing out of the picture drawn in the previous chapter through content analyses. I.e. to couple the quantitative method with a qualitative approach, in a similar way to combining the survey, a quantitative method, with discussion groups, a qualitative technique, when the audience were studied. In more technical terms, the aim here would be to "claw back" the text into its socio-cultural base. This is in line with the central concern of this study, which is to assess the level of foreign cultural
influence through cultural products, namely drama.
This method of analysis is based on the work of Saussers and the identification of binary opposition, which rests on the belief that words or images acquire their meaning from their opposition. This is particularly true of television messages of any type, which have to rely on effective ways of making their contents clear in an economical way, as Hartly, et al, puts it:

"A television message is made meaningful by its context, by the resemblance and contradictions between its parts, by analogy: not by casual logic, not by consistent development, not by textual criteria".

(Ibid, 1972, p. 29).

John Tullock elaborates on this point by drawing a parallel between some literary devices used in literature to be more effective and the devices used in drama by saying that:

"In literature the use of juxtaposition penetrates the tenor of life, is done by alternatives of characterisation and action in dramatic work".


This in fact, implies that the meaning of what we see or hear is the result of "an ongoing process of comparison between what we see or hear and what we do not" (J Monaco, 1977, p. 136). For a structuralist like Barthes, there are two levels of meaning, the "paradigmatic" and the" syntagmatic". The former implies the presence of many alternatives of a word in a sentence or a shot in a film, where
the meaning of either becomes partly clear, by comparing them to alternatives which could have been chosen. The full meaning of each part of a sentence or a sequence becomes apparent by comparing it to the rest of the sentence or the sequence (Fiske et al, Reading Television, 1978). Opposition between elements of a message can be seen to occur at "two axes" one vertically and the other horizontally. Barthes' procedure, as J Tullock points out, is influenced by linguistics, which is concerned with "the definition of words rather by their meaning than by their syntactic association" (Ibid, 1980, p 41).

Meaning, however, at the overall level of message interpretation, does not become apparent unless the small units of meaning "cohere" together into what Barthes calls "mythology". This theory of signification, developed by Barthes and summarised by Fiske et al, 1978, p 78, is based on the idea that a sign is the "sum total" of a "signifier" and a "signified". The former constitutes the plane of expression, the latter constitutes plane of content. The "signified" is culturally determined and the form of the "signifier" is determined "either by the signified or by convention" (Ibid, 1978, p 39). That is to say that the meaning of a "sign" is culturally produced and by decoding the meaning of the "sign", a picture of the cultural base should emerge.

According to this theory, there are three levels of signification on which "signs" work. The first is the "iconic sign", occurs when the "signifier" determines the signified, a picture of something means what it reflects. The second is when the "signifier" acquires "cultural" meaning or what Barthes calls a "myth", for example, virility and freedom are denoted by the symbol of a car. The third level is when a whole range of "cultural meanings" jointly form a complete picture of the world, eg. a car forms a part of the imagery of an industrial, materialist and rootless society" (Hartly et al, Ibid, 1972, p.15 and Fiske, et al, 1978, p.41). The analysis of drama in this section of the study draws on these levels of
"significations", particularly levels two and three, when analyzing key images and narrative clues in each type of drama selected.

The sample drawn for this "cultural" reading consists of one radio serial, one Arabic television serial, one foreign series and one foreign serial. The selection of the sample was carried out in the light of content analysis results. Basically the aim was to ensure that the sample included drama which had more than one single action, were of social significance and which portrayed most of the major themes included in the content analysis coding schedule. It should be pointed out that it was more difficult to select a sample from the foreign drama recorded because most of it revolved around two main areas which can broadly be referred to as "detective", which includes all action - adventure and crime drama as well as drama of the "romantic" type, which includes all love stories, be it marital or non-marital. The sample for the quantitative analysis included titles such Dual, Miami Vice, Home Invaders, Rope, Friends' Affairs, Prince of Fat City, Firefox, The Boxer, and Come September. Synopses of examples of some of these titles are provided at the end of this thesis. Many of these drama and the detective type in particular, are popular among the Egyptian audience, as the survey showed and a significant proportion of imported drama is of this nature. Although the sample selected in this section for structural analysis included one drama of the popular "detective" type, the original plan intended to avoid such drama for two main reasons.

The first being that a great deal of structural study has already been carried out on similar Western production, in the study of the "Sweeney" by Geoff Hurd et al, 1972, to name but one, in addition to many analyses written covering this type of drama (article by J Palmer, 1973, article by Orrin Klapp, 1954 and many more). Secondly, and more importantly, in the majority of "detective" drama there is always a conflict between the forces of law and order on one hand and the law
breakers on the other, in which the former remain the winners. The main message in this type of production, which is loud and clear and require little insight, is that crime almost always does not pay and that crime is something that all should fight against. Ie, the fictional world is clearly divided on a moral line, as Murdock et al, points out:

"Where action adventure plots rely on simple clear-cut opposition between good and evil, the state and its enemy, puzzle plots present the central characters with enigma or mystery which they must unravel"


In "puzzle plots" or "thrillers", the same dichotomy between good and evil prevails. The order of the fictional world is disturbed by a "conspiracy" which has to be solved by a "special" person, be it a part of the state or a private agent. That person represents the "ideal" or "normal" world even he/she commits some deviant action in the course of solving the mystery, as J Palmer suggests that:

"Many of the hero's acts are explicitly presented as deviant, but simultaneously as justified, since they help to preserve society".


The "particular" person or "hero" in these types of drama would occupy central stage and be the focus of attention and admiration:

"Because of their superior quality, heroes dominate the scene of human action, symbolising success, perfection and conquest of evil".

(O. Klapp, 1954, p. 57)
However, it should be stated that despite the limited structure of some "detective" type of drama and its reliance more on action than on dialogue, it remains a very convenient and significant carrier of ideological messages. The following analysis of Miami Vice would bring this to the fore. But the main fact will remain which is that the nature of some "detective" drama imposes some limitations on the depth and scope of the ideological content of such drama, particularly in comparison to the "social" type of drama.

It is clear that a structural analysis of this nature, which relies on the identification of meaning through the contrasting of opposites, is of great importance for any in-depth reading of a text, particularly that of complicated nature such as drama. If we accept that the use of contrasts is a very essential part of coding messages through films, then it is important to identify the contrasts to be able to decode the message. No doubt that such a method is of great significance to this study, which has, as one of its aims, the identification of the cultural and ideological base of these messages. It has been established in the earlier part of this study that cultural production is not produced in isolation of its cultural milieu. That clearly means that such production reflects some aspects of its milieu. Hence the process of identifying the cultural and ideological meaning of the message is an important and direct means of revealing the type of culture being conveyed.

However, there are some reservations about this method of analysis. It is treated with some suspicion since it lacks scientific rigour, which allows for the testing of the level of accuracy. It depends a great part on personal judgment and this perhaps seems a less objective method than others. Despite this, it remains a very useful method of studying unquantifiable data and providing the preferred reading of a text, particularly when it is combined with content analysis method, as the case in this study.
A. ARABIC RADIO SERIAL

It was mentioned previously that all drama broadcasts on Egyptian radio is in Arabic. The main reason for this is the language barrier and the cost involved with the process of dubbing. Furthermore, various audience studies, including the one carried out in this research, reveal that radio drama tends to attract the less educated and the rural population, particularly where access to television is not readily available, either because of economic reasons or due to a lack of electricity. It should be mentioned that most villages in Egypt now have electricity supplies, except for the very remote and isolated areas.

Title of the Serial:

"AL Maweed Ardo El Kamar ", it can be roughly translated as: the promise would be on the moon. The title as it stands is a curious one and to make it more specific and to prepare the listener for the context of the drama, every episode opens with the announcer reading out the title accompanied with music and a saying in poetic-like form, as follows:
"If the rain stopped, rivers dried up and the green earth was covered by desert, our only refuge would be the moon".

This gives the listener an idea of what is in store, i.e. the increasing erosion of agricultural land in Egypt and forewarns of the danger which awaits the country, particularly in the wake of the famine suffered by millions in the southern part of Africa a year or so before the drama was produced. In one episode of this serial, the leading character "Galal", refers specifically to the African drought when he says, describing the conclusion of his research:

"I am very worried about the people and their future and I warn them of the famine which has struck the heart of Africa".

Date of broadcast

The serial was made up of thirty episodes, broadcast over a period of a month, in January 1987. Each episode was broadcast at five o'clock in the afternoon on the general station, and lasted for just over fifteen minutes. It is a common practice on Egyptian radio for the same episode to be broadcast again at lunchtime the following day, which gives the audience the chance of following the serial.

Historical and Geographical Setting of the Drama

The drama is set in the present time in Egypt, which is in line with the results shown in the previous chapter, which indicate that most drama, on radio and on television, is set in the present. The historical setting is established by frequent reference made throughout the drama, to the economic difficulties of Egypt and the increasing dependency of the country on food imports, which have pushed into further debt. This serial deals with current issues and thus it can be classified
as a "social" drama with a direct message, which is favoured by the majority of the audience in Egypt, according to the survey. Unlike the majority of dramas analyzed, this drama is set geographically in a rural area, a village in the south of Egypt that lies hundreds of miles away from Cairo. Although the serial opens with very few episodes that are set in Cairo, most of the actions of the drama take place in a village. The presence of Cairo is a reflection of the importance of the capital in providing a guide and educational force for the development of rural communities in Egypt. Most Third World countries are characterised by their overcrowding, small urban centres such as Cairo, which grew as a result of the growing emigration of people from rural areas. In the world of this drama, the reverse is the case. The leading character Galal, who is born in the village, returns from Cairo where he is educated, to lead the villagers to a better and freer life, developed through self-reliant means.

Summary of the Story

A young couple are working on an excavation research project in a small village, but the man, the main character, Galal, disappears under mysterious circumstances. His fiance, Wafa, who is also co-researcher, decides to travel from Cairo, where the drama opens, to the village which is the birthplace of Galal, in search for him and to resume the search for a hidden tomb there, which would support most of their findings. Wafa, is accompanied on her journey by her cousin Masoud, and Galal's elder brother Mansour. But when they arrive at the village, we discover that Galal has been kidnapped by rivals of his family in the village, led by the mayor, Al Sisi, and Hareedy who is a major landowner. In the village, Wafa and her companions come face to face with the corruption of the mayor and his associates, the exploitation of workers and farmers, and more importantly the misuse of the cultivated land for the building of houses, rather than for growing crops. Later, Galal manages to escape from his captivity on
board a small boat, with the help of a boatman named Saleh and his daughter Zibida and is able to rejoin Wafa, Masoud and Mansour.

In the meantime, Galal, through the information and advice provided by Saleh, becomes aware of the corruption taking place, the exploitation of his own villagers and the poverty and ignorance which they live under. He decides to do something about changing these conditions and starts to educate the villagers and to incite them to rebel. When he meets Wafa and her companions, he finds them in total agreement with his views. They all decide to join together to improve the villagers' standard of living. The story ends with the relative success of the team, led by Galal, in defeating the corrupt forces represented by Hareedy and his associates. In fact, Hareedy in an act of revenge, manages to destroy most of the new farm which is built by Galal and his people, but fails to destroy their determination to continue working together to build new farms and to stand up to corruption.

Characterisation

It was pointed out earlier, that characters are essential to any drama, particularly to radio drama, which resembles the soap operas rather than television serials. In Soap operas as Cantor et al suggests, there is less dependency on star characters than in the evening series. The story in soaps is more important and usually revolves around the relationship between two families (1983, p.22). Hence, it is easier to identify characters in soaps as either "good" or "bad". Radio serials like this production, "The promise would be on the Moon", exhibits similar characteristics to that of soaps. It is easy clear that Galal and his associates, Wafa, Masoud and Mansour, Saleh, Zibida and Atwa, represent good, and Hareedy and his associates, Al Sisi, Badria, Kinawy, represent evil. There are some narrative clues in the drama which make the process of such identification
possible. From the very beginning, the drama opens with tension created by the disappearance of the leading character, Galal, who, we are told by his fiance, Wafa, is:

"a serious and hard working researcher who is trying his best to finish his studies and prove to his professor all his predictions concerning the future of people's lives".

This impression of Galal, created by Wafa, as being useful and a good person who is to benefit himself by concluding his research and to benefit his people by the findings of research, is also extended by the description given by Saleh and Zibida, who were with him on board the boat. Both Saleh and Zibida are rural and uneducated people whose opinion of Galal complement Wafa's, the educated and urban woman. Saleh, the old and experienced man, tells his daughter Zibida that Galal:

"is a good natured, sincere and educated person who deserves the best in life".

Zibida accepts her father's opinion of Galal and shows her admiration and care of him. She stands by him, nurses and assures him in captivity to the extent that her fiance feels jealous, causing a rift between them. Zibida also is the one who encourages her father to help Galal to escape from captivity:

"We have to help him, my father, he is in danger and he does not know it. We must help him, he is a good man".

The first glimpse of Galal is shown on the boat when he stands up against injustice. When the kidnappers Kinaway and his assistant try to force Zibida to
stand up and belly dance, Galal defends her. The episode ends with Galal saying "no she will not dance". Such a stand by Galal is considered in many cultures, including the Arabic culture, to be manly and moral, supporting the old and the weak and protecting women and children. These initial dramatic clues are further confirmed throughout the drama by Galal's good nature which contrasts with the bad qualities of Hareedy. We come to know of Hareedy's evil nature from Zibida when she tells her father:

"We have to rescue Galal from Hareedy, he is a dangerous man and full of bad intentions. He kills anyone who stood in his way".

Furthermore, the first appearance of Hareedy takes place at night, in the village, when he meets Wafa and her companion on their arrival to the village, amid the rural darkness and the sound of wild animals and gunfire. A little later we hear him talking to Badria, the mayor's wife, in an evil tone about some secretive plot:

Hareedy: Badria, listen to me carefully, I am afraid in case somebody knows of the secret.

Badria: Don't say that. would this be the first time?

Hareedy: You know that this is my life-time chance that will make me.

Badria: You're only concern is with dust (dust referring to his business of making bricks). You frighten me.

Hareedy: And you and the whole village frighten me; Hamam's family (Galal's family); even El Sisi, the new mayor (Badria's husband).

These brief and perhaps indirect hints about Hareedy's darker nature set the scene
for what is to come, which subsequent episodes reveal and place him as evil, in
marked contrast to Galal and his group, setting the dramatic conflict in motion.
Although the main dramatic contrasting element in the drama is between Galal
and Hareedy, there are also many other minor contrasts between both groups as
well as inside each group. Most of these contrasts, however, are employed to
emphasise the main contrast. For example, both Galal and Hareedy try to put
their ideas and ambitions, good or otherwise into practice via the help of others.
The main difference between the two groups is in the area of intentions and
results or rewards. In Galal's camp, people either stand by him, such as Wafa and
Masoud or are against him, such as Mansour at the beginning out of individual
interests. Wafa is very keen to finish the research and perhaps to marry Galal,
thus she breaks with tradition and travels to the village to carry out her research.
Masoud decides to go with Wafa to look for Galal in the hope of finding the
missing tomb and Mansour, a journalist, would have an important news story
that could bring him fame and fortune. At the same time, pretending to have
come to the village to help his cousin Wafa. Mansour on the other hand stands
against Galal in his search for the tomb because:

"It's my father's last wish to keep the secrets buried with the
covered tomb. The tomb must be left alone at all costs. My
father's wish must be fulfilled".

However, towards the end of the drama and with the help from the educated
Galal, each and every one of them becomes less self centred and no longer only
motivated by self interest. The interests of the whole community become just as
important as self interest. Mansour no longer insists on his objection to the
uncovering the tomb. Masoud abandons his journalistic ambitions and his quest
for fame and fortune, and becomes a teacher in the school they have built
together. Wafa also decides to stay on in the village to educate the women. Galal
in his attempt to motivate people to serve the community says:

"It is not a disgrace for one to think about securing ones future. But the disgrace is to do it at the expense of the whole country".

Galal's love for his country is established from the very beginning of the drama. When Wafa is thinking of what might happen to Galal, the first thing that springs to her mind is an advice Galal used to repeat to her, which he learned from his history teacher when he was at school:

"Love your country, love Egypt; protect its land because every heap of dust is a great monument, every stone has great value; every word written on it holds the key to a great secret".

In marked contrast to Galal and his associates, Hareedy's associates are self-centred. Although they are also exploited by Hareedy, they are involved themselves in shady activities that do not pay in the end. Furthermore, when any of them tries to rebel, he/she suffers from Hareedy's revenge. Badria who helps Hareedy to carry out his plans looses her husband, whom Hareedy is though to have killed. She finally marries Hareedy, but she remains unhappy and angry with him because, as she tells Zibida:

"Don't let Hareedy cheat you as he cheated many others before. He is a revengeful wild fox and cannot be trusted. He betrayed my husband as well as me".

El Sisi becomes a mayor with the help of Hareedy, but in the end the former refuses to continue to be manipulated and be used as a cover for Hareedy's illegal activities. El Sisi makes his feelings towards Hareedy known when he tells his
wife:

"Do you think that I have to remain all my life under Hareedy's mercy".

From this moment onwards the relationship between the two men deteriorates. Although El Sisi is killed in mysterious circumstances, all the evidence indicates that it is the work of Hareedy. It is not only El Sisi who suffers as a result of his refusal to continue to assist Hareedy. Atwa, an ex-prisoner, also suffers and loses Hareedy's financial support and protection and is warned of further revenge, when he refuses to cooperate further. The reason that Atwa is not killed only because he is not a great threat to Hareedy. The main cause of friction between Atwa and Hareedy is the fact that Hareedy wants to marry Atwa's fiance, ZIbida and offers Atwa a plot of land in exchange. Atwa refuses and reveals what he thinks of Hareedy, by telling him:

"I have always been submissive and at your command because I needed your assistance while running from the police. Now I say 'no' because you want to kill me as you killed El Sisi. The only difference is that you killed him with a gun and want to kill me alive. But I will not let this happen".

In revenge, Hareedy thinks of a plot to create a wedge between Atwa and ZIbida by telling Atwa that ZIbida has had an affair with Galal on board the boat. Atwa believes Haridy and tries to kill ZIbida, but he is stopped by Saleh and Galal.

Based on the dramatic clues given above, the structural narrative of the plot can be summarised in the form of binary opposition between Galal and his companions, and Hareedy and his associates as follows:
Good          Evil

Galal          Hareedy
Education      Illiteracy
Hard work      Dishonest work/no work
Farming        House building
Self sufficiency Dependant on the city
Village life   City life
Helping to build Egypt Emigrating to the city or abroad
Standing against oppression Accepting any conditions
Collective action Individual action
Community interests Personal interests
Society - related studies Academic studies
Cooperation    Competition

I ideological Reading of the Drama

As mentioned earlier radio drama resembles a soap opera production, both in its story line and in its direct form of communication. The audience are given clear
cut ideas and advised of the difference between "good" and "evil". This direct format renders the reading of the message easier and hence the identification of its ideological base. In the other more subtle format, such a process is much more complicated and a way for identifying the 'preferred' reading of a text has to be found. Given that the illiterates and the rural people are those who usually listen to radio drama, it is not surprising to find clear and simple messages.

The brief summary of the story of this drama, given at the beginning of this section indicates that the narrative opens in Cairo and then moves into the rural area, a specific village. This technique in a sense is a break with tradition, which has been dominant in Egypt, as in many Third World countries. Most of their drama production is either located in urban areas or the hero often comes from a rural area and moves to live in a big city, where he/she hopes for a better way of life. Such tradition was born within the dominant thinking towards "urbanisation", which was seen as a vital ingredient in the development of the Third World. In fact, the overall statistics shown in the previous chapter, indicate the overwhelming presence of urban settings in drama shown on Egyptian television. However, the reverse order of presence in this drama does not represent a less regard for urban life in the dominant culture of Egypt in general. The city still remains the source of enlightenment and inspiration for those living in rural areas. Galal, the hero in this drama is of rural origin, who has been educated in Cairo and who returns to his village where he motivates people into changing and improving their lives. When Galal meets the villagers who work in the mountains under hazardous conditions, in return for food and accommodation, he is filled with anger, as he tells Atwa:

"How can we just idly stand by this injustice"

In an attempt to win Atwa's approval, Galal goes on to tell him:
"You have to wake up Atwa and know who cares about you and who sucks your blood and eats the fruits of your hard work"

The role of the city, namely the capital, remains very important as it has been within the traditional developmental theory, but it reflects the new changes in the current approach to the development process in the Third World. The cities provide the rural areas with educated people who return to their community and try to lead it towards developing its land. Such a change reflect some aspects of the self-reliant approach to development. The country as a whole should adopt what is urgently needed from the outside world and similarly the rural areas should adopt from the city that which is urgently needed for its improvement. In both situations, people themselves have to take an active role in determining what is needed. Galal, Wafa and Masoud decide to stay on in the village and sacrifice the glamorous life of the city. The drama clearly makes the point that people who leave their community to seek educational achievement should return to benefit their own community. This echoes the complaints that are often made by some Third World countries when they refer to the "brain-drain" problem. Some of the Third World educated elite who go abroad to improve their education often stay there and escape the hardship endured at home. The following exchanges between Galal and Hareedy illustrates this point:

Hareedy: Why did you come back?

Galal: I want to offer these people something.

Hareedy: Offer them what? You have nothing to give, you have escaped to the city and left them, you wanted to enjoy the easy life of the city.
Galal: No, I did not escape. I left to be educated and enlightened so that I could live and teach these people how to live. You are living here in the darkness of ignorance.

This same point is made on many other occasions in the drama. When Galal comes back, after escaping from his kidnappers, he says that he has learned a lot from people which has made him change many of the theories he has adopted in his research. This knowledge leads him to decide to go into the mountains and stay among the people in order to help them. Such a decision shocks Wafa and Masoud who accuse Galal of escaping and abandoning his goals which led them all to come to the village in the first place, namely to continue the research and to discover the tomb, that contains an important prediction concerning the natural disasters which will affect the human race. Galal feels angry at this accusation and tells them:

"I didn't escape or abandon my research. Studies are not carried only through books but also here on the ground among people. Did you forget that one of our goals which we came for, was the millions of people who are threatened with thirst and starvation"

It was mentioned earlier in this section that the title of the drama itself "the promise would be on the moon" signifies the current growing concern in Egypt and in many other similar countries, of the expansion of the desert and the sharp decrease in agricultural output. Egypt has become completely dependant upon food imports, see Chapter Five for more details. This drama highlights some of the factors that have led to such conditions, the most prominent being the misuse of fertile land for private gain. Hareedy is a prime example of the dishonesty of
some people, which has resulted in such poor living conditions for the majority in Egypt. Galal makes this point very clearly:

"If the country is left to people like Hareedy who ruin the fertile land and use it for making bricks and to accumulate personal wealth at the expense of the millions of people who can't stop him"

The decrease in the area of fertile land in Egypt, which represents 4% of the whole country, did not occur only because of the activities of people like Hareedy, who try to manipulate the law with briberies, but also because of "urban expansion". This expansion has come as a result of the fast increase in the population as a whole which has necessitated the construction of more houses at the expense of the fertile land. The drama adds another dimension to the real reasons for urban expansion when Galal says to Wafa:

"You know the reason for this expansion is that people who think like Hareedy about quick profits and who have been working abroad, when they return with money to invest, buy land cheaply from poor farmers to build houses instead"

Wafa agrees with Galal that the real reason for the decrease in the fertile land lies with those who only think of their own quick accumulation of wealth. Moreover, Wafa adds another dimension to the problem of shortage in agricultural output in Egypt:

Wafa: Many farmers here have stopped growing the usual crops like cotton, grain, wheat, even summer and winter vegetables.
Galal: What do they grow instead?

Wafa: They have turned the land into gardens of fruit
and flowers.

Galal: Of course, because these crops can be exported
and generate huge profits in a very easy way.

Wafa: They forget the grain; they forget the bread
which is the life-line for any population.

The point raised in previous extracts in fact triggers a common criticism made by some developmental theorists in the West as well as in the Third World, about some Third World farmers. These farmers are accused of resorting to what is termed as "cash crops" at the expense of essential crops, perpetuating the dependency of their countries on the supply for food from abroad. Although the drama blames the resorting to cash crops on individual farmers, it does not expand on other factors which contribute to such a tendency. Many theorists point out that some governments of the Third World encourage farmers to grow cash crops because they generate hard currency to help pay off foreign debts and import other goods.

However, the drama does explore some of the possible solutions to the problem of facing the threat of starvation which has already struck Central Africa. The main possible solution portrayed by the drama is by hard work. The threat of hunger cannot be fought as Masoud says by mere talk or reading of books, but by action, by work. Again this attitude echoes the views, held by many theorists and politicians in Egypt that if people worked harder the country would solve its economic problems. It also echoes some aspects of the traditional theories of development which perceive people of the Third World as "inert" and lacking in
motivation. Hence Galal decides to cultivate the desert and to set up farms to feed the villagers. Cultivating the desert is also central to the much publicised plan of the Egyptian government, which has embarked on a programme designed to achieve this aim. Galal, however, is not convinced that people are generally "inert", but he believe that they are being exploited by a few selfish individuals such as Hareedy. Galal asks Wafa and Masoud to stay on in the village because:

"We need you, we need every honourable hand to build our lives and the lives of generations to come"

The work that Galal invites people to carry out is hard and honest work. There is no success as Wafa says without hard work. Honourable people, for Galal, "earn their living through sweat, but thieves like Hareedy earn their living very easily".

The other important means of facing the threat of hunger for Galal is through education. This clearly emphasises the important role education is seen to play in the development of the Third World. Many Third World countries, including Egypt, have embarked on various programmes for the eradication of illiteracy. Many of them have also expanded their educational system at all levels and this has led to an increase in the number of educated people. Hence Galal plans to set up a programme for the eradication of illiteracy among the villagers, and to set up farms in the desert. He continually emphasises the importance of education. Galal, Wafa and Masoud first and foremost, earn the respect of the villagers because they are educated.

Clearly, this drama is based on a culture that can best be described as "developmental culture" within the self-reliant approach. It is a culture that perceives the problems of the Third World as being economic in nature and ones which require hard work and education if they are to be solved. The drama
triggers off the myth that agriculture and education are vital for Egypt and that individual corrupting elements should be eliminated from society. There is no doubt that these factors are important in improving the economic conditions of Egypt, particularly in cultivating the desert which represents over 90% of its total land. But the drama does not explore or trigger off the myth concerning other aspects of the Egyptian social milieu ie social, political and cultural structure, which have a great impact on the development process. The drama also fails to refer to outside influences on the conditions within Egypt. Certainly, it can be argued that a single drama production cannot explore all the dimensions of a certain issue. However, the omission of these aspects in this drama leads to the conclusion that it aims to trigger off the myth that is accepted in the official culture, which sees a great deal of the efforts required for developmental progress lies in the hands of the individual. In other words, from an ideological viewpoint the drama perceives the problems of Egypt to be individually created and not stemming from the faults of the system itself. Such a view echoes the views expressed by a number of people, interviewed in the course of this study.
Most, if not all prime time Arabic television serials are broadcast on Channel One on Egyptian television, which, as was mentioned earlier, allows Channel Two to devote more time to broadcasting foreign dramas of various types. Channel One broadcasts some foreign production but not on the same scale. Most Arabic dramas, particularly serials, are produced in Egypt and are often based on literary works of famous Egyptian writers, such as Nagib Mahfouz, the Nobel Peace Prize Winner of 1989.

The survey has shown that social drama, dealing with current social problems, is most popular among a wide section of the Egyptian audience. Thus it was decided to include some of these serials in the sample analyzed in this section. This serial analyzed below, similar to the previous radio serial, can be described as social drama.

Title of the Serial

"A 1 Afial" is the title of the overall serial, a direct translation of which is 'The Elephants'. This short title gives the initial clue to the nature of the drama which compares elephants with human beings. Elephants, just before they die become powerless and sorrowful. It is a sense of highlighting human weakness as well as human folly. The comparison is developed and extended by the introductory prophecy, which is dramatically presented as a"soliloquy" by the main character of the drama as follows:
"My grandfather had a dream. I saw him agonizing because they had not been fulfilled. My father was like a king, a real king, but he did not understand the world and the world did not understand him and I was lost in disagreement between my uncles and the stealing of a will. My mother was accused of having had a love affair and deciding to remarry. I am the end of a history of lost dreams and failures. Sons are the future, Hassan was my future, the extension of my life, but I lost my future and there is no justification for my existence. When elephants feel their end is approaching, they retreat to their graves and await death".

These words are spoken by the grandson Yousef who appears at the beginning of the drama as a child. The serial devotes most of its episodes to the portrayal of his father's life, Mansour, and of part of his grandfather's life, Yousef. Hence these words can be seen not as a prophecy by the younger Yousef, but as a flashback showing the life of his father and grandfather as he saw it and also his relation towards his son Hassan. In other words, these opening remarks summaries the central theme of the drama which depicts a life of failure which is carried on from generation to generation. If the introductory remarks of the previous radio serial indicated in general terms the content of the drama, these remarks here establish the plot of the story in more specific terms. Generally speaking, "The Elephants " and the generations of failures represent the historical experience of Egypt itself. It was shown in previous chapters that the country moved from direct British rule to independence. It moved from a state of close link with the West, to a period of a more self reliant followed once again by closer contact with the West. Each stage was followed with the official hope that it will lead to greater improvement. However this goal was not realised and Egypt was left with a history of unfulfilled "dreams" or hopes.
Date of Broadcasting

This serial was made up of fourteen episodes, each one lasting between 30 to 40 minutes. The first episode was shown 22nd January 1987 and the last on 4th Feb. of the same year. It was a repeat based on a novel written during the late 60's. The serial was shown after the main evening news bulletin at six o'clock on Channel One, which is the beginning of evening viewing. The survey showed that viewing at this time is at its peak, particularly since the working day for a large section of the population ends by about two o'clock in the afternoon. Clearly, transmission on Egyptian television follows a Western schedule whereby the main or prime time viewing period is in the evening, despite the fact that working hours are different and that the number of people at home during the day is likely to be greater than in the West.

Historical and Geographical Setting

The overall content analysis of drama carried out in this study, shows that the majority of drama productions are set in the present time. However, this serial is partly set in the past, particularly since it is a kind of flashback to events which took place in the past. Direct reference is made in the drama to the precise historical period in which the drama takes place. The drama opens during the early 30's, 1933, where specific reference is made to the world economic crisis and to the Second World War. Some battles of the war which were fought on Egyptian soil were referred to in the drama. The historical setting of the drama does not end with the War but extends to the present time and includes the 1952 Revolution and the 1967 War between Israel and Egypt, both events having had a profound impact on the social, economic, political and cultural structures of Egypt.
The drama is set geographically in urban areas, namely Cairo and Alexandria. Rural presence is very rare and is limited to some verbal references. The urban presence in this serial coincides with the findings of the previous section which indicate that the majority of drama on Egyptian television is set in urban surroundings. Urban domination in this serial is highlighted further by the concentration in the drama on the lives of the upper classes. Some of the leading characters are Oxford and Cambridge graduates and occupy distinguished leading positions.

**Summary of the Story**

The story unfolds to reveal the life of an aristocrat, Mansour who has been educated at Oxford University and is in the process of coming to terms with life in Egypt. He maintains some of the "English" ways of life in his appearance, his speech, his treatment of his wife and his son Yousef, and even in the way he spends his leisure time. This leads to his feeling of alienation and he begins to despise the Egyptian way of life; "The country needs Oxford and Cambridge graduates", he concludes.

Relying on his father's wealth, who is a land-owner, he refuses to look for a job to enable him to support his family. However, under pressure from family and friends, and by using his father's influence, he obtains a job as Secretary to the Prime Minister. However, he is not content and believes that he should be destined for greater things: "a job that is short of a Minister in this country is not for me", he tells his wife. He has a love affair with Fatima, who has good contacts with the Palace, in the hope of acquiring a higher status. She helps him to obtain a royal title but also causes him to lose his position because of the scandal caused by the affair. He is persuaded to marry her, after refusing at first, to conform to Islamic teaching, causing friction between himself, his father and
his wife. However, on the night of his second marriage he dies of a heart attack. His first wife, Kawther, is left with a share of Mansour's father's wealth. Kawther in the meantime is implicated in a love scandal and is forced to marry again. Yousef, Mansour's son abandon his studies and finds himself a job. He marries and has a son, Hassan. Yousef's family experiences similar events to those of his parents. Hassan becomes aggressive towards his parents and does not continue with his studies. He joins an extreme Islamic organisation and runs away from home at the age of 18. The relationship between his parents breaks down completely, but with the help of a friend, the story ends with them accepting that their love to each other, would bring their child back, after all a child is the future and the extension of the life of the parents.

Characterisation

It seems that this Arabic television serial is slightly more complex in its ideological message than the radio serial. The difference between the two mediums is due to the obvious technical differences between them as well as the difference of the nature of their audiences. Television has the advantage of being able to add on storylines and multiply the dimensions of the leading characters. While Mansour in this serial is not completely a bad character, Hareedy in the radio serial is a complete villain. In the radio drama the leading character appears to address the audience directly. While Galal in the radio drama gives speeches about the ills of society, the television audience are given hints about similar problems. Galal directly stresses the need to weed out people like Hareedy, but Kawther for example hints at the low standard of Mansour's behaviour. It has to be said that this observation is based on one example that cannot warrant any wider generalization. However, this television serial is like any other drama production which reveals its storylines through its characters, particularly those who dominate the scenes. Thus, part of this structural analysis concentrates on
identifying some of the major aspects of the characteristics of these characters, based on the principle of binary opposition. The complex nature of television drama means that it is not always easy or obvious to see the structure of the drama in terms of good versus evil. Yet, in these types of drama, which has more than one story line, it is easy to detect characters' qualities through narrative clues in terms of approved and disapproved, as opposed to "good" and "bad".

From the brief account of the plot of the story told above, we see that the dominant character is Mansour even though the story is told in the form of a flashback. Mansour is a foil of almost all of the characters in the drama, particularly the males. He foils his friend Latif, his father Yousef, Al Sheik Abd Elsalam, the religious leader, his son Yousef and his grandson Hassan. The drama has less main female characters than males. Only three females can be identified as major characters; Kawther, Mansour's wife, Fatima, Mansour's lover and Zeneb, Yousef's wife. Two of them are housewives and the third starts as a housewife before she studies and takes up a job.

There are some narrative clues that portray Mansour in a negative way. From the very beginning, we perceive Mansour as an unfulfilled and alienated person who "does not understand life and life does not understand him". He, the person educated in Oxford, falls in love with Fatima, who has a bad reputation for using men, despite repeated warnings from his friends and this costs him his ministerial position and ruins his family life. The Prime Minister tells him that he has not been selected to the new cabinet not because the Prime Minister disapprove of Fatima, but rather because of the scandal caused by this.

Mansour lets his father down and refuses to work and benefit his country like his friend Latif. When Mansour's father falls sick, he tells Kawther, Mansour's wife:
"Mansour is the cause. I sent him to England to be educated and to return to this country. I failed to bring him up properly".

Eventually, when he has a job, he is never satisfied with it and strives to get a knighthood instead of his elder brother who is a farmer. It is his fathers' wish that the elder brother should have the knighthood because he represents the whole family. Mansour accepts this on the surface and tries, with the help of his lover Fatima, to have himself knighted because, as he often says, "it is he and not his brother who was educated in Oxford". This attitude reveals his selfish character and one who has little respect for his family, going against Egyptian culture and tradition. Kawther, his wife, supports Mansour initially in his quest for a knighthood and his disregard for his elders on the basis that:

"Now times have changed and no regard is given to age. Everyone is judged by his work and his responsibilities"

Kawther takes this point of view because she feels sorry for Mansour and she hates to see him upset. But his behaviour stands in marked contrast to that of Latif, who respects, consults and seeks his brother's advice, as he says:

"My brother, El Sheikh Abd El Salaam is my elder brother and he is my father. I consult him in everything"

Latif, as shown later, is portrayed in a positive lights. He stands in opposition to Mansour. He is educated in Oxford, but does not commit the same mistakes as Mansour and enjoys the respect of others in the drama.

Another flaw in Mansour's character is that he does not stand by his principles. He boasts that he is educated in Oxford and that he, like the English, does not like
to beat about the bush. He has a straightforward attitude. However, he accepts in
public the fact that his brother should receive the knighthood, but in private he
asks Fatima to use her influence with the Palace to change this. (These events are
supposed to have taken place in the early 30's when Egypt was a monarchy and a
British colony).

Furthermore, Mansour looks down upon the Egyptians because they are not
Oxford or Cambridge graduates and because of the Islamic culture as is
demonstrated in the following scene. He talks to Sheik Al Azhar,(equivalent to
the Archbishop of Canterbury in England) in a dismissive manner, although he
ends up abiding by Islamic Law and having respect for El Sheikh.

El Sheikh: Mansour, my son, you should put an end to this
secret love affair between you and Fatima.
This is Haram (religiously prohibited) and
people are talking about you.

Mansour: I am not used to people following me. What
do you advise me to do?

El Sheikh: Follow Islamic Law and marry her.

Mansour: This is a disgraceful act, a crime in England. I have friends in
Oxford, who were laughing at us because we allow polygamy.

El Sheikh: Is it not better to marry than to have many
lovers, illegitimate children and lead an
immoral life without punishment or responsi-
bility as in England.
In addition, Mansour shows his disrespect for El Sheikh himself and for Al Azhar university (the Islamic University), which the Sheikh represents. Mansour, in the following conversation with Latif, reveals this attitude:

Mansour: El Sheikh does not only consider himself your guardian, but also as guardian of all Egyptians.

Latif: Do not forget that he is the former head of Al Azhar.

Mansour: The country today needs Oxford and Cambridge. It needs graduates from American and European universities.

Although none of the actors is seen praying, the most obvious Islamic conduct, with the exception of Mansour's father, it is clearly indicated that Mansour does not pray. When El Sheikh asks Yousef, Mansour's son, whether he prays or not, the answer is: "My father did not pray". But El Sheikh advises him to be like Latif and to be like his mother, Kawther, who pray regularly because prayer brightens up ones life.

In another scene when Mansour meets El Sheikh in the presence of Latif, he shows that he despises the Fellaheen, the farmers, who represent a very large section of the population in Egypt:

El Sheikh: What is wrong with the Fellaheen Mansour?

Mansour: They are not educated.

El Sheikh: Oh! I see, not educated in Oxford.
Mansour: I cannot continue with this discussion.

El Sheikh: How can you benefit your country without being able to continue a discussion about the Fellaeen. Does the country has any other people apart from them?

This disrespect which Mansour shows towards his people and country does not stop at the uneducated Fellaeen. It also extends to his admiration for the English language at the expense of the Arabic language. He tells El Sheikh that Fatima is a woman who is a source of pride in the diplomatic service, because she speaks foreign languages and English perfectly. Throughout the entire drama, Mansour uses various English words. El Sheikh, shows his annoyance with Mansour's respect for the English language:

El Sheikh: Do you speak Arabic well?

Mansour: Unfortunately not as well as English.

El Sheikh: So you ought to be sorry.

Mansour: Now the power is in the hands of the English, so if you speak English, ......

El Sheikh: Arabic is the language of the Koran which sets out Islamic law which helps to organise your life from birth until death.
Mansour's negative aspects are highlighted by his wife, who begins gradually to see him in a different light, as the 'no-gooder' that he is. She indirectly accuses him of being scum, when she knows of his love affairs:

"Scum is not only those who demonstrate on the streets but also those, who live in houses that look respectable from the outside".

In fact Kawther uses the same phrase "scum", which was used by Mansour to describe the Egyptians who demonstrated for the country's independence. Apart from the political connotation of such a term, Mansour does not understand Kawther's remark, so she explains to him, that he should not visit Fatima's house after dark and become the centre of conversation and gossip among the servants and cooks. Finally, Mansour dies an unfulfilled man and one who did not spend time to bring up his son as his father would have wished. Mansour's death takes place very suddenly and without any preparation, as though the drama is signalling its disapproval of his life. The grandfather, Yousef would have liked his grandson to have been brought up in a proper manner to make up for his failure, i.e regarding his own relationship with Mansour.

Another aspect of Mansour's unfulfillment, lies in the fact that he tries to live an"English" way of life and fails. He later tries to readjust to the Egyptian way of life, but by then it is too late. He is left alienated and unable to satisfy neither himself nor his family. He dies alone, after his wife and child left for Alexandria as a sign of protest for his second marriage which did not in the end materialise. Latif, his friend, wonders whether Mansour has committed suicide but the doctor confirms that his death was caused by a heart attack.

Mansour in effect is not a villain in the normal sense of the word because he does not harm anyone. However, he is a character with major weaknesses which have
led to his downfall. He does not have a conflict with anyone except his brother. He simply fails to realize his own potential and his role in life. He is impressed by the "English" way of life and is unable to accept his roots. He is capable of heeding advice, particularly that given by El Sheikh Abd El Salaam when in trouble.

Having established the dramatic dimensions of Mansour's character which suggests that he is the central character in the drama, even he dies in the ninth episode. However, his son, Yousef occupies the centre stage, in relation to his family, in the last four episodes of the serial. He is a continuation of Mansour but with one notable difference. Yousef is a true Egyptian and accepts the "Egyptian" way of life. We see the structural form of the drama in the following divisions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latif (positive)</th>
<th>Mansour (negative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxford education</td>
<td>Oxford education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feels part of his country</td>
<td>Feels alienated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small use of English vocabulary</td>
<td>English frequently used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has a goal</td>
<td>Lacks goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical</td>
<td>Romantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Unfaithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loves Egypt</td>
<td>Despises Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not suffer</td>
<td>Suffers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

303
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheikh Abd El Salaam</th>
<th>Mansour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Secular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks of others</td>
<td>Thinks only of himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has a purpose</td>
<td>Lacks purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud of his culture</td>
<td>Despises his culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud of his faith</td>
<td>Proud of his family tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praised and respected</td>
<td>Criticised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mansour's son</th>
<th>Mansour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unfinished studies</td>
<td>Highly educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical</td>
<td>Romantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honest with himself</td>
<td>Deceives himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad upbringing</td>
<td>Does not have time to do so up correctly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim of family disagreements</td>
<td>Fails his parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has hope of being fulfilled</td>
<td>Dies unfulfilled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Mansour can be contrasted with female characters in the drama, the contrast between the three main female characters is greater. The most prominent of them who acts as a foil to Mansour is Fatima. She is portrayed in a negative manner. The first we hear of her is through the Prime Minister who warns Latif that she is a manipulator. El Sheikh also does not allow his brother Latif to visit her alone "She is a widower and neighbour. We have to help her, but Latif must not go and see her alone". Even Mansour himself has a low opinion of Fatima, as he tells his wife that she is: "a woman who is in pursuit of her own interests and marries men only for the sake of their wealth".
This negative image given of Fatima is also portrayed by her own actions. She tries to snatch Mansour from his wife and child, without any sense of remorse:

Fatima: I love you, I need you.

Mansour: What about Kawther?

Fatima: What! Divorce her she does not love you.

After Mansour dies she tries to entice Latif but fails. She tells herself:

"You are stupid because you allowed Latif be taken by another women".

She also seeks her revenge on Latif by writing a letter to Mansour's son, in the hope that he would assault Latif, telling him that Latif is having a secret love affair with his mother and that he should put an end to this. The letter succeeds in causing conflict between Latif and Kawther, on the one hand, and Yousef, on the other. However in the end it results in Latif marrying Kawther. Fatima by her own deeds and by the low opinion others have of her, is set in marked contrast to Kawther. The latter is honest and honourable. Fatima's character also contrasts with that of Zeenab, Yousef's wife, who is portrayed in a positive light. Mourad, a friend of Yousef, tells Yousef:

"Please take care of Zeenab, she is a good example of the true love in my life"

Although the audience are not sufficiently acquainted with Mourad to be able to ascertain whether he is a good person or not and whose opinion should be respected, the main aspect portrayed of him is his successful business. If having a
business is anything to go by, then he is a good person since one of the main themes in this drama is the idea that success in any field is the reward of "good" people.

The above illustration of the dramatic clues in this production suggest that the women in the drama are set in juxtaposition with each other as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kawther</th>
<th>Fatima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Dishonest/Manipulator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Unfaithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident</td>
<td>Jealous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Opportunist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remarried</td>
<td>Left widower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accused falsely</td>
<td>Justly accused in her honour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zeenab</th>
<th>Fatima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Unfaithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good reputation</td>
<td>Bad name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has a family</td>
<td>Remains alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leads modest life</td>
<td>Leads an aristocratic life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works hard</td>
<td>No work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falsely accused</td>
<td>Justly accused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ideological Reading of the Drama**

Even if we accept that this Arabic television drama is somewhat more complex in its structure as opposed to the previous radio drama, it does employ the same
methods of conveying its meaning. In other words, the use of signs to convey underlying messages and to anchor these messages in the cultural context in which they are being produced. From the initial opening scene of this serial, the ideological framework of the drama is set. Mansour, the main character of the drama, appears with his family at the dinner table at five o'clock in the evening, as the English do and by wearing a Western suit and tie the drama gives the viewer a clue of what is to come, i.e the contrast between the English way of life, which Mansour acquires from Oxford and the Egyptian way of life. Other elements of English life are indicated by the luxury to which they are accustomed and the discipline which reigns in the family. At five o'clock all the family must sit round the table to have tea. These actions are based on the widely held belief in modern Egyptian culture, that the most obvious characteristic of the English is their punctuality and orderly way of life. The drama does not rely solely on these visual signs to trigger off this cultural perception of the 'English', but is emphasised by Mansour's sharp reaction to his wife, who fails to understand why he makes such a fuss about his son's untied shoelaces:

"You don't understand me woman! Do you know why the English have an empire and why we are a colony? The answer is that the English are disciplined but we are very careless people".

Perhaps it can be argued that Mansour, as the above analysis suggests, is portrayed as a failure more than a success and hence his opinions must be weighed against this image. But it is the first serious opinion expressed by Mansour, before the other side of his character is revealed. Furthermore, this view is one of the very few expressed by Mansour and one which is positively received by his wife, signalled by her total silence. Most of the subsequent views expressed by him are opposed by his wife as well as by those in his company, such as his friend Latif, who has similar educational standards, or by El Sheikh
Abd El Salaam, who represents the Islamic culture. It was mentioned that Mansour is disrespectful towards Islamic culture, the following extracts emphasise this:

Mansour: Latif, are we really going to meet El Sheikh Abd El Salaam?

Latif: What! Are you afraid?

Mansour: No, but is just a waste of time that will be spent on sermons”.

However his attitude towards religion mellows somewhat towards the end of his life. At the same time that he begins to have respect for Islamic teaching, the respect his wife holds for him disappears, particularly when she hears of his illicit relations with Fatima.

Mansour's Western outlook provides the necessary contrast in the drama between Western and Egyptian culture. There are those who take a positive attitude towards some aspects of Mansour's character. The most important aspect which receives the highest regard and approval is the importance given to Western education, not only benefiting the individual but the country as a whole. Mansour's father has sent him to Oxford in order to:

"Be educated and to return to occupy a leading position within Egypt".

But when Mansour does not fulfil this role, he is criticised by his father:
"I was mistaken to send him abroad. My only consolation is my grandson Yousef".

El Sheikh Abd El Salaam also rebukes Mansour's dismissal of his culture and the adoption of English life, as he says:

"Mansour, what you have learned at Oxford is but mere superficial knowledge"

Unlike Mansour, Latif is a more serious character who respects his culture and works hard to benefit both himself and his country. When Fatima tries to seduce him he refuses because:

"I have no time. I am busy and the country is in a state of war between the Germans and the Alliance".

He emphasises his high regard for work by pointing out in a sarcastic way that Mansour is busy doing only four things: watching horse-racing, playing pool, tennis and cards. Furthermore, Latif avoids being involved in a love scandal like Mansour and practices his religion.

The importance given to Western education is based on the idea that in order to improve Third World conditions, there is a need for highly qualified people to replace the departing foreign power. Mansour, who abandon his roots and does not use the knowledge he has acquired to benefit his people does not conform to this ideology. The drama takes place during in the period just before Egypt gains her independence, but was produced at a time when such an idea was central to many development approaches, which have appeared in recent decades.
It is, however, often argued that the colonising power left behind it a ruling elite which was not interested in furthering the development of the country but rather in maintaining its position and its links with the foreign power. In fact the failure of Mansour was the result of his weakness as well as his attempt to gain a leading position, irrespective of other considerations. El Sheikh tells him:

"Mansour, you have to admit that you are a weak person who was sent by his father to be educated in England and return to rule like the English, but you are an ordinary Egyptian who has pretended to be different"

Mansour wishes to become one of the ruling elite, but one of his friends warns him saying:

"The government is not for us! It is not our game, but the game of those who act like peacocks, look big but are empty inside. They pretend to understand politics. They are not going to develop the country, but rather destroy it".

The drama contains many political references which include the 1952 revolution, which led to the removal of the ruling elite class. The change that took place in 1952 led to the country being ruled directly by Egyptians for the first time for centuries. The new regime tried to reduce all foreign influence, namely political influence. After some initial success that ended, as the drama refers, with the defeat in 1976, which came mainly as a result of "self deception" and the over estimation of the real potential on the part of the regime. Yousef, Mansour's son who becomes a writer, makes this point:

"We can never win wars with a few songs and serials".
This political situation, on one level, is in effect a mirror of Mansour's failure since he is incapable of understanding himself and his real potential. This is also a direct reference to the role played by the Egyptian media, at that time, when they exaggerated and presented a false picture of the real strength of Egypt in the face of foreign attack. The drama seems to be making the point that going from one opposite to another ie from total foreign control to the exclusion of all foreign influence, particularly cultural influence, leads inevitably to failure. When Mansour admits his failure and recognises the importance of El Sheikh in solving his problems, he forgets his boasting about Oxford and Cambridge. He recognizes Islamic education to the astonishment of his friend Merza:

Mansour: I have learnt one lesson from all my problems.

Merza: That every problem has an answer.

Mansour: No! That El Sheikh is the one who helps me to make the right decisions. These religious people are very good indeed.

Merza: So Al Azhar beats Oxford and Cambridge.

Mansour: Yes, and it beats El Sorboon also.

Merza: Don't take it to extremes. We need both types of education.

This idea in fact, echoes what is considered to be a bone of contention in many debates among leading Egyptian and Arabic writers and thinkers. There are those who call for a total rejection of the past, ie of Islamic culture and those who call
for a happy medium between tradition and new scientific discovery. The third
group, the fundamentalists, call for the rejection of all foreign influence and total
reliance on Islamic teaching. If one considers the Egyptian social milieu as it
presently stands, one should reach the conclusion that the second view would be
the more dominant.

Indeed, the drama portrays the recent rise of Islamic groups in Egypt. Hassan,
Yousef's son, joins one such group and conforms to the rules and regulations of
the group. He becomes what can be referred to as a fundamentalist. He dresses
in Islamic way, long dress, grows a beard and seeks to change society by force if
necessary. He even goes as far as to physically attack his parents. This extreme
attitude is explained in the drama in terms of a psychological disorder within the
individual. Hassan is therefore taken by his father to see a psychiatrist to find the
answer to his behaviour. The influence of parents and the way they bring up
their children is also given as another reason for the violent and extreme
behaviour of children. Mansour himself, as we have already seen, is a failure
partly because he is under constant pressure to fulfil his parents' dreams. The
concentration on psychological and family conditions, as a main cause or
explanation for religious extremism, neglects an important element, namely the
question of social structure. By doing so, the blame is put on the individual,
while the system which governs the individual is ignored.
C. FOREIGN TELEVISION SERIAL

Drama content analysis has shown that most foreign television drama shown on Egyptian television takes the series rather than the serial format. Most of the series are of the detective type which concentrates on crime. There are some foreign serials that are shown on Egyptian television regularly. The serial under analysis is one that resembles "Dallas" in terms of characters, issues and methods of structure except for the activities of the central characters. In Dallas the most prominent activities are those relating to business issues, whereas in this serial, the main activity revolves around military aspects, where business occupies second place. The other difference is that this serial has a definite ending, while Dallas seems to continue indefinitely. It should be noted that Dallas used to be shown on Egyptian television, but it is not included in this study since it was stopped in 1985 for political reasons.

Title of the Serial

The serial is called "Emerald Point" - the name of a military site in the United States which accommodates part of the navy. The military aspects of the drama are not only created by the title itself, but also by the music and the shots that accompany the title during the introduction of each episode of the serial; people in military uniform, military jets flying overhead and the sound of pilots using coded messages, set the scene for the drama as a whole.

In fact the military presence is set in the first episode with an opening conversation between a pilot and his commander, which is interrupted by the appearance of an unidentified aircraft on the radar screen. The commander orders the pilot to follow but not to shoot saying: "Remember, we don't shoot first". The two aircraft approach each other and finally collide. Both pilots escape death
- one a US pilot, the other a Cuban pilot. This reference to Cuba provides the drama with an international as well as political framework. It signifies the continuous tension that has characterised the relationship between the East and the West in general, during the Cold War period. It also invokes the memory of the Cuban Missile Crises of the sixties.

**Date of Broadcasting**

The serial was broadcast on Channel Two on Egyptian television after eight o'clock every evening. It was shown at a time when there was no other type of drama on the other channel, which should have enabled foreign drama audiences to follow regularly subsequent events of the serial. The serial consisted of 23 episodes. The first was shown on 15 January 1987. Each episode was shown daily and lasted for almost 45 minutes, which is very long when compared to Arabic episodes usually lasting for just over half an hour's duration.

**The Geographical and Historical Settings of the Serial**

It is common knowledge from this study as well as from previous research, that the geographical settings of most, if not all American drama are located in urban areas. Obviously, the nature of the setting plays an important role in determining the nature of the drama itself. A drama that is set in an urban area is unlikely to deal with issues which are related to life in the rural underdeveloped areas. It is true that drama is not always meant to be a reflection of real life but is only anchored in real events and places. However, a drama that is set in an urban location such as "Emerald Point" glamorises urban life. The audience perception of urban life is influenced by what they see on the television screen, particularly if they have not experience this type of lifestyle.
The geographical setting of a drama also determines the type of characters that appear and the activities in which they are involved. A Stockbroker working in the City would not be prominent in a drama which is set in a rural area where landowners stand at the top of the social ladder. Even if the drama was set in a slum area of a city, a shot or two would be taken of areas which were not so poor. "Emerald Point", although shot on location on a military site, it portrays aspects of urban life in general. The main characters are either involved in military activities, like Tom and Jack or in business, such as Harland and his family. This dichotomy within the world of drama leads inevitably to the portrayal of two ways of life. One is that of the navy, professional, honest and modest. The admiral lives in a middle class part of the city. The other concerns the life of a businessman: his dishonesty and luxurious lifestyle. Harland who owns a large business empire lives in a palace-like setting. It is this theme of contrasting opposites which runs through the drama.

The historical setting of "Emerald Point" is set in the 70's. Historically, this period is significant because it is a period of relative calm during the Cold War - the signing of the Arms Limitation Treaty and a period in which the United States president visited the Eastern Block for the first time. In the drama there is a parallel meeting, which takes place between the Admiral and a Russian commander which aims to reduce tension between the two countries. The discussions conducted over a chess game which refers to Nixon's trip to China. This period is also significant because it comes after the American defeat in Vietnam. There is a direct reference in the drama to this war. One of the drama's sub-plots involves the attempt made to rescue several American soldiers who were captured in Vietnam.

315
Summary of the Story

This serial is by far the longest drama recorded in the sample and one which has a long and varied story-line involving a great number of characters. But following the same method of analysis applied earlier to Arabic drama earlier, the summary of this story concentrates on events which involve the main characters in the drama. The story is about a commander in the navy, Tom, who lives with his three daughters: Selia, Kay and Liz, all of whom Tom has brought up on his own following the death of his wife. Tom represents the navy in terms of his strict leadership, honesty and straightforward manner. Although Tom is successful in his profession he is not so successful in family matters. All his daughters are involved in unhappy relationships, especially his eldest daughter, Selia, who constantly criticises her father for applying his military rules to human emotions and for neglecting her mother. Selia in the opening episode tells him that he wishes that he had a son to carry his name, implying that Tom who represent strength and force, does not love his daughter, which he strongly denies.

Selia's marriage broke up because she was married to Jack, an officer in the Navy, who puts his career before his family duties. She is depressed and loses her baby and finally leaves her husband and has a relationship with another man. Kay is also involved with a Naval Officer, Glin, who has been dismissed from the navy because of his involvement in a murder case where he is unjustly convicted. When Glin leaves the navy, he joins Harland's business empire, where he is changed and tempted by quick financial gains. This change in character provides a dramatic contrasts between the two Officers and also brings misfortune to Kay's relationship with Glin.

Liz, the third daughter, falls in love with a Russian Officer who cannot defect and ends up being shot by the KGB. Tom falls in love with Magi, a minor character
in the drama, who is a councillor. He plans to marry her but on the night of the wedding she is found murdered by another admirer.

In contrast to Tom's military as well as unsuccessful family life, the drama portrays Harland's successful industrial empire and the conflict which arises between these two men when Harland attempts to buy a piece of land, which is needed by the navy to build a new air strip.

Harland is further brought into contact with the navy through his son Simon who is an officer under the leadership of Tom. Hilary, Harland's daughter takes after her father and is involved in a relationship with Glin and plans to marry him but does not succeed. Harland is portrayed as a dishonest character through his participation in shady deals, the illicit relationships he is involved in, the blackmailing he is subjected to and the bribes he offers to buy people. Hilary shares her father's dishonesty and like him she is neither married nor truly in love, but is involved in illicit relationships and is subjected to blackmails. We never see or even hear about Harland's wife, but only about his illicit lovers. It seems that Simon is the only one who stands out in his family as well as in comparison to other officers and one who ends up marrying Selia in a loving and lasting relationship.

The story does not have a conventional ending, where there is a clear loser and a winner. However, the viewer is provided with more information about the positively portrayed characters, like Tom and Jack, than about the more negatively presented characters. Perhaps the drama tries to epitomise life which is seen as a jumble of events that neither has a winner or a loser. The conflict between Harland and the navy remains unresolved. The drama concentrates on human relationships among certain groups in American society.
Characterisation

Although this drama does not clearly distinguish between characters in terms of the conventional dichotomy; "good" versus "evil, which was found in Arabic drama previously analyzed. This drama provides some narrative clues to indicate the positive and negative nature of a character. For instance we are not shown directly the level of Harland's success, but know of it by what other characters tell us. We are told that he is a powerful and wealthy man, who gets what he wants. Furthermore, Harland is never seen conducting a straightforward deal or any other sort of business openly. He is first seen trying to bribe Tom into giving way to his empire, as he tells his son Simon that:

"It is not a bribe. It is a business deal that is carried out in boards meetings and everywhere where things get done".

He even tries unsuccessfully to bribe a Council Official which prompt Glin to tell him:

"Harland not all people can be bought".

Next, he tries to bribe Selia into providing him with information about the navy's plans through her husband, but she refuses saying:

"You don't expect me to betray my husband and my father, do you".

He tries to buy Jack in a similar way and even his son Simon, who refuses to work for him and leaves the more honest profession in the navy. Harland is not only involved in dishonest business deals. He is also involved in murder and blackmail. A shady and unknown figure, whom we see once and for a brief
moment representing the under world, tells Harland:

"If you don't pay 25 thousand dollars by tomorrow, I will go to the police. You're involved in the murder of Jeremy Novake"

Even Glin, who becomes part of Harland's empire, threatens to do the same, but is persuaded by Harland to do otherwise, as he tells Glin:

"You should drop short term gains in favour of long term profit and while you are working with me, the sky is the limit".

Harland's continuous manipulation of Glin, led Kay to compare Harland to a snake who would do everything in his power to get his own way. She repeatedly pleads to Glin to leave Harland.

Tom, on the other hand, is depicted in a positive light and in total contrast to Harland. Despite the fact that Tom does not achieve all his goals, i.e. his second marriage never materialises and his daughters are not content as he would wish them to be, he is seen as a person who is always in command of a situation. He has been praised for improving "Emerald Point" and for promoting good rapport among his navy officers. He reprimands his officers in a strong military fashion, after an incident when Glin is involved in a street fight. Tom wants the navy to live up to its responsibilities because:

"The country needs the navy and navy officers should set a good example for other men"

Tom is respected by his fellow officers. One of them is Simon, who thinks highly of Tom as is shown when he warns his father to stay away from Tom.
because: "Tom is an honourable man". In fact Tom lives up to this reputation and does not protect Glin, despite his daughter's many bids to save him. He refuses adamantly saying:

"I can't do more than bring him before a military jury, I've got my duty Kay, that comes first"

Tom is forever conscious of his reputation even to the point of sacrificing his own family. While Harland commits murder to protect the reputation of his daughter, Tom tells his younger daughter to stay away from the Russian officer, because of the damaging effect it would have on him as a naval commander and the effect it might have on the country as a whole. Tom is trusted by the Pentagon and is chosen to represent his country when discussions take place with the Russian envoy. When Jack tells Tom that he suspects that Tom's sister-in-law Diana is involved in spying activities and requires him to act he says:

"Irrespective of who she is, you cannot prosecute her on the basis of suspicion alone. We have to find more concrete evidence and then if it is true she must stand trial for treason".

The only shortcoming in Tom's character which is shown partially through the eyes of his daughter, is his lack of understanding of human emotions and the fact that his family takes second place in order of importance in his life. He defends Jack against Selia's criticism for giving his life to the navy by saying that:

"You have to understand the pressure which Jack is under. His job demands from him his undeniable attention".
Kay, his second daughter becomes frustrated when he refuses to interfere to save Glin, whom she loves and believes is innocent, and tells him that he is more interested in the navy than in humanity. Liz is frustrated when her father warns her against her relationship with the Russian officer, accusing him of not understanding matters of the heart.

Tom and Harland are not the only two characters in the drama who stand in juxtaposition. Jack is proud to be in the navy stands in contrast with Glin who is forced to leave the navy. Jack is more like Tom who is proud of his position in the navy, because the system in the navy, as he says, "is clean, is effective and it is working". He is loyal to the navy as seen when Harland tries to lure him to work for his industry. He replies that he would rather serve his country. However, despite his honesty and straightforwardness, he fails to save his marriage because he puts the Navy before his wife.

Glin on the other hand, is an ambitious young man and one who has more in common with Harland than with Tom. In fact Harland tells Glin that he was just the same when he was his age. Apart from Glin's weakness in the face of financial temptation, he is an honest man who accepts to work for Harland. However, his marriage suffers as a result of this. Glin also lacks self-discipline and as a result he is forced to leave the Navy due to a brawl which he has in the street. Despite the fact that he makes financial gains through working with Harland, he remains financially insecure because of his gambling and drinking habits.

The last major male character who stands in contrast with almost all characters in the drama, is Simon. He stands in contrast with Hilary because he is Harland's son but unlike her, has little in common with his father. He refuses to join his father's empire because he likes to work for the Navy. He shows his high skill
and interest in his profession the frequent technical discussions he has with his commander. He refuses to get involved in illicit relationships with Selia while she is still married to Jack. He refuses his father's repeated requests for information about future Navy plans. Simon is one of the few characters in the drama who does not go through crisis, whether in the family or at work, and he is the only one who has a successful marriage. He seems to be able to strike a happy medium between his family and the demands of his work. He criticises Jack for not looking after Silia, which leads to the breakup of the marriage between Jack and Silia. Hilary on the other hand takes after her father. She leads a very extravagant lifestyle from the proceeds of her father's business, which they run jointly. Hilary is the only major female character who has many love affairs. She is like her father subjected to blackmail and is intent on getting her own way come what may. Jack describes her as being a 'temptress who plays with men', Glen her fiance loses his job in the Navy due to his fight with one of her lovers.

She continues to deny that she knows the man until it is revealed in court and this results in Glin's conviction for murder. As a result, Glin decides to leave her and to marry Kay. Hilary becomes jealous and takes every opportunity to create friction between them. Together with her father she plans to keep Glin working for them, so as to be able to win him back. Kay is clearly taken aback by Hilary's behaviour. Liz reassures her and advises her to ignore Hilary because Glin loves Kay and not Hilary. Despite everything, Hilary fails to win back Glin and the serial ends with Glins' promises of faithfulness to Kay.

Apart from Hilary's negative character, the other two female characters of importance are Kay and Silia. Hilary, as mentioned earlier, stands in marked contrast to both of them. However, there are some contrasting element between Kay and Silia, but these elements do not hinge on the same lines that divides them both from Hilary. They mainly contrast in the way they handle their marriage
and the way their marriages develop. While Kay’s marriage succeeds, Silia’s ends in divorce.

These various contrasting aspects between the characters in the drama may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tom (positive)</th>
<th>Harland (negative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Dishonest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works in the open</td>
<td>Works in secrecy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplined</td>
<td>Follows his interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>Selfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leads a Modest life</td>
<td>Leads a Life of luxury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Has several affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simon</th>
<th>Hilary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Dishonest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplined</td>
<td>Spoiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagrees with father</td>
<td>Works together with father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>Unsuccessful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respected</td>
<td>Subject to blackmail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Has many love affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kay</th>
<th>Hilary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innocent</td>
<td>Cunning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Dishonest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leads normal life</td>
<td>Confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithful</td>
<td>Has several affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>Unsuccessful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear from the analysis so far that there are three major areas of concern in this drama: the US Armed Forces, business activities and family relationships. The first two areas are the most prominent in the drama. Although the serial is a type of drama that has many plots, it is clear that the conflict between the Navy and Harland's empire is one of the major plots in this drama. Harland hints at this when he tells Silia that he recognises that Jack, her husband, is a good attorney and all that Harland wants is that:

"Jack to work for Harland instead of Uncle Sam"

A reference to this conflict is made in an earlier episode when Harland invites Jack to his house and asks him to work for Harland's empire and Jack replies saying:

"oh because of your fight with the Ministry of Defence, over the piece of land, you want to sub-divide. No thanks"

The serial, as referred to previously, opens within a military context, portrayed by the jet fighters and the men in uniform. This serves to emphasise that the navy is
the central concern of the drama. The subsequent scenes and episodes confirm this centrality in the world of the drama. Almost every character has had some form of contact with the Navy. This also signifies the importance of the armed forces in a Western society even at times of peace and stability. The emphasis as portrayed in the opening scene with the mid air collision focuses attention on the role of deterrents and whether this justifies public spending on armaments.

This debate has been developing throughout the Cold war period up to the present debate concerning nuclear arms race. It has been argued that such weapons are very dangerous and are expensive, but they have been a main factor in maintaining peace and stability in many parts of the world for many years. The logic behind this argument is that, if the enemy knows that you are strong, then he would think twice before attacking. This point is made in a direct manner in the drama by Tom, the commander of the Navy. When Simon asks him "why don't we shoot at the foreign fliers Sir", he replies:

"We want the other side to know that it is going to cost them dearly if they mess around with us".

And again later on he elaborates on this point by saying:

"We are training a special breed of men for the work that you do, tigers and if they show their claws once in a while, even in doors. We come to accept that".

These remarks made by the Chief Officer allows the "official" views of the Navy to be expressed in a very clear and prominent manner. This prominence is not only achieved by the status of the person who expresses these views, but also by the sheer absence of any opposing views. The only exception is when a junior
officer criticises these "official" policies, because they jeopardise the life of his soldiers. Even if such criticism is seen as a means of expressing opposing views, it is only limited to the organisational nature of the Navy which places restrictions on its professionals. In the literal sense, they are opposing views, but they heighten the opposition between organisation and professionalism, as will be shown later, and not between the "official" and other opposing views. This makes the serial typical of a "closed" type of drama, which, for example, portrays the official views of terrorism, while the views of the terrorists are not expressed (Televising Terrorism, 1983).

The other military signs used in the drama, such as jets taking off and pilots speaking through radios, signify the great technical and professional skill of the Navy which enables them to carry out their job efficiently. This also justifies the amount of money spent on training these officers, as Tom tells his staff that "people of this country pay 300 thousand dollars or more in the preparation and training of each officer ". In other words, these special people are prepared to do a special task. In order to show that these men "are a special breed of men", all people in the drama who are part of the Navy, show a strict and well disciplined manner. None of them is involved in any act that could bring the profession into disrepute, except for Glin who is involved in a street fight. However, he receives his punishment because "he has disgraced the uniform" by acting like a civilian. These special breed of men are not allowed to act like civilians which might affect their alertness because, as Tom puts it:

"We are ready for combat..Our country needs us all the time and we have to be ready".

They are not expected to enjoy themselves and to relax, except in a very controlled and restricted manner. Tom tells Simon during a graduation party:
"Let's go and join the party and relax a little and hope that the Soviets are doing the same".

In addition to the readiness of the Navy implied by these remarks, such remarks also remind the viewer of the continually repeated myth in the West, that the Soviets are the real invisible enemy, that is preparing to attack the West at any time. Such an idea has been proved false with the recent changes in East-West relations and the open willingness of the Soviet Union to build good relations with the United States. The drama portrays the Soviets as attackers, as reflected by the fact that the Cuban fighters invade the United States' air space. The Cuban pilot, we are told, is "a Soviet trained fighter and he is trained not to miss". I.e. they invade not on a spying mission but with the aim of attack. They are aggressors and the United States forces are mainly defence forces. The special nature of the Navy is further heightened by the ritual movement of the officers and by its hierarchical structure, signified by the continuous following of orders and the use of the term "yes, Sir" to suggest total submission even between relatives and friends. Tom in a friendly chat with Jack, an attorney in the navy and married to Tom's daughter, underlines the importance of rank and the formal relationship between officers:

Tom: How long have you been married to my daughter, Jack?
Jack: Over three years Sir.
Tom: Isn't it about time you stopped calling me Sir.
Jack: Shall I call you dad?
Tom: No, just call me Tom.
Jack: Yes Sir, Oh, yes Tom.
Simon, after surviving the air-collision asks his commander to be allowed to contact his father, but is told to continue with duties and to leave the matter for later. He replies: "Yes, Sir". This incident portrays Navy officers as ordinary men who have emotions and feelings. It also signifies the great sacrifices that these men have to make when carry out their duties. This humanisation of officers might seem contrary to what was referred to earlier as a weakness in Tom, his failure to understand human emotions and feelings, but this is part of the nature of military life, where people have to spend a great deal of time in combat and interact under a hierarchical system. However, the drama tries to emphasise the human aspects of the Navy, even though all its people appear in uniform, by reflecting a great deal of these people in their interaction with their families and their loved ones. It also reflects the pressure that they are under and the sacrifices they have to make for the defence of the country.

One of the main sources of this pressure is the restrictive nature of the armed services generally and the rigid adherence to the rules which are usually laid down by the legislative authority of the country, i.e. the Congress in the case of the United States Navy. The drama employs one of the most common techniques of showing the pressure that Navy professionals have to operate under. This technique is based on the opposition between, as mentioned earlier, professionals who want to do their job in the most satisfactory way and the organisational nature of the body they are working for and are part of, namely the Navy. This dichotomy aims also at highlighting the level of skill and professionalism of these men. The following exchanges between Tom and his officer Simon, is similar to the opposition employed in some British "fictional" and "factual" productions, which portrays the role played by the S.A.S. in fighting terrorism in Northern Ireland (Televising Terrorism, 1983 and Cultural Reading of News at ten, 1972). Obviously the United States Navy is not expected to fight terrorism, but it is engaged in confronting foreign forces, which do not operate under the same rules.
Tom:  Simon, all we want is for the other side to
know that it is going to cost them dearly if
they mess around with us.

Simon: That's damn right for a bunch of Congressmen
sitting on the ground.

Tom: Those are the present rules of engagement and
until Washington says otherwise, that is the
policy we have to adhere to.

Simon: Sir, those fliers coming in, they are trained
by the Soviets and are not trained to miss.
My group might not get a second chance.

Tom: And if we make a mistake, if we light the fuse,
the world might not get a second chance.

Simon: It is just getting a little chancy for my
liking, Sir.

Tom: I know Simon, I know. Well now you know what
admirals dream about at night.

The admiral's last words clearly show that he sympathises with the young
officers. This encounter between the officer and his superior, which takes place
in the first episode, is given here in full because it illustrates, not only the
professional restrictions of the Navy, but also the portrayal of the Soviets, who
seem to give no consideration for anything and are aggressors in contrast to the United States Navy. The latter has to think, not only of protecting the United States, but also in maintaining the peace of the whole world, by taking no chances. Hence rules of engagement come from outside the Navy, to ensure that the United States forces are there to do a specific job under specific conditions.

Undoubtedly, the Navy is portrayed in a positive light in terms of its role and its men who love their job because it gives them an opportunity to serve their country, as Jack says: "Working for the Navy is an honour as well as a job", which provides an incorrupt environment. As mentioned earlier, the serial portrays Navy personnel of all ranks as being "honest" and "honourable" people on whom the country can rely. Jack who can easily get a good civilian job, refuses to because, as he puts it: "the Navy is one of the few places where corruption is no way of life". It is clear that the drama draws on the widely held view that the armed services is cut above the rest of professions, where little or no corruption takes place and where there is a different code of life and a harsh code of justice. Hence in the West there is a clear separation between the armed services and other ruling bodies. The military, particularly in some Third World countries where there is no political democracy, often represents the only incorrupt body that interferes in politics, when the situation in these countries deteriorates and to bring about a new leadership, as occurred recently for example in the Sudan. However, this is one of the very few examples because in reality, the military leaders often end up in power and take part in the political process which leads to their corruption and their eventual removal by the same body, the military.

To highlight these special qualities of military life, they are contrasted with the most controversial side of life, where there are no rules or a strict code of conduct, except the urge to be richer, the world of business. This is controversial
because it is the most celebrated side of capitalism and yet it is seen as its ugliest side. Harland, as mentioned before, pairs off with Tom to reveal all the corruption which takes place within business circles. It is not a coincidence that Harland is portrayed as a selfish and ruthless man. He would eliminate all those who stood in his way. He succeeds in bribing everyone in the drama except for three officers, Tom, Jack and his son Simon. His corrupt nature is made ever more apparent by his many love affairs and by his daughter who takes after him in many ways. Furthermore, Glin who joins the Navy for sometime, is only portrayed in a negative light once he succumbs to Harland's financial temptations.
D. Foreign Television Series

It was mentioned previously that the series is the most prominent format of foreign drama production shown on Egyptian television. The series, however, are not often shown on a regular basis. The most obvious advantage of studying series, whether shown on a regular basis or not, is that they are made up of independent and complete units. Each episode presents a complete dramatic picture, from the initiation of the plot to its resolution. It is more similar to a film than to a serial with the exception of two main differences. Unlike films, series are often short and usually revolve around a single action and a single central character. This characteristic makes it easy to have a complete and comprehensive understanding of the story. While an analysis of a single episode can be very effective, it does not by itself reflect the nature of the whole series. This should be borne in mind when reading the findings of this analysis. The episode chosen here reflects these particular qualities and provides a good example of the most popular foreign drama in Egypt.

Title of the Series:

Miami Vice. Although the title is short it is very revealing, indicating the "detective" nature of the drama, i.e. the fight against the forces of "evil" in society. More specifically it indicates the source as well as the location of the production.

Date of Broadcast:

This episode was shown at 10 o'clock on 8th January 1987 on Channel 2 and lasted for approximately 50 minutes. Although this was not peak-time viewing, it is part of the prime-time television programmes in Egypt.
Geographical and Historical Setting:

It is evident from the title that the drama is set in the state of Miami. The drama emphasises this fact very directly by showing us for example, in the early scenes of the drama, Miami Airport. Historically, the events in the drama take place at the present time. Towards the end of the story, reference is made to guerrilla activities taking place in Central America, a direct reminder of recent political events, i.e. the Contra affair which took place in the United States a few years ago. Although there is no direct indication of the time of production of this drama, this reference locates it in the 80's particularly during the period, which witnessed an upsurge in political and guerrilla activities in that part of the world.

Summary of The Story:

The story is mainly about an undercover police operation trying to track down an unidentified international arms dealer, who is also involved in illegal local activities. The dealer is wanted by the Miami Vice squad and by the Federal Police. The story unfolds a plot to trap some of the men who work for the dealer. The police succeed in identifying the dealer himself through these men. The dealer lives in an isolated, big house which is heavily protected by sophisticated security alarms. The police decide to put him under close surveillance. This enables the police to catch the dealer red-handed, while finalising an arms deal, when an undercover policeman poses as an African buyer. Although the story develops in the usual and conventional detective drama style, the end is somewhat less common. While the Miami Vice squad succeed in capturing the dealer alive, which is their stated objective, the Federal Police request his immediate release since it turns out that he is known to the Federal authorities through his past services. He apparently used to help the States in arming rebels in Central America, providing a cover for the American government. However, the dealer is
shot dead by his wife before he has time to enjoy his freedom. She is full of hatred towards him for treating her so badly during their marriage and her inability to escape from the crisis. She is inhibited by the fear generated from his evil and criminal activities. She takes this action when Miami police is forced to release him.

**Characterisation**

Clearly this series, like most "detective" drama, hinges on the conflict between the forces of law and order, the Miami police squad represented by two plain clothes detectives who can be compared to "Starsky and Hutch", but are called Tubs and Stan, and the arms dealer and his men. From the very beginning, the drama emphasises this clear distinction between the two sides. The drama employs some dramatic devices to highlight the differences between those two sides. Each side is located at the opposite end of the moral scale, where the forces of law and order are on the positive end. Hence the drama opens with undercover detectives taking up their position before moving in to catch their criminal.

The audience is not shown this criminal directly, but is given a description of his character through the eyes of the policemen, who are simply keeping the streets clean from illegal activity. The audience is given their first glimpse of the arms dealer through the police spying camera, which shows him as a mysterious shadowy figure behind a dark pair of glasses. Later on he is shown in a second scene together with his wife. The scene opens with the couple dressed to go to a party. Suddenly the dealer screams at his wife for not dressing properly and the scene ends with him pushing his wife into an in-door swimming pool. This scene which lasts for no more than a few seconds, is the first of three scenes where the dealer is seen with his wife, during the whole drama. The second scene is also
short and shows the dealer hitting his wife. In the third and last scene she shoots him.

In order that these scenes are located in a somewhat "evil" context, other characters in the drama provide a description of the criminal and evil nature of the dealer. One of the policemen, watching the violent treatment of the dealer towards his wife, remarks:

"This guy is a real scum".

Another officer looking at an arms catalogue found in the dealers' house says:

"This man is very dangerous, he is real swindler".
"Let's nail that pig".

The wife Rita also, in a very moving scene, reveals her views of the dealer to one of her friends. In a sobbing voice, over the telephone, she exclaims:

"I can't take this any more, he never stops; I'm so scared of him".

In a subsequent scene she tells one of the detectives that her husband is very dangerous and she cannot escape from him:

"I tried to get a divorce. I hired a lawyer but he tried to buy the lawyer off and when he failed he hired two men to kill the lawyer's wife and threatened to kill his daughter if the lawyer did not mind his own business".
The wife shows her guilt, horror and sorrow at what has happened to the lawyer's wife, she blames herself for her death and stops the divorce proceedings. The dealer on the other hand, shows little interest in the matter, as he explains cruelly to his wife:

"Are you still angry about this little wife of the lawyer? I did it because I love you".

When the wife refuses to accept this cruel type of logic, he beats her up. This further shows that he has his own brand of logic and that he forces himself on people without any feelings of remorse. Those around him have to accept his demands or face the consequences.

The negative and dehumanising aspects of the dealer, are contrasted with the more positive aspects of the police force. The drama employs various devices to further and enhance this positive image of the police. The police are not in uniform therefore no distinction may be made between them and ordinary citizens. The drama also highlights the police's concern for the safety of the public. In the opening scenes of the drama, the detectives have to wait for a group of women to finish, who are out exercising in the park, before they move in to catch the criminals. When they move in and the shooting ends, the camera zooms in on a detective covering a woman with his body to protect her from the shooting. there are no casualties during all this activity, even the criminals escape unharmed, to the delight of the detectives.

This concern for human life, shown by the detective, is directly emphasised by the decision of the police squad to move quickly to prevent the wife from killing her husband, as one of the detectives argues fiercely for a rapid intervention saying:
"We must prevent the dealer from being killed. We don't want anyone killed, not even that scum".

The positive aspect of the police is further emphasised by the inability of one of the detectives to conceal his anger at seeing the dealer's wife mistreated by her husband and being unable to help her. The nature of the police operation requires the detectives to remain in their position and to wait. But he feels unable to continue to look through the camera, saying to his colleague:

"I didn't become a cop to spectate".

There are many other examples in the drama which can be interpreted as a portrayal of the human qualities of the police force. However, the comparison and contrast between the police force on the one hand and the dealer on the other, does not stop at the moral aspects of both opposing forces. The contrast extends to include the level of efficiency and skill between the two sides. Just as the navy is portrayed in a positive light in terms of its high professional standards in the last drama analyzed in this chapter, so the police force is portrayed in a similar way in this drama. Although the dealer is very skilful and strong, he does not win over the detectives. The following exchanges between the dealer's wife and the detectives demonstrates this point:

Wife: You don't know him.
Detective: Yes, we know him.
Wife: No, he is smart, very smart.
Detective: Yes, we know he is smart and tough, but he is not smart enough for all of us; we can put him away.
The drama highlights the professional skill of the police, from the very sophisticated cameras they use to their well thought out and executed plans. Their entry into the dealer's well protected home is carried out with great precision. They have to enter and neutralise the alarm system within 30 seconds, not knowing where it is kept. The figure 30 seconds flashes dramatically on the screen accompanied by tense drum music, to emphasise the extreme pressure they are under. They succeed in carrying out the operation. The police also succeed in swapping the would be arms buyer for an undercover policeman.

In contrast, the dealer is not only caught red handed, but also he fumbles his operation when he is put under pressure. He realises he is under surveillance and this leads him to panic and make hasty moves. Instead of calling off the deal he puts it forward. In all the panic he forgets to check the identity of the buyer. Before the delivery of arms takes place, he takes the buyer aside and hurls him against the wall to frisk him. The undercover buyer reacts in a comic way by turning the dealer around against the wall and repeating the dealer's phrase "I'm checking". When the cover has been blown, the dealer expresses relief as he tells the detectives leading him away:

"I am very relieved, I have been under a lot of pressure recently".

The above set of contrasts between the police force and the criminal make it clear as to which side is presented as "good" and which is "bad". Hence these sets can be summarised along the following sets of binary opposition:
### GOOD
- Forces of law
- Human
- Highly professional
- Preserve status quo
- Play important role in society
- Care for the public
- Not prepared to achieve their goals at any cost
- Largely successful

### BAD
- Criminals/Dealer
- Inhumane/cruel
- Lack any skill when under pressure
- Disturb social order
- Detrimental to society
- Selfish
- Prepared to go to any lengths
- Failures

#### Ideological reading of the Drama:

The above analysis shows that this drama represents the police force as an important element in society, particularly in Western capitalist society. The police force has the power to rid society of many of its ills, which threaten its well being and safety. Hence the Miami Vice police squad is concerned with keeping crime off the streets and the Federal police is keen on confiscating the illegal shipment of arms. The drama emphasises this point repeatedly by portraying the representatives of each force, arguing about each side's rights and the need for cooperation to catch the dealer. Although the dispute between the two forces serves to highlight the organisational restraints imposed on police officers in general, the cooperation between the two forces serves to underline the notion that police officers of any force have society's interests at heart and that the police force attracts people who are morally "good" and who are naturally motivated into taking action and not content to be passive onlookers.

Clearly these views subscribe to the official views which naturally support the continuation of the social order. The drama seems to highlight these ideas through
the untarnished police images and by reducing the sources of social conflicts into that between individuals, who deviate from the officially laid down rules and society as a whole. The drama employs a number of dramatic devices as a means of emphasising and personalising this conflict. Hence the reasons for this deviant behaviour are mainly attributed to the criminal's evil character. The drama dwells on the portrayal of the dealer's life in his home; on his relationship with his wife and on his wife's perception of him. This not only conforms to the general tendency of the Western media to personalise issues, but it also conforms with the concept that in order to judge a person, one has to see the way he leads his life with his family. A deviant person is not only a menace to society, but is also somewhat abnormal. If he is deviant in society, then he is also not "normal" with his family. The dealers treatment of his wife cannot be described as normal, socially accepted or recommended.

The drama highlights these points in a very direct way. The camera shows the dealer abusing his wife, verbally and physically, when she is hesitant to get dressed to go out. However, the dealer does not wait and leaves without his wife to one of the detectives amazement who remarks:

"After all that, he leaves her anyway! What a joke".

It is clear that the drama invites the audience to see the dealer as someone lacking in common sense and as someone capable of only behaving impulsively and in an illogical manner. He is supposed to sell arms to a buyer, whom he has never met before, giving the police sufficient opportunity to catch him red-handed. This sets him apart from the well organised and efficient police operations.

One of the most obvious ideological messages underlying this drama is the widely held view that crime never pays. A criminal may make a short term gain, but
sooner or later he will be caught and brought to justice. The dealer lives in a very luxurious house, which indicates his high standard of living. Although the drama does not show the extent to which he suffers as a result of his arrest, he fails to conclude a large arms deal and dies before having had a chance to enjoy his freedom. The dealer's bad failure is marked contrast to the relative success of the police squad in their efforts to rid the streets of crime and corruption. The police squad is prevented from achieving complete success by its failure to protect the dealer from his wife and by the contradictory interests of various official groups. While the Miami police try to convict the dealer, the federal force obtains a court order to have him released. In fact, this dramatic conflict serves to highlight some of the constraints under which the police have to work, which undermine their efficiency at times. The drama ends dramatically with the wife killing her husband when the police fail to detain him. The effect of these constraints is further enhanced by the diversity of the dealer's activities. He is an arms dealer who engages in illegal and official deals.

Apart from the obvious moral aspect of the drama that crime does not pay, the drama highlights the inadequacy of the dealer's skill through the portrayal of his failure, in a marked contrast to the high level of professionalism of the police force. The dealer's inefficiency is a major contributory factor in his downfall. The drama is filled with images, emphasising the efficiency of the police force. Here again, the drama perpetuates the 'myth' of the ever important role played by the police force, particularly in Western society. The police have a very important function to carry out and they do it well. Such views may be compared to the views expressed of the navy, in the previous serial, that they deserve all possible resources allocated to them. Although, the police do not entirely succeed in their mission since the dealer is killed in the end, the death of the dealer at the hands of his wife only serves to enhance the importance of the role of the police in society. If people are left to take the law into their own hands, many more
murders would be committed. Unlike the police, individuals cannot control their feelings at all times. Perhaps the dealer's wife's action may be understood on a human level, but she fails to accept the Court's decision to let her husband free. Although the drama fails to give a clear indication of its judgment with regard to the wife's action, the final camera shot captures a policeman jumping and screaming at the wife to stop, in a show of disapproval.

It seems as if the drama takes a somewhat 'one-sided' view, to the extent that it can be classified as one of the "closed" type of drama. On the whole it mainly advances the official views of the issues raised in the story. Despite the fact that the dealer hints at the end of the drama at the pressure he is under, the drama does not explore any of the sources of this pressure. Exploring these sources might have provided a social explanation for the dealer's activities. Avoiding these aspects ensures that no opposing views or questions can be raised concerning the social structure, in which the actions of the drama take place or indeed about the political implications of the dealer's activities.

He is supposed to be a well known arms dealer, who occasionally smuggles arms and who finds an easy market for his trade. The drama does not, for example, explore some of the underlying reasons for the flourishing of such trade. It does however, hint at the double standards of the US government. The dealer is set free because he helps to cover the government's involvement in supplying arms to groups in Central America, which is similar to the recent Iran Contra affair. But this hint is only given towards the end of the drama, when there is no room for the subject to be explored further. Moreover, the selection of an African buyer helps to weaken the association between events of the drama and the reality surrounding it. There is a widely held belief in the West that the Africans lead a tribal life, which constantly and naturally involves inter-wars in a very far off continent, where the United States government cannot be seen as directly
responsible for what goes on there.

**Conclusion**

The quantitative content analysis in the previous chapter showed that there were clear similarities as well as differences between Arabic and American drama, to the extent that it could be argued that the former shows that it has its own mixed character. It is neither a complete copy of the West, nor is completely imbedded in its own cultural traditions. Hence, Arabic drama deals with issues which are the product of Western as well as Egyptian society. The way these issues are treated also reflect Western as well as Egyptian orientations. The outlook of the Arabic drama tends to be more of what can be described as "modern", which includes Western as well as Egyptian elements. This method of analysis, however, by its nature, cannot penetrate deep into the content of the drama to reveal more about the nature of the differences between the two productions in question, i.e how issues are treated and which cultural values are positively portrayed. The structural analysis presented in this chapter, provides, to some extent, the means of bringing these differences to the fore. It also provides a better means of adequately reflecting the general outlook of the drama.

Clearly the structural method has also shown that there are significant similarities between the two types of drama, similar to the findings of the previous chapter. One of the most obvious dimensions of this picture emerging from these findings, is the closed nature of both dramas. The "official" view in both societies is given prominence in the world of the drama. There is some scope in the American drama for opposing views, but not to warrant a significant difference between the two types. This is particularly the case, if it is seen in the light of the supposed differences between a "liberal" society such as the United States and a less liberal society such as Egypt. While we find in the two Arabic dramas, that prominence
is given to ideas conducive to the development process, we find in the two foreign dramas that prominence is given to parts of the establishment, namely the army and the police. In the Arabic production "Al Maweed Ardo Al Kamar", Galal, who represents the positive forces which encourage development, emerges victorious over Hareedy, who represents the forces which cause stagnation of the development process. In the other Arabic drama, While Latif, who represents the effective way of utilising foreign education for the good of the individual and the country succeeds, Mansour, who represents the futility of running after total Western imitation, fails remorselessly. In the American Production, "Emerald Point", Tom, who represents the Navy with its defensive and the highly professional role, is positively portrayed, while the Russians and Harland, who represent aggression and corruption respectively, are less favourably portrayed.

Although there are marked differences between the broad issues treated in the two types, such issues are nevertheless treated in virtually the same way. In Egypt, as illustrated earlier in this study, the views, reflected in the drama, of development in general and of the position of foreign cultures in particular, in relation to traditional Egyptian culture, are by far the most dominant in Egyptian society. They receive government and media support as well as support from the public. It was previously mentioned that, in spite of the fact that these views coincide with some aspects of developmental theories, they do nevertheless coincide with the official views on the question of development. Arabic drama concentrates on this line, at the expense of excluding other important aspects related to the development process in Egypt. References for example, to the ills of the social system are usually ignored. Most of the problems are mainly addressed in individualistic terms. Hence, in the Arabic television drama, Hassan's Islamic tendency is put down to a mental disorder. In the West, the army and the police are given an important role and place in society. Although they do not interfere directly in politics, they are given enough resources and power to play a dominant
role in protecting the status quo, externally as well as internally. Clearly many
would accept the importance of the army and the police in any society, but the
close parallel between their function and the interests of the dominant class leads
to the perception of the two as one and the same. American drama glamorizes the
role played by the police and the army by the total absence of any prominent
positive reference to the opposing forces, by omitting any negative aspects of
police and army operations and by not referring to the social conditions which
contribute to the creation of such conflicts. In the second foreign television
drama, the "deviant" activities of the dealer is described in terms of internal
personal disorder.

In addition to these important similarities, the structural analysis further shows, in
support of the content analysis findings a marked differences between the two
productions. Although there are common subjects and themes in the two
productions, yet they are treated in different ways. While both dramas
concentrate mainly on the idea of achievement, Arabic drama concentrates on the
educational aspects rather than the financial or the professional side. In the two
Arabic dramas analyzed, the main characters are motivated by educational
advancement, which is clearly connected to the role education is seen to play in
the development process. Moreover, the differences do not stop at this obvious
level, but also goes to the quality and the social purpose of such achievement.
Any advancement that an individual attains is encouraged for the benefit it is
expected to bring to the whole community, and not only for that individual.
Hence Galal, in the first Arabic drama, succeeds in achieving his goals, while
Mansour, in the second drama, fails because he thinks mainly of his own
individual gains. In the first Arabic drama, financial achievement is encouraged
and accepted, but mainly if it is not fulfilled at the expense of the rest of the
community. In foreign drama, achievement is sought primarily for individual
satisfaction, while any wider social benefit that may result is mainly a by-product.
The army officers, in the first foreign drama analyzed and the police officers in the second drama, excel in their profession. Although this is partly motivated by the love they have for their country, it is primarily achieved for personal satisfaction. Not all the characters join the force only to serve their country. Repeated references for example are made in "Emerald Point" to the cleanliness, honesty and straightforwardness of the life in the army. Such references both glamorize the army and also act as an incentive and encouragement to join.

Nowhere the is difference so stark between the two types, than in the general outlook of the world portrayed. The findings of the content analysis show a mixed outlook presented in Arabic production. The structural analysis confirms these aspects of the findings. While there is no rural presence in American drama, there is some presence in the Arabic world of drama. Associated with this presence, of course, is the reflection of Egyptian traditional culture, particularly the traditional dress. Although the predominant outlook of Arabic drama is urban, it is clear that it reflects a mixture of traditional and modern ways of life. There is clear and positive representation of Islamic culture, interacting with modernity. In the Arabic television drama "Al Afial", there is an open duality between Western and Islamic culture, the outcome of which is in favour of a combination of the positive elements in both. Moreover, the main characters, particularly in the television drama, exhibit an outlook that is closer to the West, but which retains some traditional elements. Mansour, in "Al Afial" suffers as a result of his total absorption in Western culture, i.e. drinks alcohol, uses English language, does not pray and hates the Egyptian way of life. He is only partly saved when he starts to moderate his stance and to retrieve some of his traditional values. On the other hand, his friend Latif succeeds, because although he has been educated in the West, he still observes the basic tenets of his own culture. No one is seen drinking for example in "Al- Afial", with the exception of Mansour. One of the main underlying meanings of this portrayal is that, not every thing Western is
worthy of imitating, particularly if it contradicts religion in a direct way. Unlike American drama, where drinking of alcohol is mainly portrayed as a means of socialising, drinking in Arabic drama is negatively portrayed.

Associated with these traditional aspects of the outlook, is the lack in Arabic drama of many characters, involved in non-marital love affairs. The content analysis shows that love theme is generally a major subject in Arabic as well as foreign drama. In the two Arabic dramas analyzed in this section, only Mansour is involved in a non-marital affair. Again, Arabic drama associates any aspects of life, which contradict religion, with unsuccessful characters. It was mentioned previously that this attitude towards Western culture, as portrayed in the world of Arabic drama, resembles the most common attitude towards this question in Egypt at the present time. Only the positive aspects of this culture should be adopted.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the first two chapters of this study, an attempt was made to illustrate the obvious and urgent need for empirical studies of this nature. The two most important reasons for this urgent need for such studies are the lack of sufficient evidence to support the theoretical arguments behind the Imperialism Theory and also the fact that these arguments, concerning the role and the development of indigenous cultures, are very much related to vital issues concerning the development process, which many Third world countries are engaged in. The latest development in technology, namely communication and information technology, has given added weight to the importance of culture to any independent development programme. The role of culture in development has been acknowledged to be of significant importance, particularly in the last two decades or so. Furthermore, the new advancement in communication technology and the increasing reliance of businesses worldwide on the transference of information has also led to an increase in the transferring of cultures across frontiers (C Hamelink, Ibid, 88), namely from the richer parts of the world to the poorer areas.

The importance of the cultural debate, within the Cultural Imperialism framework, has been enhanced, as explained in the first chapter, by the inclusion in this debate, of two other vital elements of international importance. One is the demand for a new international economic order, which seeks to lessen the economic gap between Third World countries and the Western world. In this sphere, most available evidence points to the fact that the gap between the rich and the poor parts of the world is widening. According to the 1990 Annual Report published by the World Bank, there is still an inflow of capital from the Third World into the Western developed countries, a process which has been on the increase since the beginning of the eighties, when many Third World countries
found themselves paying more, as service of their debts, than they received in aid (the Guardian newspaper, 17th September 1990). The second element of international structure in relation to the Cultural Theory, is the ongoing debate regarding the need for a New World Information / Communication Order, as illustrated by the renewed interest given to it in various circles, and as was shown at the IAMCR Conference in Bled, August 1990. The central concern of this debate is the need for a New World Information Order which would help to lessen the gap between the Third World and Western countries, namely the United States in the field of information.

Renewed interest in the NWI/CO reflects the acute imbalance in the present World Order, which does not only surface in the economic sphere, but also in the information sphere. Although most studies related to international communication indicate that the United States' domination of world information is decreasing, it is however an undeniable reality "that the United States still plays a leading role in the global circulation of television" (C Roach, 1990, p 294). The overall decrease is due to a large extent to the emergence of other producers in the world media market, rather than the actual decrease in the level of American production itself. That clearly means, that there is a case for media imperialism as far as the predominance of American production in the world is concerned.

However, this study although it is not large enough, attempts to provide some empirical evidence as to the extent of media imperialism in the Third World by studying the recipients of media programmes and comparing it to the content of the messages of some of these programmes in a Third World country such as Egypt. Egypt provides a good case for a study of this nature, for the single reason that it epitomises most characteristics of Third World countries in all spheres. Moreover, Egypt has experienced in the last fifteen years or so a closer relationship with the United States in all aspects, replacing support given by the
Soviet Union and has made Egypt highly dependent on the economic assistance provided by the United States.

This study was carried out within a holistic approach to media research. An approach which perceives the mass media as operating in an inter-influencing relationship with all other aspects of the social milieu, within their social context. This approach also sees no cause-and-effect relationship between the mass media and their audience. It perceives the communication process as a social process rather than a linear relationship between source and receiver. Furthermore, this study was carried out with full acceptance of the difficulties involved when studying unquantifiable phenomenon such as culture, and the difficulties of singling out signs of cultural imperialism, purveyed through the mass media. Culture is seen as a whole way of life. Hence the study opens with a general discussion of the main elements of the Cultural Imperialism debate and world cultural interactions. This is followed by an analysis of the social milieu in which the Egyptian media operate. The study also employs a quantitative as well as qualitative method for the study of a sample of the audience and a sample of the content of television and radio drama programmes. The samples in the two sides of the study have been reduced due to various difficulties encountered during fieldwork (see chapter entitled "Aims and Methods"), which imposes some limitations on the findings. These limitations should be borne in mind when extending these findings to include Egyptian society as a whole. However, the employment of two different methods of analysis has led to the enhancement of the findings.
Audience

The audience study, which was conducted through structured interviews with 203 respondents and guided discussions with eight groups, made up of 25 people, revealed many interesting aspects on the use made by the media programmes, about foreign and local material. It also revealed the varying views and attitudes of those interviewed on different issues. All of these points are given in great detail in two separate chapters in the second part of this study. Thus it suffices to concentrate on the major aspects of the findings, first of which is the centrality of the media in general, and television in particular, in the life of the majority of people in the sample. 71% of the sample watch television on a daily basis for two hours or more. However, the most popular programmes were found to be, in line with previous studies, drama in the case of television, and music in the case of radio. Radio drama was also popular, although it came third on the list of the top ten most popular programmes.

Generally speaking, the popularity of drama confirms the validity and the importance of choosing to analyze the content of a sample of drama, particularly since most imported media material is found in the area of drama. The findings show that Arabic television drama is slightly more popular among the sample, than foreign programmes, 77% and 74% respectively. There is no foreign material broadcast on Egyptian radio. Hence foreign radio material is mainly confined to the news through external foreign services, most of which are in Arabic.

The findings also indicate that while there is no correlation between the area in which people live and the level of Arabic drama viewing, there is a correlation between watching foreign programmes and area. The highest percentage of people who watch foreign drama tend to be from the rich urban areas. Just over
86% of those living in these areas, although it is small section within the sample, watch foreign drama regularly, compared to over 63% of the rural population. Despite the fact that there is no strong correlation between watching foreign drama and the level of education, statistics show that the more educated people tend to watch more foreign drama. While 6% of those who had completed their elementary education watch foreign drama on a daily basis, 17% of those who completed university education watch such drama almost everyday of the week. Statistics further show, in line with many previous findings, that more females than males tend to watch, home as well as foreign drama.

Foreign drama production differs from the locally produced drama in terms of the type of audience it attracts and also in terms of the genre within each production that is most popular among the majority of the audience. Analysis shows that with regard to Arabic production, a large percentage of the sample, 61%, prefer the social drama which deals with issues of immediate social concern and which has a direct influence on the day-to-day life of people. The most popular type of foreign drama on the other hand is the detective type which includes all drama involving conflict between law breakers and law enforcement agencies. 49% of a the sample prefer this type, as compared to 20% who prefer social foreign drama.

In addition, the analysis confirms the widely accepted view that the media are generally used as a source of entertainment as well as a source of education, in the free sense of the word, which includes general learning of a wide variety of topics. Foreign drama is primarily viewed for its entertaining and exciting qualities, whereas Arabic drama is sought mainly for its entertaining qualities as well as its social relevance. This tendency is reflected in statistics as well as in views expressed during discussions. While some educated people stated that foreign drama was also of social relevance, in so far as it provided a model for Egypt, the majority of the sample saw the overriding role of Arabic drama, as
being instrumental in value, in spearheading social improvement and national
development. Hence social drama was the most popular type in many of the
groups.

In no other sphere do the findings present a more conflicting picture than in the
area of social attitudes. The choice of problems facing people, either in their
locality or within Egypt as a whole, suggests that the majority of the sample tend
to think in individualistic terms. This is further emphasised by the way in which
the causes as well as the solutions to such problems are seen in terms of
individual blame and individual initiative. A large percentage of the sample
showed a tendency towards consumption and also commercial activities, such as
bank saving, setting up of businesses etc.. However, consumption generally
tended to concentrate on the area of household goods, which include necessities,
such as clothes and food. A huge percentage of the sample, 58% indicated that
they buy foreign goods, but the majority of them, 55%, put this down to the fact
that foreign goods, most of which are clothes and electrical goods, are by and
large of a good quality and last longer than their Egyptian counterparts.

The findings further indicate that religion continues to play a social role in Egypt.
Just over 79% of the sample indicated that they pray regularly. In Islam, praying
is an important sign of ones adherence to Islamic teaching. A further 72% of the
sample stated that religion coloured their views on various issues, such as the
legalisation of alcohol. 30% of the sample opposed birth control on the grounds
that it was contradictory to their religion. This should be seen against the
background of the rapid increase in population, which has contributed to many of
the severe economic problems that have been facing Egypt for the past two
decades or so.
The survey questionnaire included a few questions aimed at assessing the level of foreign orientations among the sample. The findings of this part of the study suggest that there were mixed response to questions asked. 47% of the sample for example would envisage visiting or going to live in another Arab country, as compared to 9% who would do the same towards the United States. Yet only 24% who saw another Arab country as being a model for Egypt, compared to 19% who saw the United States as playing this role and 18% who considered it to be Japan. A great number of those who chose a non-Arab country tended to be educated and perhaps had been abroad before. Most of those who chose an Arab country tended to be less educated and perhaps had been in an Arab country before. However, the most popular reason for choosing a country, be it Arab or otherwise, was basically the wealth of that country and its level of development in terms of industrialisation, organisation, and 'friendly' environment, ie. quiet and clean. The choice of countries seemed to be determined by economic factors and the desire to attain better living conditions than in Egypt. The main source of information regarding foreign countries was not the mass media, but other sources such as reading, travelling and personal contacts. For some, the less educated and rural population in particular, foreign drama shows them "how foreign people live". It also provides them with the opportunity to see foreign "nice houses, clean streets and how foreign people cope with the rain for example".

However, specific information about specific countries is obtained mainly through news programmes. The findings indicate that news programmes were not very popular among the sample, with the exception of foreign radio services. 39% of the sample listen to news broadcasts provided by foreign services, compared to 27% who listen to the Egyptian radio news and 17% who watch Egyptian news programmes on television.
Drama Content

During the course of this study, a sample of television drama production, foreign as well as Arabic, was recorded and analyzed over a period of two weeks, broadcast by the Egyptian television. It was mentioned earlier that drama programmes were singled out for analysis because, as shown from the survey findings, they are the most popular programmes on Egyptian television. They also represent the main area of media production where foreign influence can easily be seen. The analysis of this sample reveals that American presence is predominant. All foreign programmes included in the sample were American. Any examination of television schedules in Egypt would show that there is very little presence of any other foreign production, particularly in the period during which this study was carried out. The only exceptional foreign presence that could be found was French. A French film was being shown once a week. However, this was an insignificant quantity when compared to American programmes, which was shown almost all day long. For this reason and particularly because French drama was among the most disliked of foreign drama, French drama was not included in the sample. French drama was described as boring, had very little action and placed great reliance on dialogue, ie. greater reliance on subtitles to follow events.

The overall picture emerging from this analysis, of Arabic as well as foreign drama, shows that the world of the drama, in the Egyptian media generally and television in particular, was predominantly urban. The most popular subjects in drama were: family relationships; love/romance and crime. Obviously such subjects are predominant in the drama output of any Western television production, which reflects the overall Western presence and influence on Egyptian television output. The analysis of the prominent themes in the sample also confirms this picture. The most popular themes were financial achievement,
morality and professional achievement. Furthermore, the majority, 63% of the main characters in these dramas tended to be male and 62% were from middle class backgrounds. Only 12% of the characters came from working class backgrounds.

However, when comparing the two types of production, a slightly different picture emerged. A large number of Arabic drama, 47 episodes out of 115, had rural settings. Clearly this represents a change from the overall picture, but should nevertheless be considered in the light of the nature of Arabic drama in the sample. Most of this drama consisted of many episodes out of a small number of serials, which imposed a limit on the types of settings recorded. All Arabic drama was produced and located in Egypt. The distribution of characters in both productions in terms of sex is almost the same, 2.5:1 in favour of males, but their distribution in terms of class is slightly different. 55 characters out of 92 in Arabic drama came from middle class backgrounds compared to 43 out of a total of 55 in American production. The two productions also differed in terms of distribution of the types of activities in which characters were engaged, whereby there was a presence in Arabic drama of those who were engaged in agricultural and educational activities.

The differences between Arabic and American drama are most noticeable in their subject areas. While the overall picture given earlier reflects the subjects, which usually dominates Western drama, Arabic drama dealt, in addition to these subjects, with a variety of other subject matters, although with less prominence. Some of these subjects, as confirmed by the structural analysis, can be described as "developmental" in nature, dealing with issues concerning a wider section of the poorer population. The radio drama analyzed earlier, "Al Maweed Ard Al Kamer", is one such drama, which deals with the problems of decreasing agricultural output in Egypt. Not only does the presence of such a subject reflect
a marked difference between the two types of drama, but the way in which the subject is treated emphasises the difference even more so. The subject was treated from a "developmental" angle, taking into consideration some of the factors affecting development in Egypt and reflecting the official views at the same time. American drama, on the other hand, naturally dealt with subjects that can be described as being of Western concern and often treated, as confirmed by the structural analysis of "Emerald Point", from a Western perspective highlighting the capitalist nature of the Western culture. Hence the subject of "Emerald Point" for example was the United States Navy and the business world. The Navy was portrayed from an 'official' positive viewpoint, whereas some of the illegal aspects of business activities highlighted, were negatively portrayed on an individual level. Such activities took place as a result of personal greed, rather than an inevitable consequences for a social system, which thrives on competition and material gains.

Similarly, differences were also found between the two productions in the choice of themes portrayed. In Arabic production there were many themes which were absent completely in American drama. While the theme of morality predominated the overall picture of drama in the sample, in Arabic drama emphasis was placed on the religious aspects. The structural analysis of "Al Afial" serial, for example, showed that Islamic teaching coloured many of the moral judgments made in the drama. The main conflict, upon which the drama was based, rotates between English culture, on the one hand and Egyptian culture on the other. In Arabic drama, priority was given to themes regarding educational achievements and the achievement of projects of social benefit ie of the community or the group as compared to individual actions, and loyalty to ones country. These themes were prominent in the radio drama, "Al Maweed Ard Al Kamer", and were portrayed as 'developmental' values, which enabled a poor and oppressed community to improve its living conditions. Hence the villagers in
the drama were able to establish a collective farm to satisfy their needs and a local school to eradicate illiteracy among the local population, to increase community spirit and to foster wider participation.

However, it cannot be said that Arabic drama production is completely developmental in nature, i.e. promoting ideas and themes conducive to the development process in Egypt. Arabic drama seems to have acquired this characteristic largely from the fact that, the two serials referred to above, were selected for analysis because they subscribed to the type of drama which was very popular among the audience in the survey sample. Hence they cannot be seen as an adequate representation of the whole range of Arabic drama, particularly since one of the two serials was broadcast on radio and the other was a relatively old television production. The survey findings suggest that radio drama was not as popular as television drama and that the former tended to be more popular among the rural and less educated groups of Egyptian society. Furthermore, the reading of these two serials should be seen within the context of the picture emerging from the whole production included in the sample.

It appears that this brief outline of the main findings of the study will inevitably lead to a wide range of conflicting conclusions, regarding the cultural debate and the Imperialism Theory. Clearly, some of these conclusions lend support to some of the assumptions made by the Theorists of Cultural Imperialism and by the advocates of NWIO, who are basically concerned with Media Imperialism. It was mentioned in chapter two, that one of the main elements which fuelled the demand for a change of the world information/communication order and one which represented the solid foundation of the Imperialism Theory, is the overwhelming domination of the world media market by programmes made in America. The most obvious conclusion of this study seems to be the fact that American television production, namely drama, dominates in Egypt.
drama is predominant in comparison to other major foreign producer countries and including Arabic production. Although Egypt itself is a major drama producer country in the Arab World, yet there is an obvious lack of new drama production shown on Egyptian television.

The advocates of the Imperialism Theory seem to have been encouraged into seeing this American media domination as a very negative and harmful development given the strong link which exists between the increase in domination and the increase in economic dependency of the recipient country on economic assistance from the United States. Recent Egyptian historical experience has shown that as the country's economy has deteriorated in the last two decades or so, its economic dependency on the United States has also sharply increased. Again, this study confirms the virtual absence in the output of Egyptian media of production from any other foreign country. It is in line with the fact borne out in previous studies, which points to increasing American media flow into Egypt since the mid-seventies. This was not the case before the seventies when American drama although not absent from Egyptian television altogether, did not, however, dominate over other overseas production. The presence of drama from the Eastern Bloc, particularly from the Soviet Union, was more in evidence at the time. Even if one accepts the fact that other factors contributed to such a situation, i.e. inexpensive American programmes; the lack of good alternatives and the popularity of these programmes, this part of the findings provides support for the theoretical linkage between economic power and cultural domination.

However, on the very basis of accepting these findings, we would have to ask ourselves whether such empirical support does confirm that there is what can be described as Media Imperialism, with all the negative aspects associated with such a term. On the face of it, the answer would be affirmative, if it was based
solely on statistical evidence irrespective of the content of the programmes, the
use made of them and the conditions which have led to such a situation in the first
place. Ignoring these important elements could leave the analysis open to the
criticism for being unscientific, lacking in sound empirical evidence and for
blindly following a certain political philosophy. When one looks further into the
rest of the findings, the doubtful nature of some of the Cultural Imperialism
Theorists' claims soon emerge.

The Theorists argue that American programmes would help to spread particular
Western culture, ie. consumerism and enterprise culture, which is not conducive
to the development process in the Third World. The findings of this study
suggest that most American content is confined to the "detective" type of drama.
Of course, there are a few exceptions, "Emerald Point" being one example, but in
general they remain very few and far between. It is also true that there are many
American feature films shown on Egyptian television which reflect other aspects
of American drama, but television is not the main source of feature films and it is
usually confined to old films. It seems that the "detective" drama is suited to
Egyptian television because it is the most popular type of foreign drama among
the audience. It was mentioned earlier, that all foreign dramas are usually shown
poorly subtitled, which deters many viewers from watching, and at the same time
increases the attractiveness of the 'detective' drama. It is much easier to follow
the action in this type of drama, since it does not require the viewer to have a
good educational background or good eyesight. It was therefore mainly those
from educated backgrounds who preferred other types of foreign drama, namely
'social' and 'historical' drama. However, this group of the population usually has
access to Western material through a multiplicity of other sources besides
television. Contact with the West could take place through their studies, where
co-operation in the educational sphere between Egypt and the West has steadily
been increasing during the last fifteen years or so. It could also take place
through travelling or reading. The Cultural Imperialism Theorists might argue against the harmful ideological impact of foreign cultural production on the cultural landscape of the Third World. But it is widely accepted that the detective type of drama, as a cultural product, does not carry the same ideological weight as other drama productions. It often revolves around conflict between "good" and "evil", a concept which is known in almost all world cultures since the time of the Greek tragedies. This format developed of course with time to include the forces of law and order in their confrontation with law breakers. Thus the cultural content of such material is familiar to many different cultures and would remain limited.

This leads to the other important point in this conclusion, which is the use made of foreign drama in Egypt. The Imperialism Theory assumes that by introducing Western culture to the Third World countries, particularly through television, that it would be adopted by the host country. In other words, people of the Third World would imitate what they see on the screen of images made in America. The findings indicate that foreign drama was not as popular as Arabic drama. Moreover, while Arabic drama, namely the social type of drama, was sought by many as a source of entertainment as well as education, foreign drama was sought mainly for fulfilling entertainment and excitement purposes. It follows therefore that the "detective" type of drama, particularly that which relies more on action than on dialogue, is popular because it provides the excitement required and demands little on the part of the audience. Although one cannot dismiss the ideological weight of such drama, yet it remains limited in comparison to other types of dramas. The findings can also lead one to argue that the predominance of foreign drama exists to meet a popular demand and not primarily for the purpose of creating a cultural impact, as the theory claims.
The findings have also raised another important point relating to the question of imperialism and that is the lack of Arabic production which has paved the way for foreign importation. Some people indicated that they resorted to foreign drama because of the absence of a good alternative Arabic production. Most of those interviewed were critical of the amount of repeats in Arabic television output, a point emphasised by those responsible for drama on Egyptian television. They argued that the lack of good Arabic texts leaves television no other option but to import or to show repeats. Most current Arabic production, it was argued, endeavours to copy foreign production in terms of excitement, violence and sex. The fact that Egyptian television is under state control prevents the latter two categories from being shown. Thus it seems better to have foreign drama, namely American, because it is technically advanced and also less expensive to produce. The point of advancement was echoed by some in the sample, who thought that foreign drama of the 'detective' type was much better than any Egyptian production of the same type could ever be. The latter was seen to be of low quality and less convincing. This again indicates that many viewers opt for foreign drama for its entertainment value rather than for its ideological content or indeed the lack of it. This again seems to cast some doubt over the idea that foreign domination comes mainly as a result of a Western design and not simply a result of convenience on the part of the recipient country.

One of the central concerns of this study has been to assess the congruity between the ideological messages of the drama and the views and attitudes held by the audience in order to further examine the idea put forward by the cultural theorists, that people in the Third World simply imitate what they see on their screens. Another aim of the study has been to shed some light on the theorists' claim, that foreign programmes seem to create positive images of the country in which these programmes were originated. The findings of this study indicate that there were several similarities between the content and views held by the audience, but this
does not present sufficient support for the Imperialism Theory. The image of the United States has not been as great as some of the theorists would claim. Only a very small percentage of the sample, particularly from the poorer population, considered the United States as a role model for Egypt. However, there were other signs that can be seen as a result of Western influence, which were apparent among the audience. But this was largely due to local conditions, ie economic, than Western drama. The increase in consumer spending for example has been directed mainly at household goods, which are considered as necessities. Moreover, the tendency shown towards 'enterprise' culture, was due to large extent, to the economic difficulties facing the population, rather than to any Western imitation. By and large, people were motivated to venture into the world of business as a means of securing their livelihood in an increasingly competitive society. Japan, which is not a source of foreign drama imported into Egypt, was chosen as a model for Egypt for obvious economic reasons. Furthermore, education remains an important asset for social mobility, for individuals as well as for the country as a whole, and not just for commerce. Economic difficulties seemed to be responsible to a great extent for determining people's way of life. Even their preference for drama was coloured by their economic problems. Hence the most popular Arabic drama was of the 'social' type, dealing with the day-to-day problems of poverty. The analysis of the social structure of Egypt, given in chapter five earlier, shows that the Egyptian economic structure is based and incorporated into the world market system, which draws Egypt closely into a Western capitalist economy.

The other significant factor which plays an important role in determining people's way of life is religion. The study shows that religion coloured people's attitude towards matters which were clearly in opposition to Islamic teaching. Hence alcohol, for example, was rejected primarily on religious grounds. There were those who even rejected the idea of birth control for similar reasons, mainly
because the Islamic position on birth control has not yet been clearly defined and others disapproved of romantic drama showing explicit sex scenes. Social pressure also plays a role in restricting people's behaviour and whether or not to adopt foreign material. Such pressure is very powerful in Egypt as well as in many other Arab countries, particularly among close-knit communities. A rural person working in a city, for example, would find it difficult to go to the village in his city clothes. There is a great deal of community contact in Egypt, particularly in the rural and poor urban areas. People know one another closely and adjust their social behaviour accordingly. This pressure is gradually decreasing with the increased concern with personal interest and economic survival. These findings must give some support to the idea promoted by opponents of the Imperialism Theory, who suggest that foreign cultural domination comes as a result of the weakness of the cultures of the Third World. Even if there is a lack of local media production, a well established culture and traditions would limit the degree of foreign cultural influence or imitation.

The survey showed that a great number of people had adopted the Western value of being individualist, mainly due to increasing economic difficulties. Some were so engrossed in their problems to the point of shutting out their immediate surrounding. Many having as many as three jobs left them no time for anything else. Inevitably this in turn caused feeling of isolation among people. In Egypt there is no social welfare system comparable to that in the West. Incidentally, those whose time was occupied by work, did not have the time to even watch television, be it foreign or Arabic. Their views, attitudes and outlook were greatly influenced by their daily struggle to survive.

This important role played by economic conditions casts doubt over whether it would indeed be in the interests of the Third World to dissociate itself culturally, as some Theorists argue, while failing to achieve an economic "delinkage". In
addition to the fact that cultural dissociation, namely through the media, would deny people of the Third World access to different and perhaps positive aspects of other world cultures, cultural dissociation would not, by itself lead to a dramatic change within the Third World. This study indicates that people generally tend to be selectively influenced whereby they accept what is in agreement with social, political, economic and religious conditions in which they live. They would not, for example, aspire to the American way of life, while their priority lies in securing their daily existence. They might like to see American drama, not very often though, as a way of alleviating the monotony of daily life and of forgetting their immediate problems. People of all classes are capable of deciding for themselves and do not simply imitate what is shown on television. They are more likely to imitate others within their immediate surroundings, particularly if this gives them social status. Some of those in the study indicated that they buy foreign goods primarily because everyone else does so and they simply follow suit.

The Theorists, who advocate the dissociation of the Third World culturally as well as economically from the Western world, do so to allow the countries of the Third World a genuine opportunity to achieve some degree of independent development. Yet, even if external 'delinkage' is achieved, such development is not guaranteed while the internal structure of these countries remains unchanged. The Cultural Imperialism Theorists seem to ignore the role played by the State in controlling the flow of cultural production, particularly through the media. This study shows that there are several guidelines laid down by the state for television executives to follow. The State also seems to influence the content of part of drama production. The structural analysis shows, for example, that the official view on certain important social issues is expressed, whilst anything to the contrary is not. Although the emergence of direct broadcasting satellites might help to lessen State control, the State will continue to play a major role in the
field of communication through its legislative power.

The structural analysis also casts doubt on the assumption that locally produced television shows are necessarily channels for foreign cultural influence in the Third World, even though they adopt Western formats. It is true that Arabic drama employs structures comparable to those of American productions, i.e., they are dependent on 'stars', they reflect the relationship between few adult individuals, they concentrate on middle-class characters etc. Yet Arabic drama does cover a variety of other subjects and themes, normally absent from American production. Arabic drama deals with social issues relating to poverty and development, which reflect the social concern and conditions in which the drama is produced. Arabic drama tends to conform to the official view but at the same time it illustrates that drama is a cultural product and that it is possible to follow a Western format to convey different messages to different audiences.

In brief, this study suggests that the question of Cultural Imperialism through the media, cannot be dismissed or accepted in its entirety. There are obvious signs that may point to the predominance of foreign influence through the media, but the study of the content and the audience does not imply this to be the case. There are many practical reasons which encourage some countries to resort to foreign media importation. This study shows that although Arabic drama is the most popular of drama, there are very few Arabic dramas shown. Even if we accept the fact that there is little or no direct foreign influence through the use of drama, it would remain in the interests of the people of the Third World to encourage more local drama production and to decrease the amount of imported foreign drama, particularly since there is popular demand as well as social needs for local production. The most prominent official reason for importation in this case study is the lack of "good" texts for "good" dramas. This immediately raises
the question of the democratisation of the media. If easy access to the media was readily available to all groups in society, the problem of shortage would not perhaps have arisen. This question is also directly linked to the question of wider democratic social change within the social milieu of most Third World countries. The Cultural Theorists are concerned with giving the Third World an opportunity for independent development, but such development requires a greater degree of participation in the decision making process within Third World countries. Any 'strategic' social choice made by society should reflect the needs and the wishes of the majority. This includes the preservation and the promotion of various cultures which exist in the Third World. The choice of programmes should reflect the needs and the demands of the population. There should be, for example, greater coverage given to material related to issues concerning the rural and poorer groups of the population, who make up the bulk of the Third World. It is true that most governments of the Third World have followed developmental policies and plans of some kind, but these have usually been confined to the views of those at the top of the social ladder, who might have the best intentions but are not always in a position to know the real needs and demands of the local population.

The question of identifying local needs and allowing for greater public participation does not arise in Western society. This is not just because there is some degree of democracy in these societies, but rather because of the meagre resources of the Third World requiring greater efficiency when selecting the most urgent needs of the largest section of its population. One of the most striking features of media structure in Egypt and in most of the Third World countries is the concentration of the media in the capitals. It is worth mentioning that during the last few years Egypt has witnessed greater media expansion in terms of the increase in regional radio stations and newspapers. The long tradition of urban concentration has undoubtedly contributed to urban predominance in the world of
Arabic drama and in greater part of the media output generally, although a sizeable part of the population live in rural areas. This study showed that there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with television, in particular, among a large section of the sample. A number of people, mostly from rural areas, failed to identify themselves with the majority of television output because it did not relate to their everyday lives. There were those who felt that television should reflect the needs of the people. This failure on the part of television, contributed to the popularity of foreign programmes, basically because they present the audience with material which is not produced particularly for their own consumption, so the question of identification does not arise.

Clearly, it is very difficult to satisfy the demands of all people, but when the demands of the largest section of the population are not met, then there is a cause for concern. If the media are accessible only to certain groups of the population, the interests, views and way of life of these groups would receive greater coverage and promotion, which might or might not coincide with the interests, views and way of life of other groups in society. This in fact, is one of the major weaknesses of the solutions suggested by some Cultural Imperialism Theorists, which encourages the protection of the home-culture. If conditions in the Third World resulted in unequal treatment of different groups within its societies, then surely we are faced with the question of which culture we suppose to protect? The equal treatment of all cultures within each society should be as of paramount importance as the attempt to dissociate the cultures of the Third World from outside influence.

This study has attempted to highlight an important and legitimate concern regarding the question of media imperialism, which has given rise to the imperialism theory. Even if we were to accept all the findings of this study, there remain strong objections to the importing of foreign programmes on such a scale.
and only from one source. There is no doubt that most Third World countries cannot afford to waste valuable resources, however small. Importing foreign drama programmes, however much cheaper they may be than drama produced internally, still absorbs resources, which could be best spend in other areas. It seems that it would be to the benefit of the Third World countries to allocate more resources to the production of local programmes which, after all, are more popular and more related to the internal conditions and needs, than imported foreign programmes can ever be.
C. Appendices
A. **SURVEY CODING SCHEDULE**

**CARD NO. 1**

Case Number  
1 2 3  

Starting Time  Finishing Time  
4..5  

**Introduction**

1. Do you listen to the radio?  
   (1) Yes  (2) No  (3) Sometimes  
2. Do you listen to the main station, The General Programme?  
   (1) Yes  (2) No  (3) Sometimes  
   If the answer is No ask Q. 11.

**Listening Habits**

3. How many days do you listen to this station per week?  
   (1) 5-7 days  (2) 3-4 days  
   (3) 1-2 days  (4) Less than that  
4. How many hours do you listen per day?  
   (1) 5-7 hours  (2) 3-4 hours  
   (3) 1-2 hours  (4) Less than that
5. When do you listen?

   (1) Morning ( ) 10
   (2) Afternoon ( ) 11
   (3) Evening ( ) 12

6. What things do you listen to on the main radio station in general?

   (1) Music ( ) 13
   (2) Serials ( ) 14
   (3) Series ( ) 15
   (4) Sports ( ) 16
   (5) Religious ( ) 17
   (6) Documentaries ( ) 18
   (7) Science ( ) 19
   (8) Light Entertainment ( ) 20
   (9) News ( ) 21
   (10) Specialised ( ) 22
   (11) Political ( ) 23
   (12) Health ( ) 24
   (13) Others ( ) 25

   If series or serials are not mentioned ask Q. 6b.

6b. Do you ever listen to serials or series?

   (1) Yes (2) No (3) Sometimes ( ) 26

   If the answer is no or sometimes ask Q. 12.
Listening to Local Drama

7. How many days do you listen to serials or series during the week?
   (1) 5-7 days  (2) 3-4 days
   (3) 1-2 days  (4) Less than that ( ) 27

8. What kind of serials or series do you prefer? (Content)
   (1) Love/Romance ( ) 28
   (2) Social ( ) 29
   (3) Economic ( ) 30
   (4) Violence ( ) 31
   (5) Detective ( ) 32
   (6) Historic ( ) 33
   (7) Science Fiction ( ) 34
   (8) Religious ( ) 35
   (9) Comedy ( ) 36
   (10) Thriller ( ) 37
   (11) Political ( ) 38
   (12) Others ( ) 39

9. Why do you like this/these types?
   (1) Very entertaining ( ) 40
   (2) Very exciting ( ) 41
   (3) Serves the development process ( ) 42
   (4) Helps to change old attitudes ( ) 43
   (5) Widens knowledge ( ) 44
   (6) Helps to solve society's problems ( ) 45
   (7) Helps to pass the time ( ) 46
   (8) Reflects our life with its problems ( ) 47
10. Can you name any of the serials/series that you liked?
(Two names are required)

1. ................. 2. .................  

50 51

11. What kind of series/serials do you dislike the most?

(1) Aimless
(2) That are slow in progress of events
(3) Romance/Explicit love
(4) Detective
(5) Religious  

52
(6) Historic
(7) Reflects city life
(8) Political
(9) Others

Listening to Foreign Drama

12. Do you listen to non-Egyptian stations?

(1) Yes  (2) No  

53

If answer is no ask Q 22.
13. Which station do you listen to?

1. Israel ( ) 54
2. Monte Carlo ( ) 55
3. Voice of America ( ) 56
4. Saudi Arabia ( ) 57
5. London ( ) 58
6. Syria ( ) 59
7. Libya ( ) 60
8. Iraq ( ) 61
9. Others ( ) 62

14. How many days do you listen to this/these stations per week?

1. 5-7 days (2) 3-4 days (3) 1-2 days (4) Less than that ( ) 63

15. How many hours do you listen per day?

1. 5-7 hours (2) 3-4 hours (3) 1-2 hours (4) Less than that ( ) 64

16. What things do you listen to on this/these stations?

1. Music ( ) 65
2. Series ( ) 66
3. Serials ( ) 67
4. Sports ( ) 68
5. Religious ( ) 69
6. Documentaries ( ) 70
7. Science ( ) 71
8. Light programmes ( ) 72
9. News ( ) 73
(10) Specialised ( ) 74
(11) Health Programmes ( ) 75
(12) Political ( ) 76
(13) Others ( ) 77

If serials are not mentioned ask Q. 16b.

16b. Do you ever listen to series or serials?

(1) Yes (2) No ( ) 78

If the answer is No ask Q. 22.
CARD NO. 2

Case Number

1 2 3

17. How many days do you listen to series or serials per week?
   (1) 5-7 days   (2) 3-4 days
   (3) 1-2 days   (4) Less than that

18. What kind of series or serials do you like to listen to?
   (1) Love/Romance
   (2) Political
   (3) Social
   (4) Economic
   (5) Violence
   (6) Detective
   (7) Science Fiction
   (8) Religious
   (9) Comedy
   (10) Thriller
   (11) Historic
   (12) Others

19. Why do you like this kind?
   (1) Very entertaining
   (2) Very exciting
   (3) Serve development process
   (4) Helps to change old attitudes
   (5) Enlarges one's knowledge
(6) Helps to solve society's problems  ( ) 22
(7) Helps to pass the time  ( ) 23
(8) Reflects our life with its problems  ( ) 24
9) Others  ( ) 25

20. Can you name any of the serials or series you liked?
   1..............  2............  ( ) ( )  26 27

21. What kind of series or serials do you like the least?
   (1) Aimless/Has no point  ( ) 28
   (2) Slow movement of events  ( ) 29
   (3) Romance/Explicit love  ( ) 30
   (4) Detective  ( ) 31
   (5) Religious  ( ) 32
   (6) Historic  ( ) 33
   (7) Political  ( ) 34
   (8) Others  ( ) 35

Watching Habits

22. Do you watch TV
   (1) Yes  (2) No  ( ) 36
If the answer is No ask Q. 37.

23. How many days do you watch per week?
   (1) 5-7 days  (2) 3-4 days
   (3) 1-2 days  (4) Less than that  ( ) 37
24. How many hours per day?
   (1) 5-7 hours  (2) 3-4 hours
   (3) 1-2 hours  (4) Less than that  ( ) 38

25. When do you usually watch?
   (1) Morning  ( ) 39
   (2) Afternoon ( ) 40
   (3) Evening  ( ) 41

26. What things do you like to watch?
   (1) Music  ( ) 42
   (2) Serials  ( ) 43
   (3) Series  ( ) 44
   (4) Sports  ( ) 45
   (5) Religious ( ) 46
   (6) Documentaries ( ) 47
   (7) Science  ( ) 48
   (8) Political ( ) 49
   (9) News  ( ) 50
   (10) Specialized ( ) 51
   (11) Films  ( ) 52
   (12) Light entertainment ( ) 53
   (13) Health  ( ) 54
   (14) Others  ( ) 55

   If series, serials or films are not mentioned ask Q. 26b.

26b. Do you ever watch series/serials or films?
   (1) Yes  (2) No  ( ) 56

   If the answer is No ask Q. 37.
Home Drama

27. What kind of Arabic drama do you like to watch? (Content)

(1) Romantic ( ) 57
(2) Political ( ) 58
(3) Social ( ) 59
(4) Economic ( ) 60
(5) Violence ( ) 61
(6) Detective ( ) 62
(7) Historic ( ) 63
(8) Science fiction ( ) 64
(9) Religious ( ) 65
(10) Comedy ( ) 66
(11) Thriller ( ) 67
(12) Others ( ) 68

28. Why do you like these kinds?

(1) Entertaining ( ) 69
(2) Interesting ( ) 70
(3) Teaches useful things ( ) 71
(4) Helps to change old attitudes ( ) 72
(5) Enlarges knowledge ( ) 73
(6) Serves development goals ( ) 74
(7) Helps to solve society's problems ( ) 75
(8) Reflects our daily life ( ) 76
(9) Helps to pass the time ( ) 77
(10) Others ( ) 78
29. Can you name any of the things you liked? (Two names required)

1. ............ 2. ............ ( ) ( )

79  80
CARD NO. 3

Case Number ( ) ( ) ( )

1 2 3

30. What kind of series/serials or films do you like least?
   (1) "Aimless", That has no point ( ) 4
   (2) Slow movement of events ( ) 5
   (3) Romantic/Explicit love ( ) 6
   (4) Detective ( ) 7
   (5) Religious ( ) 8
   (6) Historical ( ) 9
   (7) Political ( ) 10
   (8) Reflect city life ( ) 11
   (9) Violence ( ) 12
   (10) Others ( ) 13

Foreign Drama

31. Do you ever watch foreign series, serials or films?
   (1) Yes (2) No ( ) 14

32. How many days do you watch per week?
   (1) 5-7 days (2) 3-4 days ( ) 15
   (3) 1-2 days (4) Less than that

33. What kind of foreign series/serials or films do you prefer?
   (1) Love/Romantic ( ) 16
   (2) Political ( ) 17
34. Why do you prefer this kind?

(1) Entertaining
(2) Interesting
(3) Teaches useful things
(4) Helps to change old attitudes
(5) Widens knowledge
(6) Serves development goals
(7) Helps to solve society's problems
(8) Helps to pass the time
(9) Familiar to own culture
(10) Others

35. Do you remember any names of the things you prefer?

1............. 2 .............

36. What kind of foreign series, serials or films do you like the least?

(1) Aimless/Has no point
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Slow movement of events</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Romantic/Explicit love</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Historic</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
37. How many days do you read books weekly? (Apart from school books)

   (1) 5-7 days  (2) 3-4 days  
   (3) 1-2 days  (4) Less than that  
   (5) Don't read  

If the answer is not 5 ask Q 37b.

37b. What kind of books do you read?

   (1) Literary  (2) Political  
   (3) Social  (4) Religious  
   (5) Economic  (6) Scientific  
   (7) Others  

38. How many times per week do you go to the cinema?

   (1) 5-7 times  (2) 3-4 times  
   (3) 1-2 times  (4) Less than that  
   (5) Don't go  

If the answer is not 5 ask Q. 38b.

38b. What kind of films do you like to watch?

   (1) Romantic  (2) Political  

386
(3) Social ( ) 15
(4) Economic ( ) 16
(5) Violence ( ) 17
(6) Comedy ( ) 18
(7) Detective ( ) 19
(8) Science Fiction ( ) 20
(9) Historic ( ) 21
(10) Religious ( ) 22
(11) Thriller ( ) 23
(12) Others ( ) 24

39. How many times per week do you read newspapers?
   (1) 5-7 times   (2) 3-4 times
   (3) 1-2 times   (4) Less than that
   (5) Don't read ( ) 25

   If the answer is not 5 ask Q. 39b.

39b. What newspapers do you read?
   (1) National ( ) 26
   (2) Party ( ) 27

40. How many times per week do you read magazines?
   (1) 5-7 times   (2) 3-4 times
   (3) 1-2 times   (4) Less than that
   (5) Don't read ( ) 28

   If the answer is not 5 ask Q. 40b.
40b. What kind of magazines do you read?

(1) Political ( ) 29
(2) Literary ( ) 30
(3) Economic ( ) 31
(4) Science ( ) 32
(5) Specialized ( ) 33
(6) Sports ( ) 34
(7) General ( ) 35
(8) Others ( ) 36

41. How many times per week do you watch video?

(1) 5-7 times (2) 3-4 times
(3) 1-2 times (4) Less than that
(5) Don't watch ( ) 37

If the answer is not 5 ask Q. 41b.

41b. What kind of things do you watch on video?

(1) Arabic drama ( ) 38
(2) Foreign drama ( ) 39
(3) Sports programmes ( ) 40
(4) Documentaries ( ) 41
(5) Religious programmes ( ) 42
(6) Others ( ) 43
Uses and Gratifications

42. Now let us think of all the things whether you watch or listen and tell me:

Why do you spend your time with these things?

(1) Stops me from feeling bored ( ) 4
(2) Helps me to forget my problems ( ) 5
(3) Something to talk about with others ( ) 6
(4) Helps me to learn something new ( ) 7
(5) Because I enjoy them ( ) 8
(6) Stops me feeling lonely ( ) 9
(7) It gives me something to do ( ) 10
(8) Others ( ) 11

43. If you were denied listening to the radio, how would you feel?

(1) I wouldn't know what to do ( ) 12
(2) Something was missing in my life ( ) 13
(3) I would be very sad ( ) 14
(4) I would be lonely ( ) 15
(5) I wouldn't feel any loss ( ) 16
(6) As if I had lost something dear ( ) 17
(7) I would be bored ( ) 18
(8) Others ( ) 19
44. If you were denied watching TV how would you feel?

1. I wouldn't know what to do  ( ) 20
2. Something was missing in my life  ( ) 21
3. I would be very sad  ( ) 22
4. I would be lonely  ( ) 23
5. I wouldn't feel any loss  ( ) 24
6. As if I had lost something dear  ( ) 25
7. I would be bored  ( ) 26
8. Others  ( ) 27

45. Do you listen alone?

1. Yes  ( ) 28
2. No  ( ) 28
3. Sometimes  ( ) 28

46. Do you watch alone?

1. Yes  ( ) 29
2. No  ( ) 29
3. Sometimes  ( ) 29

47. How do you choose the things you listen to or watch?

1. The respondent
2. Someone else  ( ) 30
3. Chance
48. Naturally, there are a lot of problems that beset your area, what in your view is the most important one?
   (1) Housing shortage
   (2) Transport
   (3) Increase in illiteracy
   (4) Price increase
   (5) Bad local services
   (6) Roads
   (7) Dirty surroundings
   (8) Food shortage
   (9) Increase in population
   (10) No problems
   (11) Few car spaces
   (12) Lack of cooperation between people
   (13) Others

49. What are the main causes of this problem?
   (1) Lack of official care
   (2) Lack of people's awareness
   (3) Lack of resources
   (4) Rapid increase in birth rate
   (5) Lack of religious beliefs
(6) People become obsessed with money  11
(7) Increase in illiteracy  12
(8) Others  13

50. How could it be solved?

(1) Direct official intervention  14
(2) Increase in resources  15
(3) Can't be solved  16
(4) Increase people's awareness  17
(5) Birth control  18
(6) The solution lies with God  19
(7) Eradication of illiteracy  20
(8) Others  21

51. Does this problem affect you or your family directly?

(1) Yes  (2) No  22

52. Is there anything you could do to solve this problem?

(1) Yes  (2) No  23

53. Why?

(1) Nobody cares about people's opinions  24
(2) There are no channels to facilitate this  25
(3) This is not my responsibility  26
(4) I can't alone  27
(5) Others  28
54. What could you do?

(1) Write to the authorities ( ) 29
(2) Write to the newspapers ( ) 30
(3) Meet with officials ( ) 31
(4) Pray for an answer ( ) 32
(5) Enlighten others ( ) 33
(6) Try to set an example ( ) 34
(7) Others ( ) 35

55. What in your view is the most important problem facing Egypt today?

(1) Housing shortage
(2) Weak economy
(3) Spread of disease
(4) Spread of corruption
(5) Population increase
(6) Lack of technology
(7) Foreign debt
(8) Price increase ( ) ( )
(9) Lack of public participation 36 37
(10) Spread of illiteracy
(11) Emigration of labour
(12) Transport
(13) Going away from religion
(14) Lack of cooperation between people
(15) Others

56. What are the main causes of this problem?

(1) Corrupt officials ( ) 38
(2) Lack of people's awareness ( ) 39
(3) People unwilling to work ( ) 40
(4) Lack of economic resources ( ) 41
(5) High birth rate ( ) 42
(6) Lack of religious belief ( ) 43
(7) Increased obsession with money ( ) 44
(8) Others ( ) 45

56b. Does this problem affect you or your family directly?
(1) Yes (2) No ( ) 46

57. How could it be solved?
(1) People's cooperation ( ) 47
(2) Officials intervention ( ) 48
(3) Increase in production ( ) 49
(4) Improving the education system ( ) 50
(5) Birth control ( ) 51
(6) God ( ) 52
(7) Fighting corruption ( ) 53
(8) Enlightening people ( ) 54
(9) Increasing democracy ( ) 55
(10) Others ( ) 56

58. Is there anything you could do to solve this problem?
(1) Yes (2) No ( ) 57
If the answer is No ask Q 59, if the answer is Yes ask Q 60.

59. Why?
(1) No channels to facilitate this ( ) 58
(2) No body care about people's opinions ( ) 59
(3) It is not my responsibility ( ) 60
(4) I can't alone ( ) 61
(5) Other ( ) 62

60. What could you do?
(1) Write to officials ( ) 63
(2) Write to newspapers ( ) 64
(3) Meet with officials ( ) 65
(4) Pray for answer ( ) 66
(5) Enlighten others ( ) 67
(6) Try to set example ( ) 68
(7) Others ( ) 69

61. Do you think that the multi party system is better than the single one?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know ( ) 70

62. Why?
(1) Reflects people's wishes ( ) 71
(2) Leads to right decisions ( ) 72
(3) Enables people to participate in running the country ( ) 73
(4) Puts officials under close observation ( ) 74
(5) Helps to develop and modernise ( ) 75
(6) Harms the country ( ) 76
(7) Creates antagonism ( ) 77
(8) Useless ( ) 78
(9) Others ( ) 79
63. In the past they used to say that education was the best way to a secure life. 

What is the way today?

(1) Education  
(2) Trade/business  
(3) Profession or skill  
(4) Going abroad  
(5) Don't know  
(6) Contentment and belief  
(7) Education in addition to other source of income  
(8) Limited number of children  
(9) Others

64. Why?

(1) Secure one's life  
(2) Increase knowledge  
(3) Helps development  
(4) Increases social mobility  
(5) Helps solve social problems  
(6) Helps to get good job and good income  
(7) Others

65. Do you support a free education system?

(1) Yes  
(2) No
Social Customs

66. Do you pray regularly? (every day for Muslims)
   (1) Yes  (2) No  ( ) 7

66b. Do you attend a mosque or church?
   (1) Yes  (2) No  ( ) 8
   If the answer is Yes ask Q 67

67. How many days do you attend per week?
   (1) 5-7 days  (2) 3-4 days  
   (3) 1-2 days  (4) Less than that  ( ) 9

68. Has this changed from previous attendance?
   (1) Yes  (2) No  ( ) 10

69. Has it increased or decreased?
   (1) Increased  (2) Decreased  ( ) 11

70. Why?
   (1) Increase in daily activities
   (2) Decrease in religious belief
   (3) Attending mosque/church is not so important
   (4) Increase in belief  ( ) 12
   (5) Women unable to attend mosque
   (6) Others
71. How do you spend your leisure time?

(1) Watching TV ( ) 13
(2) Watching video ( ) 14
(3) Listening to radio ( ) 15
(4) Going to the cinema ( ) 16
(5) Reading ( ) 17
(6) Visiting friends ( ) 18
(7) Repairing things/housework ( ) 19
(8) Do not have any ( ) 20
(9) Sports ( ) 21
(10) Others ( ) 22

72. Who does the household shopping?

(1) Husband
(2) Wife
(3) Children
(4) Servant ( ) 23
(5) Wife and children
(6) Husband and children
(7) Husband and wife
(8) The respondent himself
(9) Others

73. Why?

(1) Wife's place is in the home
(2) Wife is the best person to do the shopping
(3) Husband is master of the house ( ) 24
(4) Lack of time
(5) Live alone
74. What is the role of women in society?

1. Looking after the children ( ) 25
2. Looking after the husband ( ) 26
3. Looking after the house ( ) 27
4. Working side by side with men ( ) 28
5. Sharing some of the housework ( ) 29
6. Others ( ) 30

75. If you won £ 5,000 what would you spend it on?

1. Clothes ( ) 31
2. Marriage ( ) 32
3. Books ( ) 33
4. Videos ( ) 34
5. Business ( ) 35
6. Keep it in bank ( ) 36
7. Buy house ( ) 37
8. Travel ( ) 38
9. Buy car ( ) 39
10. Buy colour TV ( ) 40
11. Charity ( ) 41
12. Household goods ( ) 42
13. Others ( ) 43

76. Did you vote last time?

1. Yes ( ) 44
2. No ( ) 44

If the answer is No ask Q 77
77. Why?
   (1) No time
   (2) Not convinced
   (3) Have no voting card
   (4) Live abroad
   (5) Others

78. Have you been abroad?
   (1) Yes (2) No
   If the answer is Yes ask Q 79

79. To which countries?
   (1) Arabic countries
   (2) America
   (3) England
   (4) France
   (5) Germany
   (6) Japan
   (7) Communist countries
   (8) African countries
   (9) Asian countries
   (10) Other European countries
   (11) Others

80. Which country would you like to visit or live in?
   (1) Arab country
   (2) America
   (3) England
   (4) France
(5) Germany
(6) Japan
(7) Communist country
(8) African country
(9) Asian country
(10) Other European country
(11) No other but Egypt
(12) Latin America
(13) Others

81. Why?

(1) Rich
(2) Birthplace
(3) People very active
(4) Developed
(5) Democratic
(6) Powerful
(7) Sacred place
(8) Has opportunities
(9) Clean and quiet
(10) Others

82. How did you hear about this country?

(1) Radio
(2) TV
(3) Newspapers
(4) Reading books
(5) Friends
(6) Personal experience
83. Which country would you most like Egypt to resemble?

(1) Arab country
(2) America
(3) England
(4) France
(5) Germany
(6) Japan
(7) Communist country
(8) Other European country
(9) None
(10) Asian country
(11) African country
(12) Latin American country
(13) Others

84. Why?

(1) Rich
(2) Developed
(3) Democratic
(4) Birthplace
(5) People very active
(6) Has religious places
(7) Powerful
(8) Has opportunities
CARD NO. 8

Case Number

( ) ( ) ( )
1  2  3

(9) Clean and quiet ( ) 4
(8) Others ( ) 5

85. If everything in life has a key, what is the key to happiness?

(1) Money
(2) Good job
(3) Education
(4) Belief
(5) Good health ( ) 6
(6) Hard work
(7) Love
(8) stability
(9) Others

86. It is said that most Egyptians like to buy imported goods, is this true?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don’t know ( ) 7

87. Do you buy imported goods?

(1) Yes (2) No ( ) 8
88. Why?

(1) Egyptian goods are better
(2) Foreign goods are better
(3) Egyptian goods are cheaper
(4) Egyptian goods are the product of my country
(5) Egyptian goods are not available
(6) Foreign goods give social prestige
(7) Foreign goods are not available
(8) Others

89. What kind of things do they buy?

(1) Clothes
(2) Food
(3) Electrical appliances
(4) Cars
(5) Others
90. Which country's products do you prefer?

(1) Arab country ( ) 15
(2) America ( ) 16
(3) England ( ) 17
(4) France ( ) 18
(5) Communist country ( ) 19
(6) Germany ( ) 20
(7) Japan ( ) 21
(8) S. Korea ( ) 22
(9) Asian country ( ) 23
(10) African country ( ) 24
(11) Latin American country ( ) 25
(12) Others ( ) 26

91. Do you support birth control?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know ( ) 27
If the answer is Yes or No ask Q 92

92. Why?

(1) To solve the over population problem
(2) To solve the shortage of housing problem
(3) To solve the problems of Egypt
(4) It is against my religion ( ) 28
(5) Harmful to women
(6) Enables one to bring family up well
(7) Others

93. Do you support the legalisation of alcohol?

(1) Yes (2) No ( ) 29
94. Why?

(1) Against my religion

(2) People must be given the right to choose

(3) Harmful ( ) 30

(4) Others
CARD NO. 9

Demographic Data

Case Number ( ) ( ) ( )
1 2 3

Age:
(1) 15-19  (2) 21-29  (3) 30-39
(4) 40-49  (5) 50-65  ( ) 4

Sex:
(1) Male  (2) Female  ( ) 5

Marital Status:
(1) married  (2) divorced
(3) single  (4) widowed  ( ) 6
(5) separated

Educational Level:
(1) illiterate
(2) read and write
(3) finished elementary schools
(4) finished Secondary school  ( ) 7
(5) finished higher Education
(6) finished post graduate studies
Area:

(1) rural
(2) poor urban ( ) 8
(3) rich urban

Knowledge of Foreign Languages:

(1) good (2) adequate (3) inadequate (4) no knowledge

English ( ) 9
French ( ) 10
German ( ) 11

Ownership:

(1) House ( ) 12
(2) Flat ( ) 13
(3) Radio ( ) 14
(4) Television B/W ( ) 15
(5) Colour TV ( ) 16
(6) Video ( ) 17
(7) Washing Machine ( ) 18
(8) Car ( ) 19

Income:

(1) Low (2) Medium (3) Higher ( ) 20

Occupation of Respondent:

Occupation of the head of the household:

Number of family:
B. SURVEY CODING GUIDE-LINES

Definition Of Drama Type

**Love:** Drama which deals with romance and love affairs, marital or non-marital.

**Social:** Drama dealing with any matter directly linked to everyday life of the people ie. birth control, drinking problems, Poverty etc.

**Economic:** drama which deals with issues directly linked to the economic world, ie. money market, exchange rates etc.

**Violence:** Drama portraying purely any forms of violence, whether between individuals, groups or countries

**Detective:** Similar to the above type of drama, except that it revolves around conflict between the forces of law and order on one hand and law-breakers on the other.

**Historic:** Drama related to historical events of the past, ie. World wars.

**Science Fiction:** Drama portraying scientific adventures, like space adventures etc..

**Religious:** Drama which deals with religious issues, past or present. ie. the life of an Islamic leader or reformer.

**Comedy:** Drama purely for generating laughter, similar to the genre included under "Light Programmes".
**Thriller**: Drama which deals with mystery and suspense.

**Political**: Drama which deals mainly with aspects of politics nationally or internationally.

**Aimless**: Drama which has no direct message, i.e. pausing a problem and suggesting answers.

**Slow in Movement of Events**: This term was used to describe French drama, which relies heavily on dialogue and lack in quick change of scenes.

**Definition of Programmes Types:**

**Music**: Programmes relating to music. This includes singing, dancing etc..

**Sports**: Programmes dealing with anything to do with sport.

**Religious**: Programmes dealing with religious issues. I.e. sermons, recitation of the Koran, religious seminars etc..

**Documentaries**: Programmes which deal with current issues of any nature.

**Science**: Programmes which deal with scientific progress in any area.

**Light**: Programmes intended for entertainment i.e. quiz shows etc..

**News**: Only news bulletins.

**Specialized**: Programmes intended for selective audiences. I.e. for women, farmers, students, children etc..
Health: Programmes aiming to raise standards of national health, i.e. how to avoid catching certain diseases etc..

Political: Programmes dealing directly with issues related to politics, i.e. elections, parliament etc..
C. **Drama Content Coding Schedule**

**Card No. 1**

1. **Case Number**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Programme Title:**

3. **Drama Title:**

4. **Broadcast by:**

   - Channel 5 (1)
   - Channel 9 (2)
   - Radio (3) (4)

5. **Location of the Drama:**

   - Egypt (1)
   - Other Arab Countries (2)
   - U.S.A (3)
   - Western Europe (4)
   - Eastern Europe (5) (5)
   - India (6)
   - Mixed (7)
   - Latin America (8)
   - Africa (9)
   - Others: Write................. (10)
6. Source of Production:

- Home (1)
- U.S.A (2)
- U.K. (3)
- France (4)
- Italy (5)
- India (6)
- Other Western European country (7)
- Eastern European Country (8)
- Latin America (9)
- Africa (10)
- Others: Write.................. (11)

7. Language of the Narrative:

- Arabic (1)
- English (2)
- French (3)
- Indian (4)
- Italian (5)
- German (6)
- Russian (7)
- Others: Write.................. (8)
8. **Type of Drama:** *(Format)*

- Serial (1)
- Series (2)
- Feature Film (3)  
  ( ) 8
- T.V. Movie (4)
- Single Play (5)

9. **Setting of the Action:**

- Rural (1)
- Urban (2)
- Poor Urban (3)  
  ( ) 9
- Mixed (4)
- Not Clear (5)

10. **Historical Setting of the Action:**

- Pre 20th Century (1)
- 1900—— World War Two (2)
- Post World War Two—— 1952 (3)
- 1952—— 1970 (4)
- 1970—— Present Day (5)  
  ( ) 10
- Present (6)
- Future (7)
- Period Changes During Programme (8)
- Unclear (9)
11. Subject of the Drama:

Main Subject: Yes (1)  No (0)
Subsidiary: Yes (2)  No (3)

A. Love / Romance:

a. Marital  ( ) 11
b. Non-marital  ( ) 12

B. Family Relationship:

a. Husband _____ Wife  ( ) 13
b. Parent _____ Child  ( ) 14
c. Wider Family  ( ) 15
d. Inter Families  ( ) 16

C. Farming Practices  ( ) 17
D. Land Tenure  ( ) 18
E. Health  ( ) 19
F. Birth Control  ( ) 20
G. Education  ( ) 21
H. Housing  ( ) 22
I. Poverty  ( ) 23
J. Unemployment  ( ) 24
K. Employment/Work  ( ) 25
L. Finance  ( ) 26
M. Local Politics  ( ) 27
N. National Politics  ( ) 28
O. Crime ( ) 29
P. War/Military life ( ) 30
Q. Disaster ( ) 31
R. Urban Migration ( ) 32
S. Overseas Migration ( ) 33
T. Religion ( ) 34
U. Corruption ( ) 35
V. Others: Write............... ( ) 36

12. Origin of Dramatic Conflict:

a. Central Character/s ( ) 37
b. Others in Environment ( ) 38
c. An Outside Group ( ) 39
d. Social Conditions ( ) 40
e. Misunderstanding ( ) 41
f. Natural Forces ( ) 42
g. Others: Write..................... ( ) 43

13. Origin of Conflict:

a. Action of the Central Character/s ( ) 44
b. Action of Others in Environment ( ) 45
c. Action of Forces of Law and Order ( ) 46
d. Luck ( ) 47
e. Unresolved ( ) 48
f. Unclear ( ) 49
g. Others: Write..................... ( ) 50
14. Basic Themes of The Story:

Main: Yes (1) No (0)
Subsidiary: Yes (2) No (3) ???

A. Morality:

1. Good V. Bad ( ) 51
2. Right V. Wrong ( ) 52
3. Virtue V. Sinfulness ( ) 53

B. Achievement:

1. Educational ( ) 54
2. Professional ( ) 55
3. Financial: power, wealth ( ) 56
4. Project of social benefit ( ) 57

C. Justice:

1. Earthly Punishment Or Reward ( ) 58
2. Heavens Punishment Or Reward ( ) 59

D. Loyalty:

1. To Friends ( ) 60
2. To Country ( ) 61
### D. **Characters Coding Schedule**

**CARD NO. 2**

1. **Case Number**
   
   ( ) ( )
   
   1 2 3

2. **Description of Characters:**

   **A. Sex:**
   
   Male (1)  Female (2)  ( )
   
   4

   **B. Age:**
   
   0—15 (1)  16—24 (2)  ( )
   
   5
   
   25—44 (3)  45—64 (4)
   
   65 + (5)  Unclear (6)

   **C. Socio-Economic Status:**
   
   Upper Middle Class (1)
   
   Middle Class (2)
   
   Lower Middle Class (3)
   
   Working Class (4)  ( )
   
   6
   
   Peasant (5)
   
   Not Clear (6)
   
   Others: Write.......... (7)

   **D. Marital Status:**
   
   Single (1)
   
   Married (2)
   
   Engaged (3)  ( )
   
   7

418
Widowed (4)
Separated (5)
Unclear (6)

3. Field of Activity Most Related to Occupation:

Entertainment, Art, Sport, Media (1)
Agriculture, Animals, Factories, Construction (2)
Business, Industry, Finance (3)
Government, Courts, Law and Order (4)
Health, Medicine, Social Service (5)
Education: Student, Teacher etc. (6)
Religion (7)
Illegal Activities (8) ( ) ( )
House Work (9) 8 9
Unemployed (10)
Retired (11)
Casual Labourer (12)
Unclear (13)
Others: Write.......................... (14)

4. Underlying Motives of Characters:

A. Love:

Marital (1)
Non Marital (2) ( ) 10
Both (3)
Unclear (4)
B. Achievement:

Occupational (1)

Educational (2)

Financial (3)

Peaceful Life (4) ( ) 11

Not Clear (5)

Project of social benefit (6)

Others: Write.............................. (7)

C. Pleasure Seeking ( )12

D. Revenge ( )13

E. To Fulfil Ideological Beliefs ( )14

F. To Fulfil Religious Beliefs ( )15

G. Others: Write................................. ( )16

5. Characters Outlook

A. Dress: (Arabic Characters Only)

   Western (1)

   Modern Egyptian (2) ( )17

   Traditional (3)

   Unclear (4)

B. Characters Socialization:

1. Going To Pubs: Yes (1) No (2) Unclear (3) ( ) 18

2. Going To Discos: Yes (1) No (2) Unclear (3) ( ) 19

3. Going To Clubs: Yes (1) No (2) Unclear (3) ( ) 20

4. Going To Cinemas: Yes (1) No (2) Unclear (3) ( ) 21

5. Drinking: Yes (1) No (2) Unclear (3) ( ) 22
E. **Drama Coding Guide-lines**

**Subject/s of the Drama:**

A drama production can have more than one major or minor/subsidiary subject. Subjects were classified as follows:

**Major:** That which was essential to the main plot of the story. It would have to be mentioned in one paragraph summary of the story.

**Minor:** Contributes to the main plot, but could be omitted in one paragraph summary.

(Subjects were defined as reflecting what the drama was basically about, in so far as the concrete matters with which the actions of the story were concerned.)

**Themes of the Drama:**

Again, more than one theme could be recorded for each drama, whether major or minor. The same criteria applied to the process of distinguishing between a major and a minor subject, was also applied to themes. A theme was defined as reflecting what the drama was about at the level of the plot. What motivated the actions and made the drama "tick".

**Drama Format:**

**Serial:** Dramatic production consisting of a number of episodes containing a definite ending. All the episodes together made a complete story. Each episode usually ended on a "cliff hanger".
Series: Drama consisting of many episodes where each and every one of them made a complete story by itself, like Kojak for example. The main common element between the episodes was the presence of the main character/s in each of them, but usually in different roles.

Single Play: Production consisting of a single episode, as the name implies, which makes a complete story by itself, and is usually shown over one slot.

Feature Films: Films shown on television, but made originally made for cinema.

T.V. Movie: Films originally made to be shown on television.

Location of the Drama:

Where the action actually takes place. Hence one single drama could have more than one location, which was coded as mixed.

Main Characters:

The aim was to identify up to four characters playing roles essential to the plot. This was decided through the need for these character/s to be mentioned in one paragraph summary of the story.

Characters Status:

Class was measured by using as many as possible of the four major indicators, used for the classification of respondents in the survey. These were: Income, occupation, ownership and appearance. Appearance included outlook, pattern of
spending, socialization and the environment in which a character was usually seen. Definition of each of the categories used, was as follows:

**Upper Middle Class:** Mostly very rich people, including top government officials, ministers, major landlords and businessmen.

**Middle Class:** Mostly people such as senior civil servants, medium term businessmen and those at their level. They would normally have cars and live in big houses.

**Lower middle:** Generally lived comfortably, but did not own cars, like junior civil servants etc.

**Working Class:** People on a low income and in menial jobs, whether government or private.

**Peasant:** Distinguished from the above class by the fact that they lived and worked on the land.

**Characters Motives:**

These were linked to the themes of the drama and basically reflected what a character was seeking or what drove him on.

**Characters Dress:**

Western: Code of dress associated with the West. I.e. jeans and leather jackets.
Modern Egyptian: Code of dress not originally Egyptian, but one which has become accepted as such. E.g. suits, trousers, skirts etc.

Traditional: Code of dress for men or women, that is particularly long and associated mainly with the Middle East. This also includes religious dress, which is long and accompanied by a head cover.
F. **SYNOPSIS OF EXAMPLES OF THE DRAMA INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE**

**Radio Drama:**

1. Title: "Khatwat Fouka Al Khatar", which can be roughly translated as: Steps Towards Danger

   Date of Broadcasting: 7-1-1987
   Format: Single play
   Geographical Setting: Urban
   Type: Arabic "Love" drama

   **Summary of the Story:**
   A girl, studying law at university, falls in love with an external student, who is a policeman. They decide to get married, but in the meantime the policeman is accused of being accessory to a crime. As a result, he loses his job but continues to try to clear his name by finding the real culprits. His fiance supports him in his efforts. The drama moves on showing individual acts of investigations by the now off-duty policeman, who succeeds in identifying the real culprits and getting his job back. However he discovers that the leader of the gang involved is his fiance's brother. After brief disappointment and surprise, he decides to go ahead with the marriage.

2. Title: "Al Kalimat Al Motakatiaa", translated as: Cross Words

   Date of Broadcasting: 28-1-1987
   Format: Single Play
   Geographical Setting: Urban
   Type: Arabic "Social" drama
Summary of the Story:
A retired father tries to sell some of his land so that he can pay for his daughter's wedding. The sale has to be officially authorized, but he is faced with many obstacles and unsympathetic officials. The father is in urgent need of obtaining authorization, but the government employee responsible is busy solving a crossword puzzle. Whenever a member of the public comes for business he is asked by the employee to share in solving the puzzle and at the end is told to return the next day for his business. The story unfolds revealing, in a comic way, the father's attempts to practice solving crosswords puzzles, in order that he can befriend the employee. He fails to improve his skills and decides to fight for his rights. He fights physically with the employee and finds himself breaking the law. He is taken to court and is imprisoned, which in the end leads to the postponement of the marriage.

3. Title: "Shagarat Al Hoob", its literal translation is: The Tree of Love

Date of Broadcasting: 31-1-1987
Format: Single Play
Geographical Setting: Urban
Type: Arabic "Love" Drama

Summary of the Story:
A married couple have a quarrel because the husband lends a large part a large sum of money to his brother, which they can ill afford at the time. They decide to get divorced but on their way to the divorce-office, they pass by the tree under which they met for the first time. Upon seeing their names inscribed on the tree they are reminded of all the good days of the past and they stay together in the end.
4. Title: "Ya Ieeny Al Saaber", translated as: Patience is Great.

Date of Broadcasting: 1-2-1987
Format: Serial, lasted for one month
Geographical Setting: Rural
Type: Arabic "Love" Drama

Summary of the Story:
A young girl refuses to marry a member of her tribe. Instead she falls in love with a young man, whom she meets for the first time. As a result she meets fierce opposition from her family, particularly since he has been forced to turn to crime as the only means of earning a living after having lost his wealth to his brother. However, the man in time becomes religious and repents. He turns to a preacher, which enhances his status and reputation. The father of the girl shows his respect to the reformed man and asks him directly to marry his daughter. The man accepts reluctantly, after having defeated all his old enemies, including his brother.

5. Title: "Ragolan Fil hadikaa", translated as: A man is in the garden.

Date of Broadcasting: 17-1-1987
Format: Single Play
Geographical Setting: Urban
Type: Arabic "Detective" Drama

Summary of The Story:
A family is inside its isolated house talking about a news story, concerning a mentally disturbed prisoner, who has escaped and is on the lose in the immediate area. A little later their younger daughter comes in from the garden to tell them
that a strange man, fitting the news description, is in their garden. The family goes out into the garden to look for the stranger, who takes the daughter as a hostage. The father succeeds in reaching for his gun, which he uses to force the man to free his daughter and then calls the police to arrest him.

Television Drama

Arabic:

1. Title: Bakiza Wa Zaglol: The names of the two main characters in the drama.

Date of Broadcasting: 6-1-1987
Format: Serial which lasted until 21-1-1987
Geographical Setting: Urban
Type: Arabic "Social" Drama

Summary of the Story:
The story is about the life of two women, who are related to each other, but who are unaware of this. One of them turns out to be the step-mother to the other. The step-mother becomes aware of the situation when her husband dies and leaves her penniless, contrary to her expectations. The second woman realises she is related at a time when she is destitute and living in poverty. All contacts between her and her wealthy father had been cut off even before she was born. The two characters represent two complete opposites. While the step-mother, who was born in France, represents the modern elements in Egypt and is accustomed to a life of luxury, she refuses to come to terms with her impoverished conditions, the daughter, on the other hand represents the most traditional and poor elements found in Egypt, is bewildered by her relatively improved conditions, as she inherits part of her father's house, the only property
he leaves behind. The plot unfolds to reveal the material and psychological changes which overcome both characters. Towards the end they come to terms with the circumstances under which they find themselves. They decide to join forces and stand on their own two feet with the help of other good people in the drama. Their final success is achieved at the expense of compromises made by each one respectively.

2. Title: Raya Wa Skina: Names of the two main female characters.

Date of Broadcasting: An old production which was shown repeatedly on television. This recording was made on 8-1-1987.

Format: Feature Film
Geographical Setting: Urban
Type: Arabic "Detective" Drama

Summary of the Story:
The story portrays the police attempts to catch two women who rob and kill other women in the city of Cairo. It is based on real events that took place in Alexandria in the fifties. A servant working at the Minister of the Interior's house, in a play within the play, forms a similar gang with his fiance. However, their main aim is to obtain sufficient money to get married, but their first attempt fails when they try to steal money from the Minister's wife and manage to escape arrest. Instead, they decide to help the police to catch the real gang, so as to win the reward on offer. They succeed in winning the reward which they use to get married, but at their wedding reception, they are recognized by the Minister's wife. The party is broken up and the story ends with them running away and the police in pursuit.
Foreign Drama:

1. Title: Fox Fire
   
   Date of Broadcasting: 12-1-1987
   Format: An Episode of a series
   Geographical Setting: Urban
   Type: American "Detective" Drama

   Summary of the Story:
   Three girls work as private detectives under the leadership of Fox Fire. They are hired to find a scientist, who has been kidnapped by an arms dealer. The urgency of releasing the scientist is heightened by the images of his distraught wife and the evilness of the dealer. Although the dealer keeps the scientist behind an elaborately secured laboratory, the three girls manage, through sheer skill, courage and efficiency, to rescue the scientist and return him back to his wife.

2. Title: Dual
   
   Date of Broadcasting: 14-1-1987
   Format: Film
   Geographical Setting: Urban
   Type: American "Violence" Drama

   Summary of the Story:
   As the title suggests, the story describes the struggle between two drivers. One is in a small car and the other is in a big lorry. The whole drama basically portrays a frantic chase on a motorway, where the driver in the small car does his utmost to escape from the menacing truck. The lorry driver is intent on forcing the small car off for no apparent reason, except perhaps that he has been overtaken by the
car. While the car driver expresses his fears in actions as well as in words, the lorry driver remains completely silent and mysterious throughout. The car driver has no one to help him escape the clutches of the sinister lorry which continues to pursue him. The story reaches a climax when the car breaks down and the lorry crashes straight into it killing the lorry driver, while the car driver escapes unhurt.

3. Title: Murder She Wrote

Date of Broadcasting: 16-1-1987
Format: An Episode of a Series
Geographical Setting: Urban
Type: American "Detective" Drama

Summary of the Story:

The story revolves around two murder cases; one a Congressman and the other a businessman's secretary. The Congressman is killed in a party organised by a businessman, who seeks the approval of the Congress for a business venture, the opening of a new factory. The governor appoints a woman writer as an interim Congresswoman. She uses her investigative skills to find the killer, who happens to be one of her assistants, who has a share in the business. However the story ends with the arrest of the murderer and the Congress' approval for the new business to go ahead.
4. Title: The Boxer

Date of Broadcasting: 18-1-1987
Geographical Setting: Urban
Type: American "Detective" Drama

Summary of the Story:
A boxer is training under the supervision of his father to represent his country, the U.S.A., in the Olympic Games. A somewhat greedy promoter wants to make a profit by asking the boxer to sign for him as a professional. The boxer refuses the offer because if he signs he would not be able to take part in the Olympic Games, which is only for amateurs. The boxer's father is subjected to physical attack and then is kidnapped to force the boxer to sign. As a result the boxer accepts to take part in a fight which is arranged by the promoter. However, with the help and protection of Harold Castel & McCormic, the guardian of peace, the father is rescued and the boxer is saved from signing until the end of the Olympic Games.
G. **A List of Countries which Imported Films from Egypt in 1986**

(35mm and 16mm)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Type Of Film</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sudan</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Dhabi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubai</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aden</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>578</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Statistics filed by the Office of Censorship over Artistic Production in Egypt.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Egyptian Radio and Television Union, 1986. *People's Attitude towards Egyptian Radio and Television Programmes*, an unpublished Research carried out by the nion in conjunction with Public Opinion Research Centre, Cairo University.


Hartmann, P, 1977. Radio Drama for Development. CMCR, University of Leicester.


______. Statistical Reports and Studies *No 23 & 25*.


Publications:

**The Philosophy of the Revolution.**

**Egypt's Quarterly Economic Review,** Various Issues.

**Egypt's Year Book,** Various Issues.


**Al Ahram Newspaper,** Various Issues.


Personal Interviews:

The student conducted a number of interviews with several people in Egypt, who were of great importance to this study. They were the following:

1. The Heads of drama production on Channels One and Two of Egyptian television.

2. The Director of the Agency of Censorship of Artistic Production in Egypt.

3. The American Cultural Attache in Cairo.
Holds for consultation

This thesis is held for a reader.

It must be issued before being removed from the Express Zone. Theses cannot be removed from the Library and, if issued for use elsewhere in the building, will be due back by the end of staffed service hours that day.

Collection

Please make sure you have the correct thesis by checking that the 4 digits at the top of this slip match the last 4 digits of your 075****** library number.

Borrowing

Please ask at the Service Desk if you wish to remove this item from the Express Zone. Staff will request that you complete a copyright declaration form before issuing the thesis to your account.

Copyright and research

Theses may be subject to UK Copyright law. For more information please go to www.le.ac.uk/library/services/copyright

http://www2.le.ac.uk/library/find/theses